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# HELLENISTIC POTTERY AND TERRACOTTAS

BY

HOMER A. AND DOROTHY B. THOMPSON

REPRINTED FROM HESPERIA WITH PREFACES BY

SUSAN I. ROTROFF



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS  
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## FOREWORD

The articles collected and reprinted here by photo-offset appeared originally in the pages of *Hesperia*. "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery", by Homer A. Thompson, presented in 1934 some of the pottery found in the early excavations of the American School in the Athenian Agora. The series titled "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas", by Dorothy B. Thompson, includes ten articles that were published between 1952 and 1966. The working chronology that the authors established has made these studies basic references for investigations of Attic pottery and terracottas of the Hellenistic period, wherever found. In recognition of subsequent discoveries, the Thompsons' work has now been augmented by a preface with bibliography for each, prepared by Susan I. Rotroff, which comments particularly on the changes in absolute chronology resulting from the continuing excavations in the Agora and elsewhere. In "Afterthoughts" Dorothy Thompson has corrected a few factual errors and has recorded changes of opinion in certain cases.

The Hellenistic pottery from the Agora is being published by Professor Rotroff. The first volume, *The Athenian Agora*, XXII, *Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, appeared in 1982. Considerable progress has been made in the preparation of a second volume that will present the wheelmade pottery (glazed, plain, and coarse), both local and imported, with the exception of the Hellenistic red wares. The latter will be treated together with Roman red wares by Henry S. Robinson in an *Agora* volume on Roman pottery.

Following a program laid out by Dorothy Thompson, the terracottas from the Agora excavations will be published in three volumes. Of the more than 4,000 figurines recovered, the great majority are fragmentary, and few derive from the most common finding places of terracottas: tombs and votive deposits. Many, however, have been found in association with molds and in areas that were in all probability occupied by their makers, the coroplasts. The majority, coming from domestic deposits such as wells, cisterns, and housefloors, may be assumed to have served as decor in private houses. The contexts, many of which are datable from coins, amphora handles, or associated pottery, range from the Neolithic period into the 5th century after Christ.

The latest of the terracottas, from the Roman period of the 1st to 5th century after Christ, were published by the late Claireve Grandjouan as *The Athenian Agora*, VI, *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period* in 1961. The Mycenaean pieces have been studied by Elizabeth Wace French and will appear in a volume with the Archaic and Classical, being prepared by Richard V. Nicholls. The Late Classical and Hellenistic terracottas (more than 2,000) from the early 4th century to the Augustan period have been studied by Dorothy Thompson whose work on them is nearing completion. The treatment of individual pieces in the volume will inevitably be more cursory than in the articles reprinted here; the emphasis will be on typology.

These papers are now brought together in a single volume where they may be consulted more conveniently. In order to make it possible to find references to the *Hesperia* publication, the original page numbers have been retained and appear at the top of the page, while

## FOREWORD

the current sequence is indicated by those that appear at the bottom together with the original volume number and year. Where the original articles are cited in the two prefaces, the current pagination and plate numbers are given, followed by the original ones in brackets. As currently in *Hesperia*, abbreviations in the prefaces follow those listed in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 90, 1986, pp. 384-394. The Publications Committee is grateful to the Thompsons and to Susan Rotroff for their assistance in preparing this Foreword and the following volume which is presented as complement and supplement to those from the *Agora* series described above.



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## TWO CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC POTTERY

# TWO CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC POTTERY

## PREFACE

SUSAN I. ROTROFF

Fifty years have passed since the publication of Homer Thompson's "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery"; a work which laid the foundations for the systematic study of Athenian Hellenistic pottery.<sup>1</sup> During those fifty years, new excavations and new studies have expanded our knowledge of the Hellenistic ceramics of Athens and many other sites as well, yet "Two Centuries" remains not only a classic but a standard reference. This is due, in part, to the primacy of Athens as a manufacturer of pottery. The city had a rich tradition of innovation and for centuries provided models for potters elsewhere in the Greek world. This state of affairs was to change in the course of the Hellenistic period, but through the 3rd century B.C., at least, Athens seems to have retained her pre-eminent position. Since other potters looked to Athens for inspiration, the study of Athenian pottery has more than local application, and Thompson's work remains the most extensive examination of Athenian Hellenistic pottery in print.

But "Two Centuries" owes its usefulness also to the characteristically fresh and clear-headed approach which Thompson took to the material, an approach forced upon him, in part, by the circumstances of its excavation. The first three years of excavation in the Agora (1931-1933) had failed to produce a long series of superimposed strata of the sort which would provide a chronological sequence of relatively well preserved pottery. The stratigraphy was badly disturbed by centuries of intensive habitation and, where it did exist, consisted of thin layers containing only thumbnail-sized chips of pottery.<sup>2</sup> And of course the Agora, in the heart of the Hellenistic city, had not produced grave groups of the sort that normally formed the basis for ceramic typology. Nonetheless, the excavations had already unearthed a vast amount of well-preserved Hellenistic pottery, recovered from abandoned

<sup>1</sup> I am honored indeed that Homer Thompson suggested that I write a preface to this reprint of "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery". I am grateful to him not only for that honor but also for his invitation to publish Hellenistic pottery found under his direction at the Agora and for his continuous help and support since even before I began that work. I am also grateful to T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Director of the Agora Excavations, for permission to extend that study to include material from the more recent excavations and for his support and encouragement in my research. Discussions with Virginia Grace have, as always, been a source of inspiration to me, as much for her clear-headed and rigorous approach to all intellectual questions as for her help in chronological matters. Much of this preface was written during the summer of 1984, during which my work was supported by a generous grant from the American Council of Learned Societies.

For the full form of references abbreviated in the following footnotes, see the bibliography at the end of this preface.

<sup>2</sup> Even now, satisfying sequences of deep, superimposed strata have failed to materialize. Study of the building fills under the Stoa of Attalos may eventually provide such a sequence, covering the period ca. 300-150, but thus far they have proven less useful than well and cistern groups.

wells, cisterns, and storage pits which had served houses and shops on the periphery of the civic center. The material had lain undisturbed since its deposition in antiquity, and in some cases was found together with coins, the only artifacts for which there existed at that time an independent chronology.

Recognizing the potential of this situation, Thompson approached the material much as grave groups had been approached by earlier researchers. This method appears to have been something of a conceptual breakthrough. The principle that objects found together may be assumed to have been in use at the same time had been enunciated in the 19th century<sup>3</sup> but had been applied exclusively to one type of context: the grave. Thompson extended it to household debris, treating each of his deposits as a distinct unit in which all material could be viewed, at least hypothetically, as roughly contemporary in use and manufacture. This methodology is not without its pitfalls.<sup>4</sup> In a grave, selected objects may normally be assumed to have been buried at one time and for a specific purpose. More complicated processes are at work in the case of a household dump. Such debris may be a secondary deposit of material which had accumulated elsewhere over the years. Or the dump may itself be accumulative, representing the successive discard of generations. In practice, however, the majority of such deposits in the Agora do not show evidence of stratified accumulation, and a mixture of artifacts covering a wide range of date, while not unknown, is unusual. For example, the material in Thompson's Group E is extremely homogeneous, and there is nothing to suggest that any of it was made more than about a quarter of a century before its deposit. Even in Group B, where the two red-figured pelikai (B 1 and B 2) must be considered as heirlooms, the other pottery, with the possible exception of one cup-kantharos (B 46), need not cover a wider span than the years 275–240 B.C. In addition, since material in a household dump was not consciously selected, it may be more representative than grave gifts. With these factors in mind, we may accept Thompson's method as a valid one, and one which becomes increasingly useful as our knowledge grows and we are more able to recognize intrusions of earlier or later date within a mainly homogeneous body of pottery.

The value of "Two Centuries" in clarifying and organizing a hitherto virtually unknown body of pottery was very great. One need only glance at the few comments on Hellenistic pottery from the Agora made by Frederick Waagé in 1933<sup>5</sup> to understand how little was known about this material in the years before Thompson's study appeared. "Two Centuries" quickly became the standard work, the yardstick against which Hellenistic pottery both of Athens and other sites was measured. Thompson, however, was the first to admit that there were gaps. There was a long chronological hiatus between Group B (closed ca.

<sup>3</sup> Jens Jakob Asmussen Worsaae, *Danmarks Oldtid oplyst ved Oldsager og Gravhøie*, Copenhagen 1843, pp. 60–61 (English translation, *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, London 1849). See also John Howland Rowe, "Worsaae's Law and the Use of Grave Lots for Archaeological Dating," *American Antiquity* 28, 1962, pp. 129–137.

<sup>4</sup> See V. Gordon Childe, *A Short Introduction to Archaeology*, New York 1962, pp. 14–15.

<sup>5</sup> Waagé, *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 279–285.

## TWO CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC POTTERY: PREFACE

240 B.C.) and the material in Group C, which dates well after 200 B.C. by the current chronology. Among the missing types, Thompson mentioned Hellenistic bowls with relief emblems;<sup>6</sup> one might add fish-plates and hemispherical bowls with West Slope decoration<sup>7</sup> as other common Athenian types of which, by chance, no complete example was found in Thompson's five groups. But the article was not intended or presented as a comprehensive textbook of Attic Hellenistic pottery, and it must be read and used as intended: a presentation of five Attic contexts for which there is relatively good chronological evidence.

We are now in a position to check Thompson's conclusions against the much greater amount of evidence available today. It is not surprising to find that the absolute dates need to be adjusted. These were guesses, eked out from whatever scrap of evidence could be brought to bear: comparison with the Sciatbi cemetery at Alexandria for Group A and with Corinth for Group D, coins (themselves now largely redated) for Groups B–D, and an inscription for Group E. We can now make better estimates, which will in the future doubtless be further refined. The relative sequence of the groups, however, is assured, based as it was not only on coins but also on the appearance of new types of pottery. So Groups C–E must be later than Groups A and B, because they contain moldmade bowls; the appearance of long-petal bowls (D 39–45, D 48, E 74–77, E 85, E 86) as well as two-handled bowls (D 17, D 18, E 53) prove D and E to be the latest, and, of these, Group E must be the later on the evidence of its gray ware (E 154–158) and Eastern Sigillata A (E 151, E 152). Of the two early groups, B can be placed later than A on the basis of true West Slope ware (e.g. B 3, B 8, B 35) and by the appearance of a new shape, the West Slope amphora (B 3, B 35), lacking in Group A.

But what of Thompson's discussion of the pottery and his suggestions about its internal development? These have stood for the most part unchallenged, except for a discussion by Paul Lapp in his *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology, 200 B.C.—A.D. 70*.<sup>8</sup> As the only thoroughgoing critique of "Two Centuries", this deserves some consideration. Lapp expressed doubts about the value of both Thompson's methodology and his conclusions. In the first place, he questioned the assumption that the groups were homogeneous, that is, that they contained material of approximately contemporary date. More care should have been taken, he felt, to single out intrusive pieces of earlier date. And secondly, he suggested that the shape development outlined by Thompson was based on too little evidence.<sup>9</sup>

In answer to the first point, it should be remembered that it was not strictly possible, at the time when Thompson was writing, safely to sort out the earlier material from the later. This would have assumed a greater knowledge of the pottery than Thompson (or anyone)

<sup>6</sup> "Two Centuries," p. 13 [313] below.

<sup>7</sup> A partial example of a West Slope bowl: "Two Centuries," C 12. These gaps in part affirm the validity of the groups, because it is precisely in the chronological gap 240–200 that the hemispherical bowl with West Slope decoration enjoyed its greatest popularity.

<sup>8</sup> Lapp, pp. 71–79.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

had. Lapp himself fell into this trap in his discussion of the two-handled bowl.<sup>10</sup> Taking as his axiom the notion that a shape cannot continue for centuries without change, he argued that these bowls, which first appear in Group D (D 17, D 18), must represent earlier intrusions when found in Henry Robinson's Groups F and G,<sup>11</sup> of the 1st centuries before and after Christ, respectively (F 29-32, G 51, G 52). Further excavation, however, has produced many more examples in contexts ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century after Christ, suggesting that the two-handled bowl is indeed a long-lived form which continued in use for several centuries without significant change.

It is true, of course, to turn to Lapp's second objection, that the amount of evidence available to Thompson was small. But here we may recall that Thompson explicitly presented his conclusions as hypothetical and subject to revision whenever more evidence might be available.<sup>12</sup> In fact, many of his observations *have* been confirmed by this new evidence, which stems from material from over 150 deposits. In the case of the West Slope amphora, of which only five occurred in the Thompson groups,<sup>13</sup> his conclusions have proved, in the main, correct; the much greater evidence now available from the Agora (49 amphoras from 30 deposits) confirms, for instance, that plastic satyr masks do not appear on the earliest pieces and that the molded and flaring rim and arched handles are late traits, as Thompson argued in 1934.<sup>14</sup> To cite another example, analysis of about 150 plates from dated Agora contexts supports Thompson's suggestion that Attic plates become lighter and deeper in the course of the Hellenistic period.<sup>15</sup> It is important to remember the high degree of local variability in later Hellenistic pottery; it is not in the least surprising that the developments which Lapp observed in the pottery of Israel do not run parallel to developments in contemporary Attic pottery.

While Thompson's relative chronology and his outline of shape and decorative development have stood up well to later scrutiny, we can now make a more accurate estimate of the absolute dates,<sup>16</sup> thanks to advances in the study of two types of objects: coins and transport amphoras. The chronology of Hellenistic Athenian bronze coinage has recently been under intensive study by John Kroll and Fred Kleiner.<sup>17</sup> Thompson's deposits, however, contained few legible coins, and the numismatic evidence is in no case decisive. Far more important is the evidence of the amphoras, which Virginia Grace began to study at about

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>11</sup> Robinson, *The Athenian Agora* V, pp. 10-45.

<sup>12</sup> "... continued exploration of the Agora will, it is hoped, accumulate sufficient evidence, not only to close the gaps left by this study, but also to confirm or correct the conclusions already reached" ("Two Centuries," p. 13 [313] below).

<sup>13</sup> See Lapp, pp. 75-76.

<sup>14</sup> "Two Centuries," p. 144 [444] below.

<sup>15</sup> "Two Centuries," p. 134 [434] below; Lapp, p. 72.

<sup>16</sup> See Rotroff, Preface to "Three Centuries," pp. 183-184 below, for mention of current work in Hellenistic chronology.

<sup>17</sup> Kleiner, *Δελτ* 28, 1973; Kleiner, *Hesperia* 44, 1975; Kleiner, *Hesperia* 45, 1976; Kroll, 1979; Kroll, *AJA* 87, 1983. In 1971, at the request of G. Roger Edwards, Kroll carried out a review of all coins from Hellenistic deposits in the Agora, checking identifications and revising dating; since that time, he has been generous in sharing his further revisions with me.



## TWO CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC POTTERY: PREFACE

the same time that Thompson was working on the Hellenistic pottery.<sup>18</sup> Grace at first based her dates on Thompson's groups, but as her work progressed, she began to find other chronological footholds. Her study of the later Knidian amphoras, for example, led to the conclusion that handle stamps naming officials styled as *duoviri* were confined to the years ca. 108–88 B.C. This conclusion was reached independently of Thompson's chronology and enabled Grace to suggest that Group E, in which no *duoviri* handles occur, was deposited somewhat earlier than 86 B.C. (probably about 110 B.C.),<sup>19</sup> a conclusion readily accepted by Thompson himself.<sup>20</sup> The bulk of the amphora chronology, however, continued to be dependent on the "Two Centuries" groups. The discovery of the Ptolemaic encampment at Koroni,<sup>21</sup> on the east coast of Attica, forced Grace's hand. There, American excavators found a fortified camp, hastily built and briefly occupied. A large number of coins attributed to Ptolemy II connected it with Egypt and indicated a date in the 260's for its occupation, and the excavators reasonably concluded that the camp had served Ptolemaic forces during the Chremonidean War (265–261 B.C.).<sup>22</sup> The only problem was the pottery, which was very much like that in Group A, dated by Thompson in the years around 300,<sup>23</sup> and the amphoras, which Grace saw no reason to date after the end of the 4th century.<sup>24</sup> This discrepancy raised a furor in the small world of Hellenistic ceramic and amphora studies, but Grace rose to the challenge. Even in her initial article, where she argued against the association of Koroni with the Chremonidean War, she was aware of the fact that the amphora chronology was "largely dependent for absolute dates in the early Hellenistic period on the dates given to the context of amphoras and their stamps in Agora deposits,"<sup>25</sup> and those dates derived ultimately from the chronology set forth in "Two Centuries". The danger of circular argument must have been clear to her when she wrote that the finds at Koroni were "a signal that our accepted chronology may be wrong by more than a quarter-century."<sup>26</sup> Keeping this disturbing possibility in mind, she embarked on a thorough study of Rhodian amphoras and their handle stamps. This work resulted in the development of an internal sequence, tied to an independent chronological mooring, a large deposit in Pergamon. Thus Grace was able in 1974 to present evidence for an independent amphora chronology,<sup>27</sup> which incidentally confirmed the date of Koroni in the 260's; it is one of the great

<sup>18</sup> V. R. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles Found in 1931–1932," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 197–310.

<sup>19</sup> Grace, *Phyx II*, pp. 147–150, and p. 156 under no. 145; Grace and Savvatiannou-Petropoulakou, 1970, p. 322.

<sup>20</sup> Personal communication in Siebert, 1978, p. 182.

<sup>21</sup> Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, 1962; McCredie, 1966, pp. 1–16.

<sup>22</sup> McCredie, 1966, p. 14; Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, 1962, pp. 56–60; Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg, 1964. More pottery perhaps relating to the activities of the Egyptian forces has been found on Kea (Caskey, 1982, pp. 14–16).

<sup>23</sup> "Two Centuries," p. 15 [315] below; for a fuller discussion of the pottery, see Edwards, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 109–111.

<sup>24</sup> Grace, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 320–327, 332.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>27</sup> Grace, *AM* 89, 1974. See also Kroll, *AM* 89, 1974 and Grace and Savvatiannou-Petropoulakou, 1970, pp. 290–291.

achievements in Hellenistic chronology, but it is only the beginning since, as the pottery is inextricably tied to the amphoras, it too must move down in date. And so a general reshuffling of Hellenistic pottery dates ensues. For example, the revised amphora chronology has provided a framework for a new chronology of hemispherical moldmade relief bowls, of which a detailed study has now been published;<sup>28</sup> their more accurate dating can in turn help to refine the dates of the Thompson deposits.

The evidence for revision of the absolute dates of Thompson's Groups A-E has been set forth in detail elsewhere.<sup>29</sup> The following chart summarizes that redating and the evidence upon which it is based. I have given suggested dates of deposit, based mainly on the various *termini post quos* provided by amphoras, and have not attempted to estimate the range of date of the material. My impression, however, is that the material in Groups D and E is chronologically quite homogeneous, while the range in date of material in Groups A-C is somewhat greater.

	FORMER DATING	CURRENT DATING
GROUP A		
Lower fill	turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries <i>Evidence:</i> comparison with Sciabbi	Deposited ca. 260 <i>Evidence:</i> comparison with Koroni
Upper fill	3rd century?	Deposited in second quarter of 2nd century? <i>Evidence:</i> moldmade bowls
GROUP B	325-275 <i>Evidence:</i> red-figured pelikai, coins	Deposited ca. 240 <i>Evidence:</i> amphora
GROUP C	Beginning of 2nd century <i>Evidence:</i> coins, lamps	Deposited in course of second quarter of 2nd century <i>Evidence:</i> moldmade bowls
GROUP D	Middle of 2nd century <i>Evidence:</i> coins, comparison with Corinth and Stoa of Attalos building fill	Deposited after middle of 2nd century <i>Evidence:</i> amphoras, comparison with Stoa of Attalos building fill
GROUP E	Turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries, and early 1st century, deposited 86 B.C. <i>Evidence:</i> inscription, historical connection with Sulla's sack of Athens	Deposited ca. 110 <i>Evidence:</i> amphoras

<sup>28</sup> Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora* XXII.

<sup>29</sup> Grace, *Phryx II*, pp. 149-150 and p. 156, under no. 145; Grace, *AM* 89, 1974; Grace, *Hesperia* 54, 1985; Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, 1970, p. 322; Kroll, *AM* 89, 1974, pp. 202-203; Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora* XXII, pp. 107-110; Rotroff, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 276-278. See also Rotroff, Preface to "Three Centuries," pp. 185, 186-187, 189, 193 below.



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# THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA FIFTH REPORT

HOMER A. THOMPSON: Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery

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PLATE III



E 153. Relief Krater of the Late Second Century, a.c.

*Hesperia* 3, 1934

PLATE I

## TWO CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC POTTERY

PLATE 111

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

THE object of this study is to clarify and amplify that chapter in the ceramic history of Athens which covers the time between the end of the fourth and the end of the second century B.C. The two intervening centuries constitute a definite period in the development of Athenian pottery. From the end of the sixth down to the closing years of the fourth century, Athenian potters had concentrated on the decoration of their finer wares in the red-figure style. In the course of those two centuries the style had developed, had realized its fullest possibilities, and, in the natural course of events, had gone to seed. Among the most vigorous of the seedlings, was a style of ceramic decoration known as that of "West Slope Ware." It will be well represented in the groups to be discussed below. We shall find reason to believe that this new style sprang up in the closing years of the fourth century and flourished during the following two centuries and more. To a time but little later than that of the origin of "West Slope Ware" we must assign the beginning of the Athenian manufacture of "Megarian Bowls."<sup>2</sup> These rapidly assumed such popularity as to become the typical finer ware among the deposits of habitation accumulated during those same two centuries. The beginning of the new era in ceramic history was marked further by an increased readiness on the part of the worker in

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances in which the paper was written have made impossible extensive study of comparative material in other collections, and even exhaustive bibliographical references. It was felt, however, that the mass of pottery here examined provides very largely in itself the evidence for its own study. To Herren Kübler, Kraiker and Schwabacher I am indebted for the opportunity of examining the quantity of similar wares accumulated in the course of the Greek and German excavations by the Dipylon, and Dr. Kononiotis I must thank for showing me the Hellenistic pottery and the kernel of Eleusis. To Miss Lucy Talcott and Mr. Arthur W. Parsons of the Agora staff I am under special obligation. Miss Talcott is responsible for the study of the two red-figure pelikai (pp. 427 ff.). Mr. Parsons superintended the excavation of several pits sunk in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos in search of Hellenistic pottery with a serviceable *terminus ante quem*, and he has discussed with me the results. The drawings and paintings are by Mr. Piet de Jong, the photographs, excepting those for Figure 79 and the note to E 63, by Herr Hermann Wagner. My wife has read and improved the manuscript and has prepared the index. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool supplied numerous references and measurements in my absence from Athens.

Mr. F. O. Waagé has already made some notes, particularly regarding technical details, on the Hellenistic pottery from the excavation of the first season (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 279 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> I retain the terms "West Slope Ware" and "Megarian Bowls" because, although not properly descriptive (we might now with equal propriety speak of "North Slope Ware," and it has yet to be proven that a "Megarian Bowl" was ever made at Megara), yet they have assumed a very definite connotation in the minds of those who interest themselves in such things.

clay to copy the forms and the effects of the worker in metal. This readiness was not a new thing, for many of the vase forms of the sixth and fifth centuries, where they can be compared with those of metal vessels, show clearly enough their origin in metal prototypes. But in the third and second centuries the dependence of the ceramic art is still more marked, not merely in the shape, but also in the thinness of the fabric, in the glaze and in the decoration, whether executed in paint or in relief. This phenomenon suggests what is undoubtedly a fact, viz. that metal vessels had become much commoner. Of this fact the explanation is to be found probably in the increased wealth of individual citizens, perhaps also in the diminished values of the precious metals consequent upon the sudden influx of the long-stored treasures of the conquered east. Nor is it improbable that the decline in the artistic merit and technical finish of the contemporary wares in terracotta was in some degree responsible for the growing favor for metal vessels. But here cause and effect are entangled, and it may be equally true that the increasing popularity of metal ware reacted unfavorably on the professional pride and zest and income of the potter. The beginning of our period is indicated by these various phenomena. Its lower limit is suggested by the observation that the craftsmen of the Kerameikos, who had for long held the markets of Greece and Italy, and who during the third and second centuries, though gradually losing ground abroad, still held firm the home market, were compelled to witness, toward the end of the latter century, the beginning of serious competition from abroad in the field of finer wares, even on the stalls of their own market-place.

The method adopted for studying the history of these two centuries is as simple as, it is hoped, effective. From the large number of closed deposits of pottery and other objects gathered in the excavation of ancient wells and cisterns in the region of the Agora, five groups have been selected which can with certainty be arranged in a relative chronological sequence from a consideration of the relative stages of development apparent in the specimens of objects of various classes recovered from the individual deposits. The absolute chronology of the various groups, i.e. the time when they were closed, can be fixed with reasonable closeness from various bits of internal and external evidence. The simple and perishable nature of the objects makes it improbable that they should have been kept either for use or for ornament any great length of time before reaching the dumps, and our suspicion that each of the groups is closely homogeneous from a chronological point of view is confirmed by the obvious lack of development among the objects of a given class within any one of the groups. The fixed points thus established have been used in tracing the history of a number of the types of pottery represented in the groups. In the following pages a brief description of each place of finding (well, cistern or storage basin) is followed by a consideration of the evidence for its dating and then by a catalogue of the pottery belonging to that group; and, after the five groups have been so treated, the conclusions are given in the form of general discussions of the principal types of pottery. Fault may be found with a method of illustration and description that has resulted in so thorough a scattering

of the various specimens of each type or class of object but it seemed wise to emphasize the unity of the individual deposits, for they are each as compact, or more so, than a tomb group.

Since the study has been confined closely to the material recovered from the five deposits, it must by no means be regarded as a complete history of Hellenistic pottery. Large and important classes of the ware have been but briefly treated or have been completely passed over. I need mention only the bowls or saucers with relief *emblemata* inset in their floors, one of the most distinctive and most attractive products of the third century.<sup>1</sup> It will be obvious, too, that the chance spacing of the groups has left large chronological gaps in the period, notably in the later third century. Each excavation season adds to the available number of such closed deposits and the continued exploration of the Agora will, it is hoped, accumulate sufficient evidence, not only to close the gaps left by this study, but also to confirm or correct the conclusions already reached.

## GROUP A

### THE WELL

In the excavation seasons of 1932 and 1933 there came to light the foundations of a building of no great size, along the southwestern edge of that which now appears to be the main market-square. Already in antiquity it had been ruined and restored at least once. The restoration involved the laying of a new concrete floor, studded with pebbles, over the original floor. The house of this second period was served by a well in its southeastern corner.<sup>2</sup> The well-head (Fig. 1) consisted of a squared block of *poros* (L., 0.805 m.; W., 0.79 m.; H., 0.295 m.) having an aperture 0.345 m. in diameter, which is just large enough to permit the passage of a man. Leaded into the top of the head are the lower ends of iron supports, probably of a windlass. Measured from the top of this coping, the depth of the well was 4.45 m. Its sides were curbed with six drums of heavy terracotta tiles.

Numbers of large water jars, complete or nearly so, scattered through the lowest meter and a half of filling, proved that this depth of rubbish had accumulated while the well was still in use. There was, besides the water pitchers, a good deal of household pottery: plates, saucers, bowls, cups, lamps, etc. and not a few fragments of large wine amphorae and roof tiles. A small lead weight (IL 59) had also fallen in, and a lead lid for a small container (IL 60). All this must have gathered within a limited number of years, for there is no consistent difference in point of development

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the material examined in this paper, the terracotta figurines and the wine amphorae with stamped handles which came from these useful contexts may at some future date be studied with profit.

<sup>2</sup> The well lies 30 m. to the south of the Tholos.



Fig. 1. Well A from the Northeast



between the objects coming from the very bottom and 3.0 m. below the mouth. The objects from this lowest filling are numbered **A 1-69** in the following catalogue.

The filling, however, between 1.50 m. and 3.0 m. below the top of the well-head was clearly different. The water pitchers were lacking. Indeed the pottery was scanty and very fragmentary. It includes **A 70-79**. On the whole, the pottery of this layer is slightly later than that from the lower; as shown best by the presence in the upper of the Megarian bowls of which not a sherd was found in the lower. We may suppose that this upper meter and a half was thrown in sometime after, though not long after, the well ceased to be used, probably when the house itself was finally abandoned. The sherds immediately overlying the house-floor close around the well-head are contemporary with those from the upper of the two fillings just described.

A rough stone slab was placed over the mouth of the well and it lay there undisturbed until lifted by the excavators. The ground level round about gradually rose with gathering rubbish and some of this later accumulation filtered in through the crevices along the cover slab, filling the shaft to within half a meter of its top. The latest sherds from this infiltrated earth are of the third century A.D. (fragment of a late lamp of Type XXVII; a bit of Late Roman A ware).

A good clue to the date of the lowest deposit in this well is afforded by the numerous close correspondences between the objects recovered from it and those from the Chathy cemetery of Alexandria. The points of comparison will be indicated in the description of the individual objects. That cemetery appears to date from the foundation of the city; indeed many of the vases from its tombs were probably carried south with them by the first settlers. The definitely limited range among the objects themselves proves that the burial place continued in use for a limited and brief time. Breecia, therefore, seems well justified in supposing that the finds from the cemetery run down but little into the third century.<sup>1</sup> We shall, then, be not far wrong in dating the lowest filling of the well to the turn of the fourth and third centuries. The upper filling will be a few years later; for its precise dating there is no external evidence.

<sup>1</sup> E. Breecia, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes, musée d'Alexandrie; La Necropoli di Scintbi*, Cairo, 1912, pp. x and 190. Indeed, comparison of the pottery and lamps from Chathy with the latest of those from Olynthos (destroyed in 348 a.c.) would make one wonder whether the Chathy finds descend at all into the third century.

CATALOGUE OF GROUP A<sup>1</sup>

## BLACK-GLAZE WARE: A 1-37

## A 1 (P 1813) Plate at 4.0 m. Fig. 2

Heavy fabric. Low foot-ring. On the floor, within a triple band of ronletting, are six stamped palmettes joined by arcs of circles. Good black glaze. The stamping on this and A 70 is very similar in style to that of the large plates at Olynthos (*Olynthos*, V, pls. 157-159 *passim*).

W., 0.236 m. The rim is broken away all around.

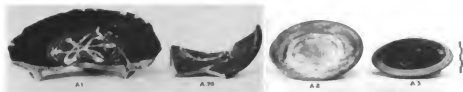


Fig. 2. Black-glaze Plates and Saucer from Group A

## A 2 (P 2878) Plate at 4.45 m. Fig. 2

Similar in profile to A 70, but thinner in rim and foot-ring. On the floor, a broad, rouletted band. The glaze fired red both inside and out, and has practically all flaked away.

H., 0.025 m. D., 0.149 m. Broken but complete save for a chip from the rim.

## A 3-5 (P 2879, 2867, 2868) Saucers with furrowed rims at 4.0-4.45 m. Figs. 2 and 117

Shallow; low foot-ring. The rim slopes down towards the outside and is marked by two deep furrows. Thin black glaze covers the floor inside the rim; elsewhere the surface is reserved. Similar saucers: C 2; E 22-32. A similar furrowed-lip profile occurs at Priene in the Hellenistic period (T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 412, fig. 554). A saucer of the same type from the Samian Heraeum shows an early profile, the furrowed lip being still quite level on top (*Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 45, fig. 33, 8).

H., 0.023-0.024 m. D., 0.124-0.132 m. All broken but nearly complete.

## A 6 (P 1833) Bowl with outrolled rim at 4.45 m.

Foot-ring carefully moulded; lip rolled sharply outward. On the floor are five stamped palmettes set within a triple band of ronletting. Thin black glaze, fired red inside the foot-ring and over part of the interior. For the profile cf. *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 41, fig. 32, 1.

H., 0.031 m. D., 0.091 m. Entire.

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used: D. = diameter, H. = height, P.H. = preserved height, W. = width, P.W. = preserved width.

**A 7** (P 1832) Bowl with outrolled rim at 4.45 m. Figs. 3 and 115

Similar in profile to the preceding. On the floor inside are five stamped palmettes set within a triple band of rouletting and joined by arcs of circles. Excellent black glaze covers both inside and outside save for a reserved band just above the foot and for the bottom of the foot-ring. Scratched in the hard glaze of the floor: ME. These are the initial letters of the owner's name: *Mēwv*. A cistern at the foot of the Areopagus yielded more of his table ware: the base of a kantharos marked MENQN (P 897) and of another with the letters EN (P 898). Close by were found other fragments of similar ware, one incised ME (P 307), another MI (P 308), and a third M (P 309). From elsewhere in the excavations are recorded three more fragments, each incised ME (P 40, 41, 119).

Very similar stamping occurs on a like bowl from Chathy (*Sciathí*, pl. LV1, 123: six palmettes of the same form as ours connected by *straight* lines'. The palmettes on ours are closely similar in shape to those on the latest black-glaze vases from Olynthos, but the arrangement of the design is simpler than on most of the Olynthian pieces (Cf. *Olynthus*, V, pls. 155–159 *passim*).

H., 0.042 m. D., 0.127 m. Entire.



Fig. 3. Black-glaze Bowls from Group A

**A 8** (P 2877) Bowl with outturned lip at 4.45 m.

The rim everted, but not rolled; the foot-ring high and plain. On the floor is a rouletted circle. Good black glaze covers inside and outside. A narrow band has been scratched bare just above the foot. On the bottom, inside the foot-ring, there are scratched through the hard glaze an *alpha* and a *pi*.

H., 0.038 m. D., 0.123 m. Broken but complete save for chips from the lip.

**A 9–13** (P 2864, 1816, 1815, 1817, 4050) Bowls with outcurved lips at 4.0–4.45 m. Figs. 3, 115 and 117

High base-ring; flaring side-wall tending to become more angular as the series advances. **A 9** is covered with good black glaze, fired to purple in part. Of **A 10** and **11** the glaze has all fired red and has flaked badly. On the floor of **A 9** there is a double circle of rouletting. On **A 13** there are stamped palmettes within rouletted circles (Fig. 115). Similar bowls: **A 71**, **72**; **C 3**; **D 2–6**; **E 33–44**. Closely similar is *Pergamon*, I, p. 269, No. 9, Beiblatt 35. For the profile cf. also fragments from Alexandria (R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II 3, Leipzig, 1913, fig. 158, 3, 4, 6).

H., 0.037–0.046 m. D., 0.12–0.16 m. All broken but nearly complete.

**A 14–18** (P 1834, 1818, 1835, 1837, 1836) Shallow bowls with incurved lips at 4.0–4.45 m. Figs. 3, 4 and 115

Heavy fabric; careful workmanship. Good black glaze. There are reserved lines on the bottom of the foot-ring and around its top. On the floors of **A 14** and **15** there are 4 stamped palmettes enclosed by rings of rouletting; on the floor of **A 15** there are 6 palmettes. The owner scratched his initial, a large *alpha*, through the glaze on the under-side of **A 15**. Similar shallow bowls were in common use at Olynthos in the first half of the fourth century. Cf. *Olynthus*, V,

pls. 151-156 *passim*. Comparison is made difficult by the lack of profile drawings. For the profiles cf. also pieces from Alexandria (*Exed. E. rei Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 158<sub>2</sub>) and from Samos (*Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 43, fig. 31<sub>1</sub>), both Attic imports.

Of **A 14**: H., 0.043 m. D., 0.135 m.; of **A 15**: H., 0.035 m. D., 0.122 m.; of **A 16**: H., 0.031 m. D., 0.101 m.; of **A 17**: H., 0.035 m. D., 0.113 m.; of **A 18**: H., 0.024 m. D., 0.086 m. All are complete save for **A 15** which lacks a fragment from its lip.

**A 19-21** (P 2865, 1830, 1831) Deep bowls with incurved lips at 4.0-4.45 m. Figs. 4 and 117

Similar in shape to the preceding group, but deeper. Heavy fabric, careful workmanship, good black glaze. Close parallels for **A 19** are to be found in Attic exports to Samos (*Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 43, fig. 31<sub>1</sub>) and to Alexandria (*Scanti*, pl. LV1, 117) and among the numerous small bowls of the earlier fourth century found at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, Nos. 872-878, pl. 175). A bowl with the same profile as **A 20** but with two horizontal handles is illustrated in *Scanti*, pl. LV1, 119 and 122.

Of **A 19**: H., 0.033 m. D., 0.07 m.; of **A 20**: H., 0.033 m. D., 0.113 m.; of **A 21**: H., 0.057 m. D., 0.109 m. Fragments are broken from the rim of **A 19**.

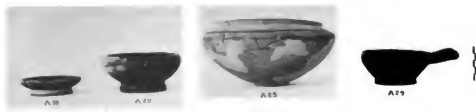


Fig. 4. Black-glaze Ware from Group A

**A 22** (P 2863) Deep bowl with incurved lip at 4.0-4.45 m.

The foot-ring is high and thin, the walls lighter than those of the preceding. The glaze is firm but has a metallic sheen.

H., 0.057 m. D., 0.140 m. Broken and lacking fragments from the side-wall.

**A 23** (P 2862) Deep bowl with incurved lip at 4.0-4.45 m.

Wall and foot-ring are massive. Inside and outside are covered with a dull black glaze, much flaked.

H., 0.096 m. Calculated D., 0.23 m. Only a small part of the bowl is preserved, but its profile is complete.

**A 24** (P 2866) Deep bowl with incurved lip and one handle at 4.0-4.45 m. Fig. 4

A horizontal loop handle is attached to the lip. The glaze is dull and mottled black and red. Cf. *Delphes*, V, p. 165, Nos. 320-326, fig. 691; from a tomb dated ca. 400 B.C. (probably much too early). In the first half of the fourth century such one-handled bowls were very popular at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, Nos. 865-912, pls. 178-181).

H., 0.048 m. D., 0.100 m. Broken but complete save for small chips.

**A 25** (P 2870) Lebes at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 4

The wall is remarkably light. Thin black glaze covers the inside and two narrow bands around the shoulder. For much the same shape in a smaller size cf. a rouge pot from Delphi (*Delphes*, V, p. 163, No. 339, fig. 691). The shape, of course, is reminiscent of the old classical lebes in terracotta, itself based on metal prototypes. Our piece, in its egg-shell thin and crisply laked fabric, is a successful copy of metal work but a most impractical vessel for everyday use.

H., 0.092 m. D., 0.196 m. Broken into many fragments of which some are missing.

**A 26** (P 1829) Skyphos at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

Low foot-ring; bulging shoulder; flaring lip. The glaze has fired bright red both inside and outside save around the missing handle, where it is black. It is of good quality. A base of another such skyphos came from the same lowest filling. A closely similar piece is illustrated in *Delphes*, V, p. 165, No. 316, fig. 687: from the tomb dated ca. 400 B.C. There is an exact parallel from the cemetery at Chatby (*Sciathi*, pl. LIV, 120). The half century's difference in time between the Olynthian skyphos of this shape and ours is marked by the greater contraction of the lower part and the decided bulge in the body of ours. Cf. *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 971–980, pl. 185.

H., 0.097 m. D., 0.094 m. One handle restored in plaster.

**A 27** (P 1828) Kantharos at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

The body is low and compact; the foot-ring carefully moulded. Plain spurs project from the tops of the handles. The glaze is dull and has fired red on the bottom and the lower part of the body. In shape our piece is identical with a kantharos from Chatby (*Sciathi*, No. 108, pl. LIV, 109). Cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 151. The black glaze kantharos of this general type was the popular drinking cup of the first half of the fourth century at Olynthos. The earlier date of the Olynthian specimens gives them a squatter, more compact shape, a foot more carefully moulded and broader in proportion to the total width of the vase and, more commonly, a heavy moulded lip, based closely on metallic prototypes. Cf. *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 505–532, pls. 148–150.

H., 0.086 m. D., 0.088 m. Entire, save for the tip of one handle.

**A 28** (P 2876) Kantharos at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

Similar in shape to the preceding. Its glaze has fired red both inside and out around the foot-ring and lower part of the body.

H., 0.101 m. D., 0.098 m. Broken and lacking a fragment from the lip.

**A 29** (P 1819) Kantharos at 4.50 m. Fig. 5

Its form is more slender than that of the preceding. Covered inside and outside with a dull black glaze which has completely flaked away over part of one side. A narrow band of glaze was scratched away from both the inside and outside of the foot. *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 147 is an exact parallel from Alexandria. Another from the Samian Heraeum: *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1923, p. 46, fig. 34, 2. For the shape cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 23, fig. 31c.

H., 0.11 m. D., 0.083 m. Broken and lacking parts from lip and side-wall.

**A 30** (P 2860) Kantharos at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 5

An almost cylindrical cup standing on a moulded foot-ring. Shallow grooves were run on the wheel around waist and lip. The handles are of the vertical strap variety, spurred each with a plastic mask. Dull black glaze almost completely flaked away. Identical vases were found in the cemetery at Chatby (*Sciathi*, pl. LI, 94; pl. LII, 101). Cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 148 and Baur, *The Standard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases*, New Haven, 1922, No. 213, fig. 47.

H., 0.116 m. D., 0.092 m. Mended from many pieces and lacking large parts of the side-wall.

**A 31** (P 2859) Kantharos at 4.0-4.45 m. Fig. 5

Similar to the preceding in shape. The handles are spurred with plastic ivy leaves. Thin black glaze scratched away from a single groove around the body.

H., 0.114 m. D., 0.102 m. Fragments are missing from the side-walls.

**A 32** (P 4098) Kantharos at 4.0 m. Fig. 5

Moulded base-ring; open mouth; strap handles spurred with plastic ivy leaves. Dull black glaze scratched away from a line around the body and another around the base-ring.

H., 0.072 m. D., 0.112 m. One handle and much of the side-wall restored in plaster.



Fig. 5. Black-glaze Drinking Cups and Pitchers from Group A

**A 33-35** (P 1822, 1821, 1820) Kantharoi at 4.0 m. Fig. 5

Ovoid body; surmounted by a vertical neck with a slightly inset lip. The foot-ring is plain and heavy. Vertical strap handles. On A 33 and 34 there is a wheel-run groove around the body. Dull, black glaze which has almost completely flaked from A 35. There is a fragment of another such kantharos from the same depth. This same shape occurs in the Agora with West Slope decoration. A somewhat similar shape is found at Priene (*Priene*, p. 422, No. 69, fig. 540).

Of A 33: H., 0.12 m. D., 0.103 m.; of A 34: H., 0.115 m. D., 0.099 m.; of A 35: H., 0.104 m. D., 0.129 m. One handle is broken from each of A 34 and A 35.

**A 36** (P 1823) Oinochoe at 4.0 m. Fig. 5

Ovoid body; plain foot-ring; lip broadly flaring and pinched in at the two sides. The handle is triangular in section and terminates above in a spur projecting into the throat. Thin black glaze somewhat flaked. Cf. the plain pitchers A 48 and 49. Close parallels are to be found from

the tombs of Chatby (*Sciabti*, No. 95, pl. XLIX, 78 [in plain black glaze]; Nos. 93 and 96, pl. XLIX, 76 and 79 [black glaze with a gilded wreath around the neck and with reeding on the lower body]). The form of ours (and of the Chatby examples) is a little plumper and obviously earlier than that of a series of pitchers of closely similar shape, but in falence, that bear figures in relief and the names of Egyptian rulers, beginning with Ptolemy Philadelphus (Breccia, *Cat. Gén. du Musée d'Alexandrie: Inscriptions grecs et latines*, pp. iii ff.; Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 118 ff.; 207 ff., pls. XXXI and XXXII. Especially useful for comparison is the vase bearing the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus [284–247 B.C.] illustrated by Pagenstecher, *l. c.* pls. XXXI and XXXII). For the shape cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, fig. 144, b<sub>1</sub> and b<sub>2</sub>.

H., 0.195 m. D., 0.138 m. Chips missing from the lip are restored in plaster.

**A 37** (P 2882) Oinochoe at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

Low foot-ring; low, plump body; trefoil mouth. Dull, purple glaze covers the inside and two broad bands around the body.

H., 0.225 m. D., 0.164 m. Broken into many pieces of which several from the lip and side-wall are lacking.



Fig. 6. West Slope Ware and a Kernos from Group A

**WEST SLOPE WARE: A 38–39**

**A 38** (P 1812) Saucer with furrowed rim at 4.0 m. Figs. 6 and 117

Similar in shape to A 3, but more delicate. Inside and outside were covered with black glaze of fair quality. From the channels on the rim it was scratched away. On the floor a wreath of short-stemmed ivy leaves in thinned clay, interspersed with berries rendered by dots of white paint. In the middle of the floor a circular line of glaze was removed by the foot of another vase stacked here for firing.

H., 0.024 m. D., 0.128 m. Mended from several pieces and lacking part of the side-wall.

**A 39** (P 2861) Kantharos at 4.0–4.35 m. Fig. 6

An almost cylindrical cup standing on a low foot-ring. There is a trace of a vertical strap handle. The upper part of the wall as preserved is filled with a group of diminishing rectangles

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done in thinned clay and bounded below by one, above by two wheel-run grooves. The glaze is dull black, fired in places to red. Diminishing rectangles appear in the same position on a kantharos found at Delphi (*Delphes*, V, p. 173, No. 389, fig. 719); rectangles alternating with checkerboard on a piece from Aegina (*Aegina*, pl. 130<sub>b</sub>). From one of the pits in the Stoa of Attalos there is a fragment from the lip of a similar kantharos with the same decoration. For kantharoi of similar shape but with different decorative schemes cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 78f., Nos. 25 and 26; p. 91.

Il., 0.113 m. D., 0.098 m. Only the base and a small segment of the side-wall are preserved.

**A 40** (P 2869) Kernos at 4.0 m. Fig. 6

A sharp-edged flange doubly pierced on either side encircles the middle. The lip flares sharply. Fine buff clay retaining traces of white paint on the outside. Similar kernoi: **B 9**, 10, 26, 29.

Il., 0.058 m. D., 0.091 m. The stem and foot and chips from the upper part are missing.

**LAMPS: A 41-47**

**A 41** (L 859) Lamp, Type VIIa at 4.0 m. Fig. 7

Without handle. Its thin black glaze has almost completely flaked away. Another lamp of the same type: **B 38**. Lamps of this shape, with or without the side knob, form one of the two types found in great numbers at Châtly, the other type being a simple saucer with its side-wall pinched in to make a beak. The second type was undoubtedly local; the first is distinctly Greek and many specimens of it must have been carried to Alexandria by the earliest settlers. We thus gain a good clue to the date of the type (*Sciaté*, pp. 76f.; pl. LVII). Nor is our specimen far removed in shape from some of the later lamps from Olynthos (*Olynthos*, II, pp. 111 ff.; Series 7, Nos. 71-88, figs. 305-307; V, pp. 279 ff., Group X, Nos. 106-124, pl. 203). The rim of ours is slightly broader and the filling hole proportionately smaller than on the Olynthian lamps.

L., 0.08 m. W., 0.056 m. H., 0.038 m. Entire.

**A 42-44** (L 860, 862, 863) Lamps, Type VIIb at 4.0-4.45 m. Fig. 7

Heavy walls; low base; one or more wheel-run grooves around the filling-hole. The inside is glazed, the outside lightly slipped and polished. Much of the slip has flaked from **A 42**. These lamps are very close in shape and fabric to those of the very latest type found at Olynthos (mostly of Attic manufacture: *Olynthos*, II, p. 143, Nos. 89 and 90, fig. 307; V, pp. 282 ff., Group 9, Nos. 125-133, pl. 201).

Of **A 42**: L., 0.092 m. W., 0.071 m. H., 0.046 m.

Of **A 43**: L., 0.091 m. W., 0.069 m. H., 0.046 m.

Of **A 44**: L., 0.091 m. W., 0.066 m. H., 0.043 m.

A fragment is missing from the side-wall of **A 44**.

**A 45** (L 861) Lamp, Type VIII at 4.0 m. Fig. 7

Around the edge of the "discus" is a shallow groove. On the left side was a pierced knob. No trace of handle. The inside glazed, the outside polished. Cf. Broneer, No. 157, pl. III.

L., 0.083 m. W., 0.05 m. H., 0.034 m. The tip of the nozzle and most of the side-knob are broken away.

<sup>1</sup> The types as given in the catalogue are those established by Oscar Broneer in *Corinth*, IV II: *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930.



**A 42 (L 1566) Lamp** at 4.0-4.5 m. Fig. 7  
 The side-wall is almost vertical; the rim is broad and flat, rising slightly toward the middle. Around the filling hole it terminates in a depressed shoulder, and it is set off from the side-wall by a groove. On the side is a pierced knob. Thin black glaze covers the inside; the outside is polished, but unglazed.  
 L., 0.058 m. Only a fragment from the top and side is preserved.



Fig. 7. Lamps from Group A

**A 47 (L 1216) Lamp, Type IX at 4.45 m. Fig. 7**

An angular side-wall; a flat-topped nozzle; a single groove around the filling-hole. Inside and outside are covered with glaze which has fired purple on top. The glaze was scratched away from the bottom of the groove. Cf. Broneer, No. 141, fig. 69 and No. 112, pl. IV.

L., ca. 0.059 m. Only a fragment from the top remains.

**PLAIN WARE: A 48-63****A 48 (P 2881) Water pitcher at 4.45 m. Fig. 8**

Similar in shape to the black-glaze pitcher A 36. Gritty, buff clay, unglazed. Around the neck, a garland of ivy leaves and berries in black glaze that has almost completely disappeared. H., 0.270 m. D., 0.169 m. Broken but complete.

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**A 49** (P 1838) Water pitcher at 4.45 m.

Similar to the preceding in shape, but undecorated. The clay is light yellow in color and contains much grit and many white particles.

H., 0.185 m. D., 0.181 m. The front part of the mouth is broken away.



Fig. 8. Water Pitchers and Cooking Vessels from Group A

**A 50** (P 2872) Water pitcher at 4.45 m. Fig. 8

Bulbous body drawn in to a slender neck. The handle is round in section in its middle part. The lip has been restored on the analogy of a similar vase from another well. Buff, gritty clay.

H., as restored, 0.175 m. D., 0.180 m. The front of the lip and fragments from the side-wall are restored in plaster.

**A 51** (P 1824) Water pitcher at 4.0 m. Fig. 8

The neck is thick; the mouth broad; the handle rises well above the lip. Made of buff clay containing not a little grit and mica. On the front are marks left by the fingers of the maker before the clay hardened.

H., 0.238 m. D., 0.171 m. Small fragments are lacking from the lip.

**A 52** (P 2874) Water pitcher at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 8

The bottom is flat; the body slender; the lip flares slightly. A strap handle rises high above the lip. Gritty clay, yellowish green in color. A similar pitcher: **B 12**.

H., 0.202 m. D., 0.147 m. Broken into many fragments, some of which are lacking.

**A 53–55** (P 2873, 1825, 2883) Water pitchers at 4.0 and 4.45 m. Fig. 8

The base is flat and but slightly offset from the side-wall. Ovoid body; tall, cylindrical neck; rolled lip; strap handle. A ridge encircles the neck at the level of the upper attachment of the handle. Buff clay containing grit and white particles. There are fragments of perhaps a score more of such pitchers from the bottom of the well. A similar pitcher: **B 39**. Several closely similar jugs were found recently in a Hellenistic tomb on Aegina. *Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 274 ff., fig. 35. The names painted above the individual burial places prove that two Thracians were among those interred. These were perhaps Thracian hostages or captives resulting from the Thracian campaign of Attalos II in 114 a.c. The dating by the mouths of the Macedonian-Pergamene calendar provides a *terminus ante quem* at 133 a.c. when Aegina passed into the hands of Rome by the will of Attalos III.

Of **A 53**: H., 0.328 m. D., 0.199 m. Of **A 54**: H., 0.283 m. D., 0.168 m. Of **A 55**: H., 0.260 m. D., 0.171 m. All three are broken but nearly complete.

**A 56** (P 1839) Plain pelike at 4.45 m. Fig. 8

Plain foot-ring; concave collar around the mouth. Russet clay, gritty and micaceous. Similar pelikai of plain ware (locally made) have been found also at Olynthos (*Olynthos*, V, No. 635, pl. 160).

H., 0.207 m. D., 0.15 m. Fragments are missing from the lip.

**A 57** (P 2884) One-handled cooking pot at 4.45 m. Fig. 8

Bulbous body; broad round mouth with angular rim; strap handle. Coarse gritty clay, deep red in color but much blackened by fire. Similar cooking pot: **C 69**.

H., 0.208 m. D., 0.199 m. Parts of the side-wall restored in plaster.

**A 58** (P 2875) Casserole lid at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 8

A plain, convex lid with a small knob on top. Coarse gritty clay blackened by exposure to fire. Similar lids: **D 73–75**, **E 146–148**.

H., 0.019 m. D., 0.212 m. Broken but complete save for a couple of small fragments.

**A 59** (P 4055) Lekane at 4.45 m. Fig. 122

Heavy foot-ring; practically straight sides; broad flat rim. Gritty, buff clay covered on the inside with red paint, daubs of which appear also on the outside.

H., 0.069 m.; estimated D., 0.23 m. About one-quarter of the vase is preserved, showing the complete profile.

**A 60-62** (P 4056-4058) Rim fragments of iekanaï. **A 60** and **61** are from 4.45 m.; **A 62** from 4.0 m. Fig. 122

One may judge of the complete wall profile from **A 59**. The clay of all the pieces is coarse, somewhat gritty, and buff in color. **A 62** is covered with brown glaze inside and out; **A 60** on the inside and the top of the rim only. The other pieces are unglazed.

**A 63** (P 4062) Wall fragment from a lekane at 4.0 m.

From a steep-walled basin. While the clay was still soft, its inner surface was corrugated by means of a comb-like instrument. The entire surface was combed up and down; only bands were done horizontally. Coarse, buff clay, unglazed. Similar treatment of wall: **C 68**, **E 122** (Fig. 100).

H., 0.073 m. W., 0.130 m. Broken all around.

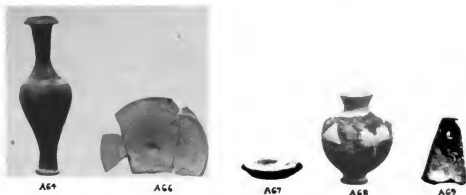


Fig. 9. Scale 1:3

#### MISCELLANEOUS: **A 64-69**

**A 64-65** (P 1826, 1827) Fusiform unguentaria at 4.0 m. Fig. 9

Thin wall; well-turned lip and foot. The clay has fired from a dirty gray to a dull red in color. No trace of paint. Similar unguentaria: **B 6** and **7**, **44**; **C 76** and **77**; **D 77** and **78**; **E 137** and **138**.

Of **A 64**: H., 0.15 m. D., 0.048 m. (broken through neck, but complete); of **A 65**: H., 0.075 m. D., 0.028 m.

**A 66** (P 2880) Saucer at 4.45 m. Fig. 9

It is little more than a flat disc, its edges raised slightly. On its underside are deep marks left in the removal from the wheel. Fine, buff clay, unglazed.

D., 0.103 m. Broken and lacking much of one side.

**A 67** (P 1814) Miniature saucer at 4.0 m. Fig. 9

Flat bottom; steep walls; sharply outturned rim; two vertical strap handles. Roughly made. Fine, buff clay, unglazed.

H., 0.013 m. D., 0.051 m. Entire.

**A 68** (P 2871) Amphoriskos of "Blister Ware" at 4.0-4.45 m. Fig. 9

A small fusiform jar with sharply defined foot and two lugs on the shoulder. The clay is slate-gray inside, fired to a dull orange on the surface of both interior and exterior. Around the body are two bands of black paint; on the shoulder, one broad and several narrow bands.

H., 0.071 m. D., 0.067 m. The mouth is restored in plaster.

**A 69** (MC 104) Loom-weight at 4.0-4.45 m. Fig. 9

A truncated pyramid in shape, pierced near the top. Fine, buff clay, covered, on the upper part only, with reddish glaze. A similar weight: **B 13**.

H., 0.067 m. W. of bottom, 0.042 m. Somewhat chipped.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FROM THE UPPER FILLING: **A 70-79****A 70** (P 2858) Plate at 3.0 m.<sup>1</sup> Figs. 2 and 116

Heavy fabric; low foot-ring; thickened rim. On its floor, a single circle of rosetting. Glaze of good quality, fired red on floor. The plate is similar in fabric and profile to those in use at Olynthos in the first half of the fourth century. Cf. *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 609-625, pls. 157-159.

Calculated D., 0.190 m. H., 0.029 m. About one-third preserved.

**A 71-72** (P 2857, 4051) Bowls with outcurved lips at 3.0 m. Figs. 3, 115 and 117

Similar in shape to **A 9-13**, but coarser. Inferior glaze, mottled black and purple, flaked. On the floor of **A 72** is a rouletted circle enclosing free-standing palmettes, of which two remain (Fig. 115). Fragments of several more such bowls were found at this depth.

Of **A 71**: H., 0.045 m. D., 0.125 m.; of **A 72**: P.W. 0.097 m. **A 71** is broken but practically complete; of **A 72** there remains only part of the base.

**A 73** (P 4052) Fragments from the mouth of a West Slope kantharos at 3.0 m. Fig. 10

A garland of pointed pendants rendered in thinned clay was suspended between the handles. On the wall above, a horizontal line in white paint. Cf. **B 21**: a similar but earlier kantharos.

Several more small fragments of West Slope Ware, two of them showing incision, were found in the same upper filling. For the pointed pendants on kantharoi cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 19, No. 3; *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 39, 2 and 3; *Exped. E. von Sieghin*, II 3, fig. 34, 11 and 15. Such bands of pointed pendants are found on the necks of black-glaze hydria or Attic origin found at Alexandria. The shape and fabric of these hydria place them among the earliest Greek vases from the new foundation; certainly they must belong to the late fourth

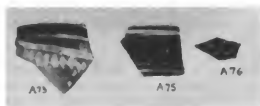


Fig. 10. West Slope and Megarian Bowl Sherds from Group A. Scale ca. 2:5

<sup>1</sup> Although the recorded depth of this piece is 3.0 m., it may well belong with the lower filling.

century (*Sciatibi*, No. 41, pl. XXXVI, 44; *Exped. E. von Siegm.*, II 3, p. 16, fig. 22 c). The same motive is to be found in the necklace-like garlands rendered in gold on the necks of silver vessels (*Ann. d. Inst.* XII, 1840, pl. B 16; C 4 and 7. Cf. Walzinger, *Arch. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 92 ff.).

H., 0.051 m. W., 0.035 m.

**A 74** (P 1811) Megarian bowl with floral decoration at 3.0 m. Figs. 11 a and b

The bowl is deep and well rounded below. In the medallion, an 8-petalled rosette enclosed by two grooves from the bottom of the outer of which the glaze has been scratched away. On



Fig. 11 a. **A 74**

the outer circle stands a line of scale-like leaves. From the same circle spring nine long petals, which may be based on those of the *nymphaea lotus*,<sup>1</sup> dividing the side-wall into as many panels.

<sup>1</sup> On the place of the lotus in Egyptian and Greek art see L. Borchardt, *Die ägyptische Pflanzenwelt*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 3 ff., 12 ff.; T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904 (H. Zahn), p. 413; F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à Reliefs*, Paris, 1922 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 125), p. 434; M. Möblus, *Jahrb.* XLV111, 1933, pp. 25 f., fig. 15.

In each of the panels rises a fruit-laden spray of grape-vine, no two of which are identical. The upper zone consists of a band of quadruple spirals separated by rosettes, a band of double spirals and another of miniature sprays. The lip flares slightly and beneath it on the outside the glaze was scratched away, in a thin line exposing the miltos that had been applied over the surface of the clay. The glaze is a good glossy black, but it has flaked somewhat on one side. In the elegance of its design and the precision of rendering this bowl is unexcelled in our collection. For similar design cf. C 16, 17, 38. Watzinger (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 61, No. 8) illustrates a fragment of a closely similar bowl found in Athens. On the general type (*Bols à décor végétal et*

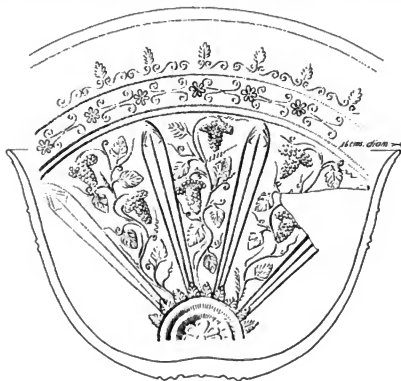


Fig. 11 b. A 74. Scale 2:3

*floral*) cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 49, No. 3; Courby, pp. 334 ff. A striking parallel to this and the two similar bowls (C 16 and 17) is to be found in a glass bowl in the collection of Baron Rothschild, acquired in Palestine (P. Willeumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, Paris, 1930, pp. 29-31, pls. XI, XII). Its profile is identical with that of A 74. Its medallion is centered with an 8-petaled rosette from around which spring alternating acanthus leaves and pointed, heavily ribbed lotus petals. Between each leaf and petal springs a plant with long, wavy stem and many flowers. The upper zone consists of a band of meander between two lines of lozenges. All the ornament is rendered in gold leaf on a background of deep blue. Its publisher (*l. c.* p. 30) suggests a date, with good reason, in the first half of the third century.

11, 0.089 m. D., 0.155 m. Mended from many fragments, and lacking a large part of the side-wall.

**A 75-76** (P 4053, 4054) Fragments from Megarian bowls at 3.0 m. Fig. 10

**A 75** comes from the lip. Of the upper zone there remains a row of tiny sprays. **A 76** preserves the scale-like leaves from around a base medallion. Of both the glaze is dull but firm and both may be from the same bowl.

**A 77-79** (P 4059-4061) Rim fragments of lekanai at 3.0 m. Fig. 122

The clay is coarse; of **A 77** buff in color, of **A 78** and **79** greenish-yellow. **A 77** is covered with flaky brown glaze on the inside and on the top of the rim. The other two are unglazed. Cf. **A 60-62**.

## GROUP B

## THE CISTERN

Where the northern slopes of the Areopagus begin to level out, there is a network of underground water reservoirs intended to supply the private houses of classical times which must have stood there to the south of the public market-square. A number of cisterns and chains of cisterns were cleared in the spring of 1932, and were found to have been filled up at various times between the end of the fourth century a.c. and the first century a.d.

As a specimen, we choose one which consisted of two slender, flask-shaped chambers connected with one another and with a cylindrical draw-shaft by means of tunnels (Fig. 12). Storage capacity was increased by blind tunnels, one running off from the draw-shaft, another from the southern chamber. The entire interior was covered with a single coat of waterproof plaster. The system went out of use section by section, no doubt because of the repeated caving-in of the soft bedrock in which it was cut. Thus the blind tunnel leading off from the draw-shaft was first shortened 0.50 m. by a wall of field stones set in clay and carefully plastered on the face toward the shaft. Later, the entire tunnel was blocked off by a similar wall set in the side of the shaft. About the same time, the southern chamber was dispensed with and the mouth of the passage leading to the north chamber was carefully walled, the one plastered face of the wall looking toward the northern chamber. Some rubbish would seem to have been thrown into the abandoned southern chamber, but later, perhaps because it was proposed to use this chamber for dry storage, the rubbish was shovelled into the blind tunnel and the mouth of that tunnel closed with a carelessly built wall of loose field stones. Some years later, the chamber was finally abandoned and filled in with earth. In the meantime, the passageway connecting the two chambers was sacrificed and its remaining mouth closed by a wall looking into the northern chamber. We cannot say what caused the final abandonment of the reservoir: some alteration in the overlying house, the provision of another source of water supply? In any case the northern chamber and the draw-shaft were eventually filled with earth, at the same time, apparently, as the southern chamber was finally abandoned.



As we should expect, the objects from the blind passage of the southern chamber (B 1-7) appear to be slightly earlier than those from the chamber itself (B 8-14). Between those from the blind passage leading from the draw-shaft (B 46-48) and those from the shaft itself (B 35-45) there must be but little temporal difference. Although the northern chamber would seem to have been filled at the same time as the southern and the draw-shaft, yet for greater precision its objects (B 15-34) have been listed separately.

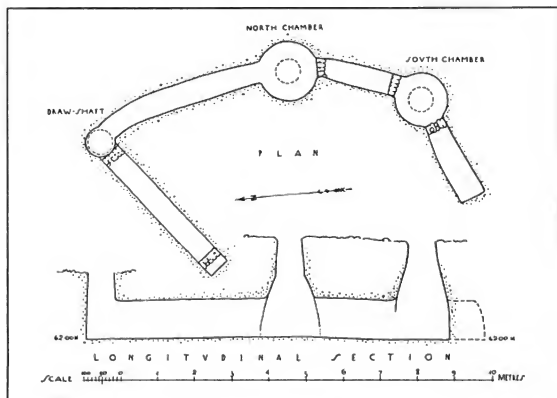


Fig. 12. Cistern B

In addition to the objects to be discussed below, it may be noted that the blind passage of the southern chamber yielded also a finely modelled, terracotta male head (T 313), a terracotta female head (T 314), a mould for the head of a dog (T 317) and several fragments from terracotta figurines (T 315, 318). Three bronze coins found in the tunnel all disintegrated in the cleaning.

From the southern chamber there came more evidence of a nearby coroplast's shop: fragments of some eleven terracotta figurines (T 290, 292, 294, 296, 297, 299, 300, 303, 304, 308, 309) and of five moulds for terracotta figurines (T 293, 295, 305, 338, 339), one for the torso of a cuirassed warrior being quite complete. From here too came

five large wine amphorae (P 1112-1114, SS 370, 371) of which one bore a Rhodian stamp and the others are of uncertain origin. Mingled with the upper filling of the chamber were not a few fragments of Geometric, Proto-corinthian and Proto-attic vases which were undoubtedly thrown up when the votive deposit overlying the house of Geometric times a few meters to the south was for a second time disturbed (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.). A glass bead was also found in clearing the chamber (G 14). Of seven bronze coins from the filling, four disintegrated in the cleaning process, one is illegible, and the remaining two, though very badly worn, appear to show a head of Athena, r., on the obverse, a double-bodied owl on the reverse, and to be of a type assigned to the early third century B.C. (Cf. Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 22, Nos. 35 ff.)<sup>1</sup>

From the northern of the two large chambers we may note, in addition to the objects listed below, two small bone rings (B 35, 36), a fragment from a marble statuette of a girl (S 215) and a couple of black-glaze sherds with graffiti (P 580, 633). Nor are the coins from this chamber more helpful: of ten bronze pieces, two disintegrated while being cleaned, the rest proved to be illegible.

The draw-shaft yielded, besides its pottery, a fragment of a female figurine in terracotta (T 170), a plain bronze ring (B 46) and four bronze coins. One of these is quite illegible. A second is probably an Athenian piece of Greek times. A third is of a type assigned by Svoronos (*Trésor*, pl. 22, No. 76) to the period 297-265 B.C., though perhaps somewhat earlier, and the fourth bears the name of Eleusis and its symbols: Triptolemos in a carriage, a pig standing on a *bakchos* (Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 103, No. 27).

For the dating of the material from the blind tunnel of the south chamber (B 1-7) the two r. f. pelikai, B 1 and 2, are most significant. Comparison with similar pieces from Olynthos, Chabty and South Russia suggests for them a date around 325 B.C. The circumstances of finding make it probable that all the vases from this filling once stood in the same "china closet" and reached the cistern at the same time. Even if we grant that the pelikai may have had a useful life of a few years, we may still suppose that the filling occurred in the closing years of the fourth century. If one may judge from the quality of its fabric and glaze, the pottery from the north and south chambers and the draw-shaft should not be much later in date than the group just discussed. Yet the coins from the southern chamber and the draw-shaft prove that they were open at least into the early third century. For their final closing up we may suggest a date in the first half of that century, perhaps about half way along. The objects from the blind passage of the draw-shaft (B 46-48) may be placed between the dates suggested for the two groups above.

<sup>1</sup> Jean N. Svoronos, *Trésors de la numismatique grecque ancienne; Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Munch, 1921-1926.

## CATALOGUE OF GROUP B

**B 1** (P 1104) Red-figure pelike. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 13 a and b

Moulded base-ring; handles triangular in cross-section.

A: the head of a veiled woman, r. Behind her, to the r., is a horse's head, r., to the l., a griffin's protome r.

B: two cloaked figures, facing; one holding a mirror. The scene on either side is bounded, above and below, by a band of egg-and-dot. A similar band encircles the down-turned lip.



Fig. 13 a. **B 1.** Obverse



Fig. 13 b. **B 1.** Reverse

Drawing and painting rude and sketchy. Remains of white paint on the horse's bridle, the veil, the woman's neck. Traces of dilute glaze over-painting. Glaze thin, mottled and flaking. Inside glazed to shoulder. Abandoning the old view that scenes such as that on the obverse of this vase were intended as abbreviated representations of combats between griffins and barbarians, Schefold has recently shown reason to believe that the female head is really that of a goddess, probably Aphrodite (Karl Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pp. 147 ff.

Baur supposed that an Amazon is represented walking beside her horse: *Stoddard Collection*, comment on Nos. 136 and 137). For further discussion of this and the following vase cf. below pp. 427 ff.

H., 0.28 m. D., 0.168 m. Much of the lip and side-wall are missing and have been restored.

- B 2** (P 1105) Red-figure pelike. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 14 a and b, 114  
Similar to the preceding in shape, fabric and decoration.

H., 0.28 m. D., 0.168 m. Much is missing from side-wall and base; restored in plaster.



Fig. 14 a. **B 2**. Obverse



Fig. 14 b. **B 2**. Reverse

- B 3** (P 1106) West Slope amphora. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 15 and 16

Low, flaring base-ring; squat body; high neck slightly concave; twisted handle with a circle of thinned clay around each point of attachment. Glossy, black glaze fired to red over much of one side. On either side of the neck between the handles a garland of ivy is suspended. Around the shoulder runs a garland. Toward the handles it is of grape-vine, with leaves, flowers and fruit. In its middle there is a band of wave pattern above two dotted lines surmounted by three dolphins with point rosettes between. The whole design was executed in thinned clay, save that on one

the waves were filled with white paint (which has left nothing but a stain); on the other side seem only to have been outlined. The glaze was scratched away from lines around the top of the neck and around the middle of the base-ring.  
H., 0.21 m. D., 0.178 m. One handle and parts of the wall are restored in plaster.

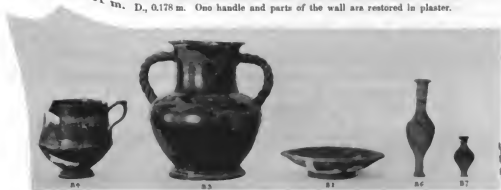


Fig. 15

**B 4 (P 1107) West Slope kantharos.** From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Fig. 15

Moulded base-ring; shallow bowl; upper wall slightly inclined; strap handles each with a plastic ivy leaf on its top. On either side, suspended between the handles, a garland of ivy with stems, leaves and berries rendered in thinned clay. Metallic black glaze scratched away from lines around the base-ring and at the junction of bowl and upper wall. Cf. **B 22**. It is rare to find an ivy wreath rendered with such precision and without the use of white paint. There is a fragment from the West Slope of a bowl with a somewhat similar garland, its stem, however, done in white (*Arch. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 71, No. 8 a); the lower part of the bowl was shaped in a mould for Megarian bowls.

H., 0.118 m. D., 0.11 m. One handle and much of the side-wall is missing.

**B 5 (P 1109) Plate.** From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 15 and 116

Plain base-ring; broad flat lip. Red glaze somewhat flaked. A similar profile from the Samian Heraeum: *Arch. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 45, fig. 33.

H., 0.037 m. D., 0.16 m. Slightly restored in plaster.



Fig. 16. **B 3.** West Slope Amphora. From a Restoration in Water-color. Scale 1 : 3.5

**B 6** (P 1108) Fusiform unguentarium. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Fig. 15

Moderately plump. Red clay fired gray on the surface. Traces of white bands: one on the neck, one on the shoulder and one around the body. Similar unguentaria: **A 64, 65; B 7; C 76 and 77; D 77 and 78; E 137 and 138.**

H., 0.15 m. D., 0.045 m. Much of one side is missing.

**B 7** (P 4095) Fusiform unguentarium. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Fig. 15

Very plump; thin-walled and carefully made. Hard, red clay fired gray on the surface. There is one band of white paint on the shoulder.

H., 0.039 m., D., 0.032 m. Mouth and much of side-wall restored in plaster.



Fig. 17

**B 8** (P 4096) West Slope kantharos. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

The upper wall gently concave; the handle a broad strap from whose top a thumb-rest has been broken away. The handles are bordered on either side by hanging ribbons and a head of grain rendered in yellow and white. Between the beads of grain there is a band of wave pattern outlined in thinned clay, filled with white paint. In the field, yellow dolphins alternate with white dot rosettes. For the scheme of decoration cf. the shoulder of the amphorae **B 3 and 35;** the kantharos **D 29;** *Att. Mit.* XXVI, 1901, p. 71, 8 b; a fragment from the upper wall of a bowl of which the lower part was moulded; *C. F. A. Payne-Bes, Musée Scheyrster*, fasc. II, III L & N, pl. I, 6; a kantharos with spurred handles and with dolphins above a band of white strokes.

H., 0.070 m. D. of mouth, 0.095 m. There remain part of the upper wall and one handle.

**B 9** (P 1110) Fragment of a kernos. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

A small bowl with flaring lip; around its middle, a broad flange on which one horizontal handle is preserved. Behind the handle the flange is doubly pierced. Fine, buff clay retaining traces of white paint inside and outside. Similar kernoi: **A 40; B 10, 28, 29.**

Maximum W., 0.061. Only a fragment from the side-wall remains.

**B 10** (P 4097) Fragment of a kernos. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

A shallow bowl with broad horizontal flange above which the vertical rim is broken away. At the break there remains a trace of a small hole pierced through the flange. Fine, buff clay covered with blue paint.

Calculated D., 0.18 m. A fragment from the lip remains.

**B 11** (L 650) Lamp, Type VII b. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

The outside reserved; the inside covered with red glaze. Similar lamps: **A 42-44**; **B 30**.

Only a fragment from the front part remains.

**B 12** (P 1115) Water pitcher. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

Flat bottom; slender body; round mouth; high strap handle. Buff clay containing white particles and grit. Undoubtedly from the same workshop as **A 52**, although the clay has fired to a different shade.

H., 0.23 m. D., 0.14 m. Fragments are missing from lip and wall.

**B 13** (MC 108) Loom-weight. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

Truncated pyramid. Fine, buff clay showing no trace of glaze. A similar weight: **A 69**.

H., 0.066 m. W., 0.048 m.

**B 14** (MC 109) Loom-weight. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

Conical with contracted bottom; the bottom punctured in four places perhaps to facilitate firing. Buff clay retaining traces of brown glaze. Similar weights: **B 34, 45, 47**; **D 80**.

H., 0.089 m. D., 0.063 m.

**B 15** (P 4063) Bowl with incurved lip. From the north chamber. Figs. 18 and 115

High base-ring; shallow bowl with slightly incurved lip. On the floor there are four palmettes stamped within a circle of rouletting. Glaze mottled black and brown; scratched away from lines at junction of side-wall and base-ring and beneath base-ring. A similar bowl: **A 18**. Similar stamping on *Sciatbi*, No. 183, pl. LVI, 121. For the stamping cf. also *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 45, 3: a bowl with outcurved side-wall from the Samian Heraeum.

H., 0.033 m. D., 0.115 m. Chips are missing from the lip.

**B 16** (P 571) Lid of a small pyxis. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Straight-walled, flat on top. Covered on the outside only with dull, black glaze.

H., 0.014 m. D., 0.042 m. Entire.

**B 17-18** (P 740, 738) Kraters. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Carefully modelled foot; tall stem; deep bowl; gently concave upper wall; high-swung loop handles. Firm black glaze scratched away from a line around the foot. On the underside of the foot, a broad line was left reserved exposing the red miltos which covers the clay. A similar krater: **B 46**. Precisely this type occurs neither at Olynthos nor at Chatby. It is certainly

later in development than anything of the former site and possibly a little too late even for Chathy. For the same shape, with reeded lower wall, see Carl Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Tübingen, 1921, G 2, pl. 30.

Of **B 17**: H., 0.12 m. D., 0.078 m. One handle and much of the lip restored in plaster.

Of **B 18**: H., 0.128 m. D., 0.093 m. Both handles broken away.

**B 19** (P 581) West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Vertical strap handles; high concave upper wall. On either side between the handles, an ivy garland rendered in thinned clay. (Glossy black glaze fired to red in places and much flaked. An identical specimen from Chathy: *Scythia*, No. 103, pl. LIV, 108; cf. also Nos. 170 and 171, pl. LIV, 103 and 104. For the shape cf. *Exped. E. von Siegin*, II 3, fig. 114, 5.

H., 0.11 m. D., 0.08 m. The foot, the handles and much of the lip are missing.



Fig. 18. Black-glaze and West Slope Ware from Group B

**B 20** (P 739) West Slope krater. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Sharply profiled lip. Loop handles. The lower side-wall was reeded. Between the handles hang garlands of grape-vine: the stems, the leaves and the fruit rendered in thinned clay, the flowers in dots of white paint. Glossy black glaze. There is a close parallel in Frankfurt on which the inscription ΑΦΘΙΛΗ appears on the neck above the wreath (H. Schaaf, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt, 1923, pl. 59 e. Cf. below, **B 37**). A krater of the same shape but with a garland of ivy from the Samian Heraeum: *Atth. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 16, fig. 31. For the shape cf. also Banr, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 353, fig. 97. Save for the shortness of its stem, this piece is close to the metal prototypes of the krater on the Megarian bowl **C 38**.

D. of mouth, 0.112 m. Base and handles and much of the side-wall are broken away.

**B 21** (P 907) West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Moulded base-ring. High, straight side-walls. Broad strap handles with plastic ivy leaves for thumb grips. Between the handles hang garlands: on one side of pendant buds, on the other of ribbons and conventional flowers rendered in thinned clay. Metallic black glaze scratched away from three grooves around the base-ring and from one on its bottom. Cf. **A 73** and references there given.

H., 0.13 m. D., 0.124 m. One handle and much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

**B 22** (P 4064) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

Thin wall, gently concave. Around the neck, a garland of ivy, its leaves and stems rendered in thinned clay, its berries in white paint. Metallic black glaze. Cf. **B 4**.

H., 0.011 m. From the lip.



# TWO CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC POTTERY

339

**B 23** (P 4065) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19  
The upper wall was straight. Between the handles hung grape garlands: leaves, stems and fruit  
in thinned clay. In the field above, an inscription in the same medium: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.  
Metallé black glaze. For the decoration, cf. neck of **B 35** and Delphes, V, p. 173, No. 391, fig. 730.  
The names of deities appear not infrequently on these drinking cups (*γρηνματὰ τεύχεα*),  
illustrating the banquetting practice attested by Athenaeus, of naming the successive mixings of  
wine after various gods (XV, p. 692a): καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κἀτέρωτ' αὐτὸν πρὸς ἀνδράσιν καταναλωτὸν αὐτοῦ  
νοτίου. τὰν δὲ Διὸς Σωτήρος, ἄλλων δὲ Ὑγίης, καὶ ἱερῶν ἱερῶν τελευτῶνται, τοῖς τοῦτον τὰν  
καταναλωτὸν αὐτοῦ τὰν νοτίου τὸν καταναλωτὸν. Cf. Picard, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*,  
XXX, Rome, 1910, pp. 99 ff.; *Her. Arch.* 22, 1913, pp. 174 ff.; Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVIII, 1913,  
p. 198. To the five instances of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ noted by Wolters, i. e., add the present, a kantharos  
from Alexandria (Sciabé, No. 180, pl. LV, 115) and the krater, Wattinger, *Griechische Vasen in*  
*Tübingen*, G 2, pl. 50.  
H., 0.053 m. From the mouth.



Fig. 19. West Slope Sherds from Cistern B

**B 24** (P 634) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

Vertical upper wall, plain rim. Around the wall, a garland of leaves rendered in yellow with  
dotted flowers in white. In the field above, a fragmentary inscription in thinned clay ΕΡΜΟΥ.  
Metallé black glaze. This type of garland (probably a debased olive branch) is one of the more  
common motives of the West Slope repertoire (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 72, No. 10; pitcher; p. 78,  
No. 25; kantharos; Delphes, V, p. 173, No. 394, fig. 733; saucer; Sciabé, No. 170, pl. LIV, 105;  
kantharos; pl. LVI, 118; bowl). This is the first appearance known to me of Hermes among the  
divinities who appear on the *γρηνματὰ τεύχεα* (cf. note on **B 23**).

P.H., 0.043 m. W., 0.057 m. From the upper wall.

**B 25** (P 4066) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

The upper wall is gently concave. The handles are joined by a garland of olive from which  
ribbons are draped. The whole is rendered in thin clay. Firm black glaze.

P.H., 0.073 m. From the mouth.

**B 26** (P 4067) Fragment of a West Slope bowl. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

Steep wall; plain lip. On the side-wall, a garland of which the ribbon is rendered by incision,  
the pendants by thinned clay. Firm black glaze. There are bowls of somewhat similar shape  
from Pergamon (*Pergamon*, I, p. 213, figs. b and c).

Estimated D., 0.11 m. Only a piece of the side-wall remains, retaining a trace of a handle.

21\*

**B 27** *Pistis* Keroses. From the north chamber. Fig. 20

A large shallow bowl standing on a low standard; its rim is thickened and flat on top. A regular series of ribs around the rim were set into shallow, wheel-made bowls. The loop handles are bent a little over the rim. The surface has a glossy black glaze somewhat faded. The glaze has been scratched away from the rim, the neck of the bowl and standard, two around the foot-ring.

From the rim to the base of the large bowl, 0.1 m. D. of large bowl, 0.25 m. D. of small bowl a foot-ring and 100 mm. of the small bowl are missing.



Fig. 20. **B 27** Keroses from Group B. Scale of 1:4

**B 28** *Pistis* Keroses. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

A small bowl with facing lip set on a high stem stand. Around the middle of the bowl runs a broad band to which a row of small knobs is attached on either side. Alongside each handle the band is protected in two places. The surface is remaining traces of white paint inside and outside. Similar keroses **A 10**, **B 3**, **10**.

H. 0.07 m. D. 0.04 m. Same size as cups from the lip.

**B 29** *Pistis* Fragment from the lid of a Keroses. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Fragment with a broad band to rest on the rim of a bowl. The upper part is of open work. The foot plate retaining traces of white paint. Same similar to that to which this lid belonged **A 10**, **B 3**, **10**, **20**.

Calculated H. 0.12 m. Only a fragment from the lower edge remains.

**B 30** *Pistis* Lamp. Type VIIIb. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Around the filling hole, one deep and one shallow groove. No handle or knob. Covered on the inside with thin red glass. Similar lamps **A 42**, **44**, **B 11**.

H. 0.06 m. W. 0.06 m. D. 0.04 m. Finest.

**B 31** *Pistis* Ash-tray. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

The ash-tray has a shallow flaring mouth. Fine, buff clay covered on the inside, on the mouth and on the top of the handle with black glass. The outside is covered with a polished slip. There

Two identical askos from Chathy (*Sciathi*, pl. LIX, 185) and others from Olynthos (*Olynthos*, V, Nos. 1046-1070, pl. 192. These are assigned to the fourth century. They bear a striking resemblance to Nos. P 42 and 43, p. 31, pl. 28, which are regarded as pre-Persian).

**B 32 (P 741)** Round-bottomed pitcher. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Round bottom; contracted neck with slightly flaring lip; strap handle. This brown glaze covering handle attachments only. Cf. C 8. A closely similar specimen from Chathy: *Sciathi*, I, p. 89, No. 271, fig. 48. A local vase of the same shape found at Olynthos is assigned to the pre-Persian period (*Olynthos*, V, pp. 33 f., P 48, pl. 31; cf. also Nos. 839-841, pl. 178). The shape appears commonly in metal, for instance, in the National Museum, Nos. 100, 149 and 7595.

H., 0.068 m. D., 0.087 m. Chips missing from lip.

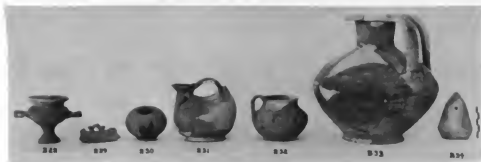


Fig. 21

**B 33 (P 904)** Water pitcher with double handle. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Flat bottom with low foot slightly offset. Squat body; cylindrical neck with out-rolled lip. Two narrow strap handles set at an angle of about 60° to one another. Gritty red clay fired to yellow on the surface in places. Five brown bands around the body, four on the inside of the lip. I have noticed a very similar pitcher in the National Museum at Palermo, from Milocra. Cf. also Robinson, Hareum and Hiffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, Toronto, 1930, No. 578, pl. XCIII ("probably South Italian fabric").

H., 0.195 m. D., 0.195 m. Small fragments missing from the wall.

**B 34 (MC 105)** Loom-weight. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Conical, drawn in toward the bottom. Slightly gritty, buff clay, unglazed. Its bottom was punctured, perhaps to facilitate firing. Similar weights: B 14, 45, 47; D 86.

H., 0.074 m. D., 0.054 m.

**B 35 (P 505)** Upper part of a West Slope amphora. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Broad shoulder; high concave neck with plain lip. The handles were twisted. Between the handles on either side, a garland of grape-vine with leaves and fruit in thinned clay. Around the outer edge of the shoulder, a band of wave pattern of which the filling is in white paint, the upper line and the double, jewelled base-line in thinned clay. On the top of the shoulder, a row

of dolphins in thinned clay separated by dot rosettes in white paint (cf. the kantharos **B 8**). Glossy black glaze fired red on the inside, and below the shoulder on the outside. The glaze was scratched away from lines below the lip, at the root of the neck, and below the shoulder.

H., 0.115 m. D., of mouth, 0.12 m. Only part of the shoulder and mouth remain.

**B 36** (P 4069) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Sharply profiled lip; low concave neck; moulded handle flat on top. Between the handles on either side, a garland of ivy leaves; around the handle attachment, an olive wreath, all rendered in thinned clay. Dull black glaze. For a kantharos of similar shape, but with a garland of sharp-pointed leaves around its neck, cf. *Sciatia*, No. 165, pl. LIII, 103.

H., 0.048 m. Calculated D. of lip, 0.11 m.

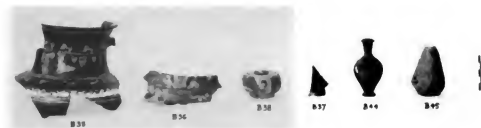


Fig. 22

**B 37** (P 903) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

The upper wall was straight; the neck was encircled by a garland rendered in thinned clay. Above the garland an inscription, likewise in thinned clay: ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕΣ. Firm, black glaze. On the practice of inscribing drinking cups see the note on **B 23**. For the name of Aphrodite in particular cf. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXIII, 1913, p. 198, n. 2. To his list add the Frankfurt vase cited under **B 20**.

H., 0.014 m. From the mouth.

**B 38** (L 539) Lamp, Type VIIa. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Pierced side-knob; no handle. Dull black glaze. Another lamp of the same type: **A 41**. For the perforated knob cf. Broneer, pp. 6 and 45.

L., 0.075 m. W., 0.035 m. H., 0.035 m. The tip of the nozzle is missing.

**B 39** (P 911) Water pitcher. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 23

Flat bottom slightly offset from the side-wall; plump body; high cylindrical neck with rolled lip. A broad strap handle. Around the neck, a raised ridge at the level of the handle attachment. Greenish-yellow clay fired buff on the inner surface and containing grit and white particles. Similar pitchers: **A 53-55**.

H., 0.282 m. D., 0.215 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

**B 40** (P 4070) Lip fragment from lekane. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 23 and 122

Narrow rim gently convex on top. Heavy horizontal handle pressed close to rim. Gritty, greenish-yellow clay, unglazed. This is a *Fakhryand*, resulting from some accident in the kiln; its wall was crumpled while still soft by another pot falling against it. It suffered further by overfiring, which turned its clay black in places.

H., 0.153 m. One handle remains.



Fig. 33. Fragments of Plain Ware and of Storage Jars from Group B

**B 41** (P 4071) Lip fragment from lekane. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 122

Rim flat on top and banded inside and out by a shallow groove. Coarse, red clay, containing large white particles, unglazed.

D., 0.11 m.

- B 42** (P 4072) Fragment from the mouth of a large pithos. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 23 and 24

The rim is flat and broad on top and finished on the outside with a cavetto between two ovolos. Yellow clay containing large particles of brown grit. The lower ovolos is decorated with a herring-bone pattern between two straight lines; the cavetto with a band of wave pattern surmounted by two straight lines, all in brown glaze.

P. H., 0.101 m.

- B 43** (P 4073) Fragment from the mouth of a large pithos. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 23 and 24

The lip is finished with an ovolos, below which is a cavetto. Gritty yellow clay, unglazed, save for the cavetto which is painted red. This and the preceding fragment must come from large storage jars like that which yielded Group D. Cf. Fig. 54.

P. H., 0.127 m.



Fig. 24. **B 42** and **43**. Lip Profiles of Storage Jars. Scale 1:3

- B 44** (P 636) Fusiform unguentarium. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Plump body; well modelled foot and mouth. Hard red clay fired gray on the surface. Two white bands encircle the body, one the neck. Similar unguentaria: **A 64** and **65**; **B 6** and **7**; **C 76** and **77**; **D 77** and **78**; **E 137** and **138**.

H., 0.0793 m. D., 0.041 m. Fragments missing from side-wall.

- B 45** (SS 327) Loom-weight. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 22 and 25

Conical, drawn in at the bottom. On one side there are two seal impressions, the first containing the name: ΓΑΥΚ; the second the trademark: a loom-weight. Fine, buff clay, unglazed. Similar weights: **B 34**, **47**; **D 80**.

H., 0.07 m. Chips missing from the tip and the bottom.



Fig. 25. Stamps on Loom-weight **B 45**. Scale 1:1

- B 46** (P 572) Black-glaze krater. From the draw-shaft, blind tunnel. Fig. 26

Heavy foot; shallow lower bowl; high and gently flaring upper wall. Tall, loop handles. Metallic black glaze somewhat flaked. The glaze has been scratched away from lines around and under the foot thus exposing the milton-covered surface of the clay. Its more compact shape suggests for this piece a date slightly earlier than that of the similar kantharoi **B 17** and **18**. There is a close parallel from a chamber tomb at Langana in Macedonia (*Jahrb.* XXVI, 1911, p. 198, fig. 7; built not later than the beginning of the fourth century, p. 214).

H., 0.131 m. D., 0.103 m. The extremities of the handles are broken away.

**B 47** (MC 106) 1.00 m.-weight. From the draw-shaft, blind tunnel. Fig. 26

In shape, conical, drawn in toward the bottom. Fine, greenish-yellow clay, unglazed. Its bottom was punctured in two places, perhaps to facilitate firing. Similar weights: **B 34, 45; 0 60.** H., 0.081 m. D., 0.051 m.

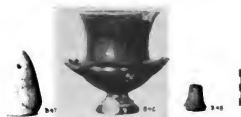


Fig. 26

**B 48** (MC 2) Spindle-whorl. From the draw-shaft, blind tunnel. Fig. 26

Clay buff to gray in color, unglazed.

H., 0.034 m. D., 0.031 m.

## GROUP C

### THE CISTERN

Among the many reservoirs that honeycomb the rocky mass of Kolonos Agoraios, one is of particular interest for our period: a double cistern lying between the northeast corner of the "Theseion" and the Annex to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.<sup>1</sup> Its chambers are of unequal size but of like design: flask-shaped with slender necks, and floors that slope gently in to circular depressions in the middle intended to facilitate cleaning (Fig. 27). A winding tunnel connects the chambers. The walls of tunnel and chambers alike are covered with a single coat of waterproof stucco. Of the eastern chamber the mouth was cut away in later times and over the western there still lies a deep accumulation of earth.

Both chambers went out of use as water containers simultaneously and served for a short time as refuse dumps, the earth and rubbish rising in a cone about 1 m. high on the floor immediately beneath the mouth through which it was thrown. This occurred in Hellenistic times. Above the Hellenistic filling in the eastern chamber, a mass of gray clay was dumped in later times, protecting the earlier filling from disturbance. The mouth of the western chamber must have been closed for many centuries: above the cone of Hellenistic rubbish the filling was solid Byzantine.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, 11, 1933, p. 129. The building is there described as the Stoa Basileios.

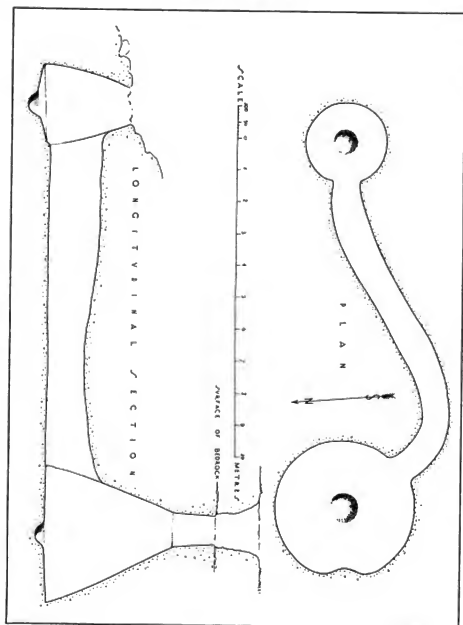


Fig. 57. Chert C



From the undisturbed Hellenistic filling overlying the floors of the chambers we removed a limited number of lamps and vases, mostly in a very fragmentary condition. These will be described without mention of the chamber in which each object was found, for no chronological difference could be detected in the respective fillings. In addition to the objects to be described below, the filling yielded a couple of fragmentary terracotta figurines (T 133, 134), a stamped amphora handle of uncertain origin (SS 282), a bit of a terracotta water pipe (A 230) and an iron knife blade (LI 19).

Of the ten bronze coins gathered from the filling of the two chambers, four were illegible. The remaining pieces are all Athenian,—four assigned to the period 297–255 B.C. (Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 22, Nos. 67 and 76); and two to 255–229 B.C. (*ibid.* pl. 24, Nos. 11 ff.).

The coins prove that the filling occurred not earlier than the second half of the third century. The lamps furnish another useful clue to the date of the deposit. The dominant type was clearly that represented by C 54–57. These lamps are identical with two found in a rich Aetolian tomb dated on good grounds by its excavator to the beginning of the second century (cf. note on C 54). We can do no better than assign our Group C to the same period. The lamp C 60 is probably the latest piece from the group and yet its good glaze and the fact that it is still wheel-made will permit it also to be of that time.

## CATALOGUE OF GROUP C

### BLACK-GLAZE WARE: C 1–10

#### C 1 (P 3999) Plate. Figs. 28, 115 and 116

On the floor, within a triple circle of shallow rouletting, were four stamped palmettes. The glaze is thin and very metallic. There are fragments also of two much deformed "fish-plates," with shallow depressions in their floors.

H., 0.025 m. D., 0.175 m. About one-third of the plate is preserved.

#### C 2 (P 2391) Saucer with furrowed rim. Fig. 28

Covered only on the floor with very thin brown glaze in which the brush strokes are clearly visible. Similar saucers: A 3–5, 38; E 27–32. There are fragments of several more such saucers.

H., 0.03 m. D., 0.13 m. Much of the rim is missing.

#### C 3 (P 4000) Bowl with outcurved lip. Fig. 28

Covered inside and out with dull black glaze. Several more fragments come from like bowls. Similar bowls: A 9–13, 71, 72; D 2–6; E 33–44.

H., 0.045 m. D., 0.125 m.

#### C 4 (P 2390) Bowl with outcurved lip.

Heavy base-ring; gently flaring lip. Dull black glaze inside and out, much flaked.

H., 0.056 m. Estimated D., 0.156 m. About one-half the vase remains.

**C 5** (P 4001) Base of a large open bowl. Fig. 115

High base-ring; slightly concave floor from which the upper wall begins to rise steeply. On the floor, within a rimletted circle, are five stamped palmettes of which four remain. The glaze has fired to a rich chocolate brown both inside and outside. It was scratched away from the bottom of a shallow groove just above the base-ring.

W., 0.177 m. Only the lower part remains.

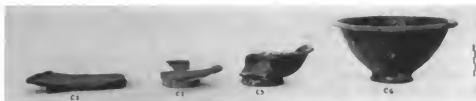


Fig. 28. Black-glaze Ware from Group C

**C 6** (P 2389) Deep bowl with out-turned rim. Fig. 28

High base-ring; sharply out-turned rim. In the rim on one side are two suspension holes. Thin, black glaze covers the interior and exterior save inside the base-ring. It has fired to a dull red both inside and outside over part of the side-wall and to a more pronounced red over a circle on the floor, where there are traces of another vase having been stacked for firing.

H., 0.085 m. D., 0.20 m. Small fragments are missing from the sides.

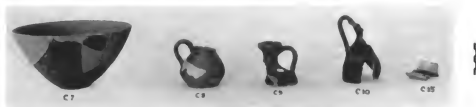


Fig. 29. Fragments of Black-glaze Ware and a Lagynos from Group E

**C 7** (P 4002) Hemispherical bowl. Figs. 29 and 118

False base-ring set off from the side-wall by a shallow groove. On the inside, about 0.01 m. below the lip, the glaze has been scratched from the bottom of a shallow groove. Thin black glaze inside and out. On the floor inside is a circle left by another vase stacked there for firing. Cf. D 14 and 15.

H., 0.086 m. D., ca. 0.17 m. Restored in plaster.

**C 8** (P 2392) Small pitcher. Fig. 29

Covered inside and out with reddish-black glaze much flaked. This is a later version of D 32. With the years, the bottom has been flattened, the body has become relatively deeper, the lip has

been set off more sharply from the side-wall and the handle has been carried higher above the lip. There are closely similar pitchers from Priene (*Priene*, p. 122, Nos. 65 and 66, fig. 538). Among the sherds of plain, black-glaze ware there are fragments of several more little one-handed pitchers and bowls of similar fabric.

H., 0.057 m. D., 0.065 m. Missing parts of mouth and side-wall are restored in plaster.

**C 9 (P 4003) Small pitcher. Fig. 29**

The flaring mouth is drawn to a blunt beak. Dull but firm black glaze.

H., 0.062 m. Broken away below the shoulder.

**C 10 (P 4004) Small pitcher. Fig. 29**

Piriform body; trefoil mouth. The handle rises above the lip. Flaky black glaze. Cf. *Priene*, p. 122, Nos. 59-61, fig. 544. At least two pitchers of closely similar shape were found in a chamber tomb on Aegina to be dated in all probability between 141 and 133 B.C. (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 275 ff., fig. 35. Cf. note on A 53).

P.H., 0.091 m. The base and much of the mouth are missing.



Fig. 30. C 11. Scale 1:2

**WEST SLOPE WARE: C 11-14**

**C 11 (P 4005) Upper part of an amphora. Fig. 30**

The shoulder is set off from the side-wall and neck by grooves from the bottom of which the glaze was scratched, exposing the milton-covered surface of the clay. Three groups of diminishing rectangles and two panels of checker-board pattern covered the shoulder on either side. On the neck are dot rosettes and dolphins(?) alternating above a band of wave pattern. Beneath the waves are two straight lines with a dotted line between. Around the upper handle attachment is a line of thinned clay. White paint was used for alternate squares on the checker-boards and there are dots of it around the handle. Fine thin fabric covered inside and out with firm black

glaze. Similar in shape to D 26 but more careful work. There is a fragment from the shoulder of another amphora with similar decoration. At the root of its handle is a plastic mask. Of a third amphora there remains only the root of a handle with mask.

P.H., 0.076 m. Only a fragment of the shoulder and of the neck is preserved with part of one twisted handle.

**C 12** (P 4006) Fragment of a saucer, Fig. 31

It rested on a false base-ring formed by the downward continuation of the side-wall. Around the outside are shallow corrugations run on the wheel. On the floor is a rosette in white paint, its petals prolonged by wavy white lines. The petals are separated by radii drawn in thinned clay. Firm black glaze. On the floor is a circle left by another vase stacked there for firing. There is a fragment from another saucer of similar profile decorated inside with wreaths done in thinned glaze and white paint. Footless saucers of this sort were frequently decorated with relief medallions, moulded separately and applied to their floors (Courby, Chapter XVI "Vases à Médallions"). Otherwise the centre of the floor was occupied usually by a star or schematic rosette. Cf. D 28. See also *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 70, No. 7 c: 8-point star rosette in thinned clay; *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 38; rosette of 8 points alternately white and yellow; *ibid.*, 38; rosette of 8 petals alternately white and pointed, yellow and trefol; *Arch. Anz.* 1910, p. 211, figs. 9 and 10: rosette of 12 pointed petals, alternately white and yellow. Similar designs appear



Fig. 31. C 12. Scale 1:2

commonly also on the undersides of plates, inside the foot-rings. Cf. E 62 and 63. P.W., 0.081 m. Only the middle of the floor remains.

**C 13** (P 4007) Upper part of a small oinochoe. Fig. 32

From the broad shoulder rises a slender neck, terminating in a trefoil mouth. Around the shoulder, from the neck outwards: a line of thinned clay, a band of white between two lines of thinned clay, a zigzag line incised, a row of pointed pendants in thinned clay, a line of thinned clay. The neck is bounded above and below by grooves from which the glaze has been scratched and it is decorated by vertical stripes done alternately in white paint and thinned glaze. The black glaze has flaked somewhat.

P.H., 0.089 m. The handle, much of the mouth and all the body below the shoulder are missing.



Fig. 32. C 13.  
Scale 1:2

**C 14** (P 4008) Neck of a pitcher. Fig. 33

Gently concave in profile. Around its middle runs a garland of ivy leaves carefully rendered in thinned clay. Just under the lip is a wavy line incised. Thin, black glaze much flaked. For a uxor completa pitcher from the West Slope cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 68, No. 3, pl. iv: tall cylindrical neck, twisted handle, vine garland around the neck, alternating groups of diminishing rectangles and checker-board pattern on the shoulder.

P.H., 0.063 m. The neck is preserved to its original height over one-half of its circumference.



Fig. 33. C 14. Scale 1:2

**C 15** (P 4009) Fragment from a lagynos. Fig. 29

The root of the neck was encircled by a brown band. There is preserved only a tip of the shoulder decoration: the bow of a ribbon. Dull gray clay covered with a rich creamy glaze; the decoration in black paint thinning to brown. Other lagynoi: **D 30** and **31**; **E 70-73**.

P.H., 0.038 m. Only a bit remains from the junction of the neck and shoulder.

MEGARIAN BOWLS AND RELATED WARE: **C 16-53****C 16** (P 4099) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 34

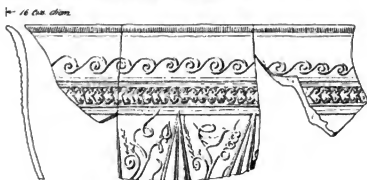
From the medallion springs a succession of lanceolate petals, tendrils and tall spikes. The petals are probably a stylized version of the *nymphaea lotus* (for which cf. **A 74**), and the spikes may well be the fruit stems of the date palm (Möbius, *Jahrb.* XLVIII, 1933, p. 16, fig. 9). In the upper zone a band of simplified guilloche between beaded lines is surmounted by a row of double spirals. Good black glaze inside and out. Compare this piece with **A 74**, **C 17** and **38**.

P.H., 0.105 m. Only a fragment from one side remains.

Fig. 34. **C 16**. Scale 2:3**C 17** (P 4100) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 35

The side-wall is filled with tall, sharp-pointed petals of the *nymphaea coerulea* alternating with tendrils. On one of the tendrils sits a bird. A simplified guilloche and a line of running spirals form the upper zone. Good black glaze inside and out. Similar in decoration and quality of fabric to **A 74**, **C 16** and **38**.

P.H., 0.063 m. A fragment from the upper part remains.

Fig. 35. **C 17**. Scale 2:3

**C 18** (P 402) Bowl with representations of divinities. Figs. 36 a and b

In the medallion, a gorgoneion; around it, two rows of scale-like leaves. From the outer row spring four large acanthus leaves dividing the side-wall into as many segments. In one of these stands Apollo, facing front, his right hand resting on the tripod which stands by his side, his cloak hanging from his shoulders. In the field, is an obscure object: a clump of leaves (?), a Pan's mask (?). Artemis stands in the other quadrant, resting her right elbow on a column,



Fig. 36 a. C 18

grasping with her left hand the horns of a stag. Similar obscure objects in the field. The upper zone consists of a band of simplified guilloche surmounted by a line of 6-petalled rosettes. The glaze has fired red toward the bottom both inside and out, and has flaked somewhat. The same Apollo re-appears on E 81. The figures of the deities are of sculptural type and yet I find no close parallel for them in sculptured monuments.

H., 0.078 m. D., 0.138 m. About one-half of the bowl is preserved.

**C 19** (P 406) Bowl with scenes from palaestra or slaughter of Niobids (?). Fig. 37

In the medallion, a gorgoneion; around it, triangular groups of ribbed leaves. The side-wall is occupied by a frieze of single figures, from left to right: a youth fleeing to right; a draped

figure with a staff (?) in its hand; a figure about to discharge an arrow; a draped figure with right arm raised; a running youth; a figure resting its right hand on a staff. In the upper zone, a simplified guilloche, surmounted by a single line of double spirals with a ribbed leaf rising between each two. Firm black glaze. For the type of calyx, cf. Courby, fig. 73, o.

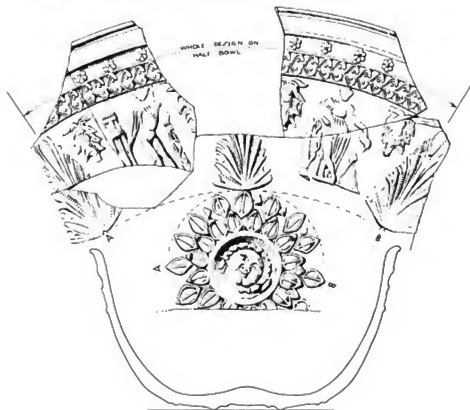


Fig. 36 b. C 18. Scale 2:3

**C 20 (P 4101) Bowl with scenes of combat. Fig. 38**

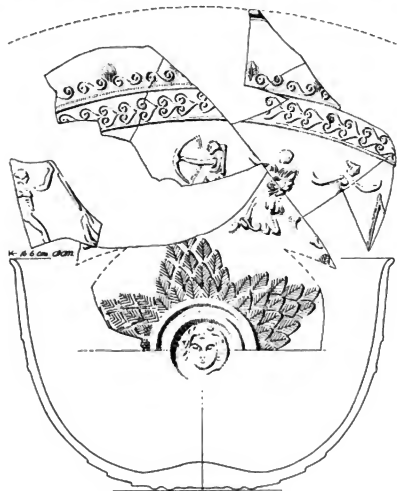
From the medallion sprang tall fronds. On the side wall, a frieze, of which there remain combats between two hoplites armed with spears and between a hoplite and a knight. The fragmentary figures toward the right suggest that these groups continued in alternation around the bowl. The warrior engaged with the knight is from the same stamp as one of the pair of hoplites. The upper zone comprises a band of ovals surmounted by one of dolphins. Firm metallic glaze. The mould was somewhat worn. For the dolphin in the upper zone, cf. Courby, fig. 68, 18; for scenes of combat on the side-wall, *ibid.*, fig. 71, o-q.

11, 0.088 m. 11, 0.167 m. The bottom and much of the side-wall are missing.

25

**C 21** (P 2432) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 39

In the medallion, a gorgoneion surrounded by groups of veined leaves. The side-wall was divided into an upper and lower field by pendent garlands. Three tall kraters, resting on the medallion, divided the lower field into as many segments. Of these the one preserved is occupied

Fig. 37. **C 19**. Scale 2 : 3

by satyrs, seated in a playful mood one on either side. A bird flies above them. In the upper field are flying birds and erotes. In the upper zone palmettes spring from a band of ovules. Good black glaze fired red over the medallion and on the floor inside where another vase rested in the kiln. The relief is crisp. For the seated satyrs cf. Courby, fig. 69, 5 a; for the krater, *ibid.*, fig. 69, 10 a; for the garland supported by a nike, *ibid.*, fig. 72, 36 (eros and nike without the bird).

H., 0.035 m. D., 0.15 m. There remain the base and a little of the upper part.





Fig. 38. C 20. Scale 2:3

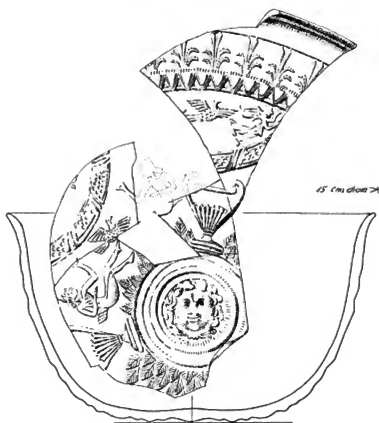
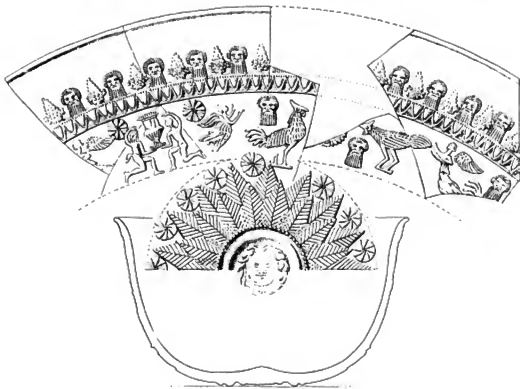


Fig. 39. C 21. Scale 2:3

25\*

**C 22** (P 404) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 40

In the medallion, a gorgoneion surrounded by a line of beading. From this spring two rows of ribbed leaves. Between the tips of the outer are 9-petalled rosettes. Of the frieze on the side-wall there remain a pair of satyrs running and carrying between them a krater; a pair of cocks, facing, with a wreath(?) between, and, toward the right, the tail of another cock. In the

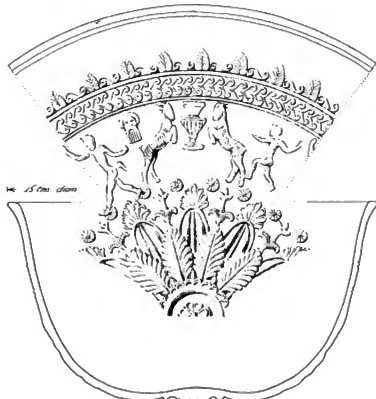
Fig. 40. **C 22**. Scale 2:3

field are flying nikai, long bearded masks and 9-petalled rosettes. In the exceptionally rich upper zone, long bearded masks alternate with inverted clusters of grapes above a band of ovules. The glaze is metallic but firm; the modelling fairly clear. A series of masks, though of quite different shape, forms the upper zone on a fragment from the West Slope (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 60, No. 20). For the satyrs supporting the krater, cf. Courby, fig. 69, 5 b, and references. For the masks (identical on side-wall and upper zone) cf. Nos. **C 23**, **26**, **37**, **46**; **D 49** and Courby, fig. 72, 42 b with references.

H., 0.078 m. D., 0.14 m. Much is missing from the side-wall.

**C 23** (P 405) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 41

In the medallion, a 3-petalled rosette. From its periphery spring fronds terminating in conventionalized flowers and alternating with lotus petals backed by palmettes. Between the tips of the palmettes are tiny rosettes. On the side-wall are four pairs of goats rampant about kraters. Between them satyrs skip and dance. In the field are long-bearded masks. The upper zone consists of a band of simplified guilloche surmounted by a row of tiny, ribbed leaves and double spirals alternating. Firm black glaze with a metallic sheen, especially on the inside. For the

Fig. 41. **C 23.** Scale 2:3

goats-and-krater group cf. **C 26**, **36**, **45**, **46**; **D 35**; Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. LXI 1, 2; Dumont-Chaplain, *Céramique de la Grèce propre*, pl. XL; *Jahrb. XXIII*, 1908, p. 17, 2a and 2b. For a similar, though not identical, calyx, cf. *Jahrb. XXIII*, 1908, p. 47, 2a and 2b. For the palmettes especially cf. Zahn, *Priene*, fig. 529, No. 30 and comment on p. 114.

H., 0.08 m. D., 0.15 m. Much of the side-wall is missing.

**C 24** (P 4102) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 42

In the medallion, a rosette(?) was surrounded by a row of ribbed leaves. From a double line surrounding these spring tall leaves which may be based on the small, underwater leaves of *nymphaea lotus* (*Jahrb. XLVIII*, 1933, p. 24, fig. 15). The frieze consisted of pairs of satyrs, in some

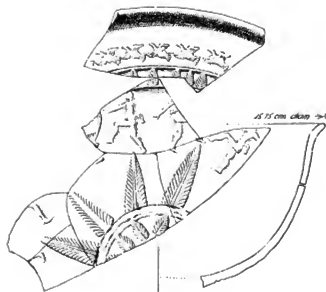


Fig. 42. C 24. Scale 2:3

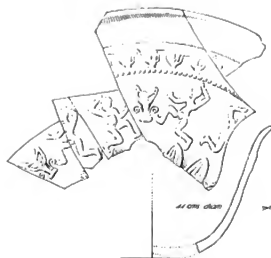


Fig. 43. C 25. Scale 2:3

cases approaching a large krater from either side; in others probably supporting a smaller vessel between them. In the upper zone a row of ribbed leaves between ridges is surmounted by a band of flying birds. The lip has an exceptionally broad flare. Dull black glaze fired greenish-red in places. The moulding is indistinct.

D., 0.157 m. About one third of the bowl remains.

**C 25** (P 4103) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 43

The tips are preserved of lotus petals springing from the medallion. Pairs of satyrs dancing about kraters (?) compose the frieze. From the feet of the kraters (?) spring tall volutes. The upper zone appears to consist of roses rising from a band of beading. There is no scratched line beneath the lip. Dull black glaze; indistinct modelling.

Estimated D., 0.11 m. Only part of the rim and side-wall remains.

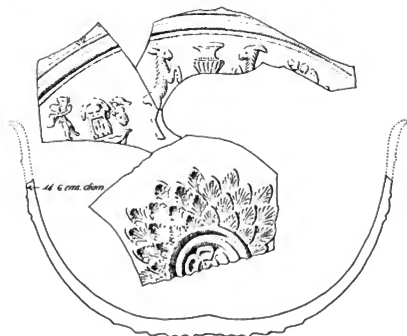


Fig. 44. C 26. Scale 2:3

**C 26** (P 4104) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 44

The medallion is centered with a 6-petalled rosette. About it are four overlapping rows of ribbed leaves. Goats rampant about kraters form the frieze. In the field are flying erotes and birds, long-bearded masks and clusters of grapes. The upper zone comprises a raised band with a line of leaves (?) above. Firm, metallic glaze. For the combination of motives, cf. Gardner, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogue of Vases*, No. 220 a; Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Vases*, No. 531.

P.H., 0.063 m. The rim and most of the side-wall are missing.

**C 27** (P 403) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Figs. 45a and b

In the medallion, a rosette, very faint; from it spring two rows of tall fronds. A band of erotes riding on dolphins encircles the side-wall. Beneath each dolphin, a wreath. In the upper zone is a band of jewelled lozenges surmounted by a line of ribbed leaves. Metallic black glaze completely flaked from the rim on one side. For the erotes riding on dolphins, cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 63, C 1.

H., 0.095 m. D., 0.16 m. Fragments are missing from the side-wall.

Fig. 45a. **C 27****C 28** (P 407) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 46

The medallion is a rosette, very indistinct. The side-wall is completely covered by bands of ribbed leaves. There is no upper zone. Firm black glaze fired red on the floor inside. For the decoration on the side-wall cf. **C 34** and *Delphes*, V, p. 176, No. 423. The practice of covering the entire side-wall with such simple vegetable ornament was commoner in Delos than in Athens. Cf. Courby, pp. 386 ff.; pl. XII, 4, 8, 13; XIII, 24. See also *Argive Herarum*, II, p. 183 (not illustrated); *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 72, No. 36 (from South Russia).

H., 0.085 m.; calculated D., 0.14 m. Only a segment from one side remains.

**C 29** (P 4105) Bowl with nodules on its wall. Fig. 47

In the medallion, an 8-petaled rosette, faint. About it are successive bands of nodules increasing in size toward the top. Metallic black glaze fired reddish on the floor where there are traces of another vase having been stacked in the kiln. For the nodules on the side wall cf. also **C 53**. The same scheme of decoration was used for the lower, moulded part of a West Slope kantharos from Athens (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 69, 1, pl. iv). It was known also in Delos (Courby, pl. XIII, 31; fig. 80, 6) and in Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, fig. 531, 43 and 41), and in South Russia (*Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 67, No. 27); and in Thrace (*Arch. Anz.* 1918, p. 27, fig. 31 e).

H. 11, 0.051 m. The bottom and part of the side-wall remain.

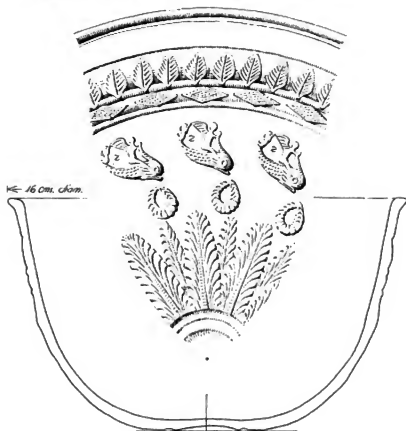


Fig. 45b. **C 27**. Scale 2 : 3

**C 30-36** (P 4010-4016) Fragments from rims of bowls. Fig. 48

**C 30-36** illustrate the infinite variety of patterns found in the upper zones. Egg-and-dart appears with or without bounding lines of beading, combined with rosettes and leaves, dolphins, double spirals and bracteate leaves. Leaves of various sorts are variously combined with double spirals. These fragments are all of good fabric. From **C 30** and **31**, however, the glaze has almost completely flaked. For the dolphins of **C 31** cf. Courby, fig. 68, 18; for the wall decoration of **C 34** cf. **C 28**; for the acce flowers of **C 35**, Courby, fig. 68, 11; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 60, 11,

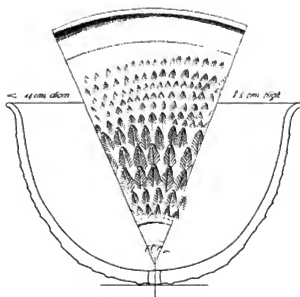


Fig. 66. C 20. Scale 2:3

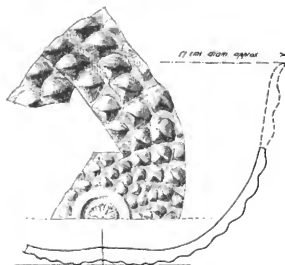


Fig. 47. C 29. Scale 2:3



and **D 45**. The krater on the fragment **C 36** (cf. **D 49**, Fig. 71) follows closely its metal prototypes. One such was included in the silver hoard of Tarentum (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, pp. 379 ff., figs. 5 and 5a; *Arch. Anz.* 1897, p. 62; and now magnificently published by P. Willeumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, Paris, 1960, pp. 41-47, pls. v and vi. Willeumier dates the krater, along with the rest of the treasure, in the early third century). Another of silver was found in 1834 in the Crimea (S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. XXXVIII, 2). The identical shape recurs in a krater of fulvenc found at Tauagra, itself an obvious imitation of metal work (Furtwängler,

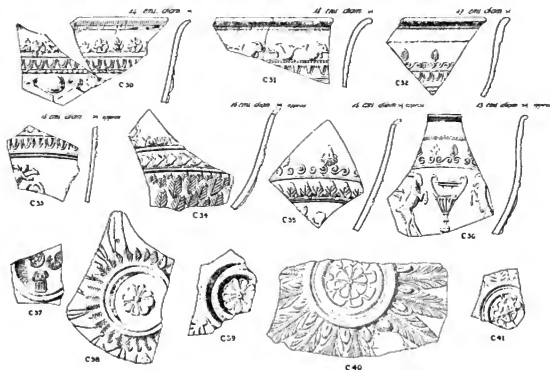


Fig. 48. **C 30-41**. Fragments of Megarian Bowls. Scale 1:2

*Sammlung Sabouloff*, I, pl. LXX, 3. Cf. Watzinger's comment in *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 100 f.). It is this type of drinking cup which appears, wreathed in ivy, on the reverse of a series of coins of the little island of Peparethos, dating after ca. 350 B.C. (Head, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 312 f. There is a good specimen illustrated in Forrer, *Weber Collection*, London, 1924, vol. II, No. 2960, pl. 114). Peparethos was famous for its wine (Pliny, *N. H.* XIV, 7, 76), though the wine was not universally liked (Hermippos, Koch, frag. 82, l. 12). Coins of Tarentum illustrate the same krater (Willeumier, *op. cit.* p. 44, pl. XIII, 1). The terracotta cup **B 20** was designed from similar metal prototypes.

#### **C 37-41** (P 4017-4021) Bases. Fig. 48

In **C 37** three of the long-bearded masks, found so commonly on the side-wall (cf. **C 22**) have been placed in the medallion, crowns toward the centre. The modelling is crisp and the glaze is good. The remaining four pieces illustrate various types of rosettes found as medallion centres.

In **C 38** the medallion is only partly filled by a small 8-petalled flower; around it runs a single band of veined leaves from which rose tall petals with vine tendrils and leaves between them (cf. **A 74**, **C 16** and **17**). The glaze is good but has fired red. **C 39** shows a 10-petalled rosette. The medallion of **C 40** is centered with a double rosette and surrounded by a rich band of fronds with buds springing up between them. The glaze has fired to a deep red over the medallion and the middle of the floor where another vase was stacked in the kiln. **C 41** also shows a finely worked rosette which has two rows of petals and a third of sepals. For the motives used in the medallions cf. Courby, pp. 352 f., fig. 71.

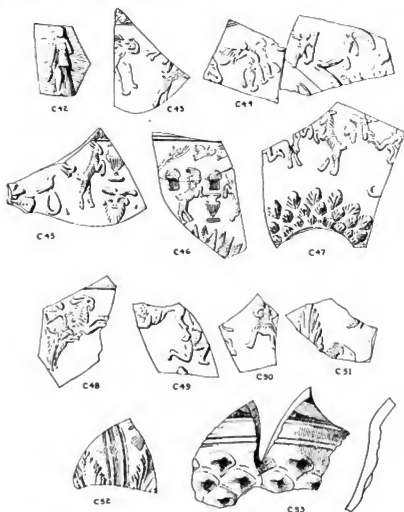


Fig. 49. **C 42-53.** Fragments of Megarian Bowls. Scale 1:2

**C 42-52** (P 4022-4032) Fragments from the walls of bowls. Fig. 49

The glaze of all is black and firm, save that of **C 43** which on the outside has fired red and has flaked. On **C 42** the river nymph Amynone stands erect, pitcher in hand. The fracture of the

sherd makes it impossible to say whether here, as often, her helper, Poseidon, stood by her side. For the group cf. Courby, fig. 70, 18. It appears also on a fragment of a Megarian bowl from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II 3, No. 1259, pl. 90). It is found too on one side of each of a group of small terracotta altars (W. Deonna, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, 10, pp. 249 ff.). For its appearance at Sparta see Hobling, *B. S. A.* XXVI, 1923-1924, 1924-1925, p. 308, fig. 104. On the story of the nymph cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, s. v. *Amymone*. **C 43** carries another group familiar on Megarian bowls: a nude girl reclining on the knees of a seated youth (Courby, fig. 70, 26c). In the field to the right there are traces of a goat rampant and of an eros flying above a cluster of grapes (Courby, fig. 70, 26c and references). On **C 44** an eros rides r. on a leopard(?), his cloak streaming behind him, while his fellow dashes ahead on foot bearing a tall torch. In the field to the r. is a reclining figure holding a jug in its outstretched right hand. (For Eros accompanied by a leopard cf. Courby, fig. 69, 8 and references.) **C 45-47** show the ubiquitous rampant goats in other variations and combinations. A winged eros perched precariously on the back of a galloping goat enlivens the side-wall of **C 48**. On **C 49** a lion and a nude male figure are hurriedly parting toward left and right respectively. (For the lion cf. Courby, fig. 71, 29 b.) A cloaked figure playing a double flute appears on **C 50**. **C 51** and **52** are additional examples of vegetable decoration; the first showing fruit-laden grape-vines rising between acanthus leaves, the second, tall lotus petals(?) combined with acanthus leaves on which birds may perch.

There are many smaller fragments of bowls from this cistern but all the types are illustrated in the selection given. The long-petalled (*â godrons*) variety, which we shall meet in the later groups, is completely lacking.

**C 53** (P 4033) Fragment of a krater with moulded side-wall. Fig. 49

The lower part, shaped in a mould, is covered on the outside with nodules. The rim was shaped on the wheel. The junction of side-wall and rim is marked by a groove from which the glaze was scratched away. Traces remain of broad lines of thinned clay which decorated the outside of the lip. For a West Slope kantharos showing the same combination of moulded lower and wheel-run upper part, with similar nodule decoration cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 69, 4, pl. iv. See also **C 29** with further references.

Only a bit of the upper wall remains with the start of the flaring rim.

**LAMPS: C 54-60**

**C 54** (L 460) Lamp, ca. Type XII. Fig. 50

Flat bottom; top depressed around filling-hole; blunt nozzle; vertical strap handle; unpierced knob on left side. Wheel-made. Covered inside and out with flaky black glaze. Later lamps of the same type: **E 90-96**. Two lamps very similar to this but without handles were found in 1931 in the early second-century tomb at Gabalou in Aetolia (*Eph. Arch.* 1906, cols. 68-88; National Museum, No. 13,181). See also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 200 ff., fig. 3, 1 and 2.

L., 0.093 m. W., 0.064 m. H., 0.031 m. Handle and part of side-wall are broken away.

**C 55** (L 462) Lamp, ca. Type XII. Fig. 50

Similar to the preceding in shape and fabric.

P.L., 0.082 m. W., 0.062 m. H., 0.031 m. The handle and the tip of the nozzle are missing.

**C 56** (L 461) Lamp, ca. Type XII. Fig. 50

This specimen had no handle and the knob on its side is pierced. Wheel-made.

L., 0.081 m. W., 0.069 m. H., 0.032 m. Fragments are missing from the side-wall.

**C 57** (L. 1115) Lamp, ca. Type XII. Fig. 50

Similar in shape to the preceding. Mould-made. Its glaze is much flaked. There are fragments of at least three other lamps of this type.

P.L., 0.10 m. W., 0.07 m. H., 0.036 m. The tip of the nozzle and parts of the wall are missing.

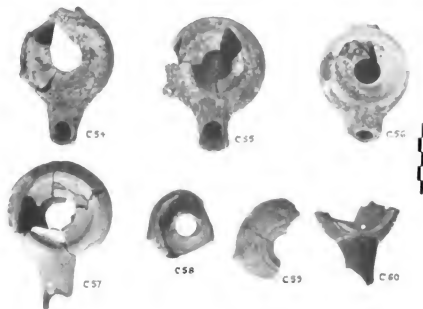


Fig. 50. Lamps from Group C

**C 58** (L. 459) Lamp with central tube. Fig. 50

Flat bottom; gently convex side wall; large central tube rising at least as high as the side wall but broken away above. A small, unpierced knob on the left side. The glaze is red and flaky. Similar lamp: **E 87**. The shape was popular at Priene (*Priene*, pp. 149 f., Nos. 165-170, figs. 555 and 556. Cf. also p. 157 with references. Zahn assigns the type to the third century). It is found also on Delos (Deonna, *B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, p. 111, fig. 3. The Delian specimens, according to Deonna, are not older than the third and run down into the second century a.c.). For another example from the Agora see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 198, Fig. 1<sub>a</sub>.

H., 0.025 m. Calculated D., 0.016 m. The nozzle and much of the side-wall are missing.

**C 59** (L 1114) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 50

A watch-shaped body; a depressed shoulder and a groove around the filling-hole; an unpierced knob on the side. Wreath of grape-vine on the shoulder. Mould-made. Lightly micaceous clay covered inside and outside with flaky, red glaze.

Maximum dimension: 0.058 m. Only a part of one side remains.

**C 60** (L 407) Lamp, Type XIX. Fig. 50

An angular profile. The top was surrounded by a flange, now broken away, and pierced by one central and several small outer holes. Wheel-made. Ash-gray clay covered inside and out with firm black glaze.

1., 0.084 m. Only a fragment from the front remains.



Fig. 51. Cooking Pots from Group C

PLAIN WARE: **C 61-75**

**C 61-67** (P 4034-4040) Lip fragments of lekanai. Fig. 122

**C 62** will give an idea of the complete side profile of these basins. On **C 62** and **66** there remain handles: heavy, horizontal, pressed close to the rim. On the top of **C 64** there is a wavy line incised between two straight grooves. (On **C 67** only the two straight grooves appear. Coarse, gritty clay, fired to yellow, buff, red or greenish-yellow. **C 64-66** are covered on their insides only with thin, brownish glaze. A wreath of leaves in black glaze encircles the outside of **C 67**.

**C 68** (P 4041) Wall fragment from lekanai

The inside combed both horizontally and vertically. Coarse yellow clay, unglazed. For similar combing cf. **A 63**, **E 122** (Fig. 100).

P. H., 0.044 m. P. W., 0.085 m.

**C 69** (P 4042) Cooking pot. Fig. 51

The bottom was undoubtedly round. Low concave neck with simple lip. Single strap handle. Gritty red clay darkened by fire. A similar cooking pot: **A 57**. A coarse cooking pot of similar shape from Olynthos: *Olynthos*, V, No. 838, pl. 173.

P. H., 0.146 m. D., 0.20 m. The bottom is broken away.

**C 70** (P 2393) Cooking pot. Figs. 51 and 108

Plump body; rounded bottom rising slightly in the middle. The lip flares sharply to receive a lid. Two vertical loop handles set close to the rim. Around the side-wall, two shallow wheel-run grooves at the level of the shoulder attachment. Gritty red clay, blackened by fire.

H., 0.13 m. D., 0.18 m. Missing fragments restored in plaster.

**C 71, 72** (P 4043, 4044) Handles of cooking pots. Fig. 51

The lips of both pots were shaped to receive lids. Of **C 71** the handle is single and twisted, of **C 72** double. In both cases the handle is surmounted by rotelles. Gritty, red clay.

There remain only small fragments of the handles and lips.



Fig. 52

**C 73-75** (P 4045-4047) Fragments of casseroles. Figs. 52 and 121

**C 73**, the best preserved piece, shows a flat bottom, a well curved side-wall and a steep rim with a very slight ledge to receive the lid. On **C 74** there remains part of one handle set close to the outside of the rim. Gritty, red clay blackened by fire on the outside. Similar casseroles: **D 72**, **E 141-144**. For an early example, with long side handle, cf. *Aegina*, pl. 127, 18.

MISCELLANEOUS: **C 76-79****C 76, 77** (P 366, 367) Fusiform unguentaria. Fig. 52

The bases carelessly shaped. Ash-gray clay. No trace of paint. Similar unguentaria: **A 64** and **65**; **B 6** and **7, 44**; **D 77** and **78**; **E 137** and **138**.

Of **C 76**: H., 0.186 m. D., 0.059 m.

Of **C 77**: H., 0.085 m. D., 0.028 m. Both are entire.

10 cms. diam

**C 78** (P 4048) Base of a small pitcher of "Blister Ware." Figs. 52 and 53

Flat bottom; gently curving side-wall. Fine, hard clay, ash-gray in color but fired to dull red on the inner surface.

P.W., 0.075 m. Only part of the floor and side-wall remain.

Fig. 53. Profile of **C 78**. Scale 1:1

**C 79** (P 4049) Fragment of a pitcher with punctured decoration. Fig. 52

The shoulder is bounded by two wheel-run grooves. Within the grooves are oblique lines of punctured dots produced by pressing into the soft clay the teeth of a short length of comb. There is another wheel-run groove lower down on the side-wall. Granular, red clay fired to greenish-yellow on the outside.

P.W., 0.067 m. A fragment from the shoulder remains.

## GROUP D

## THE PITHOS

At the very base of the Areopagus, near its northwest corner, there came to light in the spring of 1932 scanty remains of the foundation of a house or shop, which, in its earliest period, goes back to Hellenistic times. Within the limits of the structure and close by one of its side-walls the mouth of a storage pit was uncovered. The actual container consists of a large, terracotta jar or "pithos," finished above with a broad rim, on top of which rested a curbing built up of field stones set in clay (Fig. 54). This curbing is preserved to a height of 0.25 m., though the floor level of the room, with which the mouth of the pithos was probably flush, suggests an original height of ca. 0.50 m. A thin coat of gray stucco covers the inside of the curbing and extends down over the interior of the jar. The comparatively small size of the pit and the careful finish of its interior suggest that it served for the storage of wine or oil. Subsequently it ceased to be used for this purpose and was quickly filled up with the multifarious refuse of the household. Still later, in the course of a reconstruction of the house, a concrete foundation wall (this masonry is hatched in the section, Fig. 54) was carried across its mouth and this effectually sealed its contents.

The vases and lamps catalogued below were almost without exception broken but in most cases the guilty persons had taken the trouble to gather up the fragments. In addition to the lamps and vases, the pit yielded heads from two terracotta figurines (T 226, 227); the tip of a little terracotta palmette (T 228); a conical lead suspension weight (IL 41); a square, flat, lead weight (IL 42); one length from a bone flute (B1 27) and an amphora handle (SS 336) whose place of origin is not certain. There were, too,

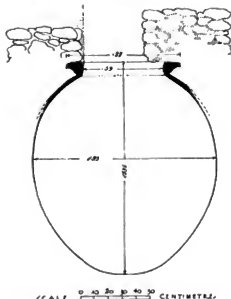


Fig. 54. Cross-section through Pithos D

many fragments of painted stucco from the walls of a house, iron nails, bits of lead, ash and charcoal, many bones of birds and animals,—in short, a kitchen dump.

Amidst the rubbish were found eight coins, four of which proved illegible. Of the remainder, two are Athenian pieces assigned to the period 297–255 B.C. (Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 22, Nos. 38 and 73–74); one is a coin of the Athenian cleruchs in Delos (*ibid.*, pl. 107, Nos. 55–67); one is an Eretrian piece of the period ca. 378–338 B.C. (*B.M. Cat. Central Greece*, p. 96, Nos. 19 and 20; pl. XVII, 11, and Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, p. 199, No. 187).

The pithos must have been open at least until 166 B.C., the date of the establishment of the Athenian cleruchy in Delos. Actually, it was probably closed shortly after that date. The dominant type of lamp in use at the time of the filling was that represented by **D 56–59** and none of the other lamps from the pithos needs to be dated much, if at all, later than those. Yet similar lamps have been found at Corinth in strata antedating the destruction of the city by Mummius in 146 B.C., and I have noted a fragment of another such from the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, erected between 159 and 138 B.C. The very slender fusiform unguentaria **D 77** and **78** find close parallels in similar flasks found in a Corinthian chamber tomb (unpublished) that undoubtedly antedates the destruction of the city, though by little. There can be but a limited range of time amongst the objects from the pithos and we may date the mass of them with assurance to the middle of the second century.

## CATALOGUE OF GROUP D

### BLACK-GLAZE WARE: **D 1–24**

#### **D 1** (P 626) Plate with offset rim. Figs. 55 and 116

High base-ring; broad rim sharply offset from floor. Metallic black glaze fired red inside the foot and over a circle on the floor as a result of stacking in the kiln. There is a ring of rouletting on the floor. Similar plates: **E 22–26**. Much remains of another such plate.

H., 0.058 m. D., 0.276 m. Fragments are missing from rim and floor.

#### **D 2–6** (P 613, 615–618) Bowls with outcurved lips. Figs. 55, 115 and 117

High base-ring; flaring lip; metallic black glaze. On the floors of **D 5** and **6** there are four stamped palmettes within a rouletted ring. There are parts of many other such bowls among the sherds from the pithos. Similar bowls: **A 9–13, 71, 72; C 3; E 33–44**.

H., 0.043–0.062 m. D., 0.11–0.124 m. All are broken but nearly complete.

#### **D 7** (P 614) Hemispherical bowl. Fig. 55

Thin wall. Metallic, black glaze somewhat flaked. On the floor are four stamped palmettes within a rouletted circle. Similar bowls: **E 46–48**.

H., 0.052 m. D., 0.104 m. Fragments missing from lip.



**D 8 (P 611)** Bowl with incurved lip. Figs. 55 and 115

Sharply incurved lip; thin wall. Firm metallic black glaze. On the floor are six stamped palmettes surrounded by a triple line of rosetting. Closely similar is *Pergamon*, I, p. 293, No. 16. Similar deep bowls were found in a Hellenistic tomb at Sardes along with a bronze coin datable to ca. 189 a.e. (Shear, *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 101 ff., fig. 9), and in Hellenistic tombs at Sparta (*B.S.A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 8a).

H., 0.069 m. D., 0.134 m. A small fragment missing from lip.

**D 9 (P 612)** Bowl with incurved lip. Figs. 55 and 117

Shallow bowl with sharply incurved lip; thin wall; metallic glaze mottled brown and black. Cf. *Primer*, p. 423, No. 75, fig. 539.

H., 0.039 m. D., 0.145 m. Fragments missing from rim.



Fig. 55. Black-glaze Plate and Bowls from Group D

**D 10-12 (P 608-610)** Deep bowls. Figs. 56 and 118

High base-ring. Flat floor. Almost vertical side-wall flaring at the lip. On the floor of **D 10** are two concentric wheel-run circles; on **D 11** and **12** there are rosetted rings. Glaze, metallic and fired to red in part. A similar bowl: **E 45**. For the shape cf. *Pergamon*, I, p. 270, No. 28.

Of **D 10**: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.131 m.

Of **D 11**: H., 0.065 m. D., 0.115 m.

Of **D 12**: H., 0.041 m. D., 0.088 m.

All broken but nearly complete.

**D 13 (P 619)** Bowl with lion's head spout. Fig. 56

Plain base-ring; flat floor; concave side-wall; rim moulded to receive lid; vertical ring handle attached to one side and at an angle of 90° from it a lion's head spout. Metallic black glaze. A similar bowl: **E 57**.

H., 0.054 m. D., 0.089 m. Parts of the handle and side-wall restored in plaster.

**D 14 (P 605)** Hemispherical bowl. Figs. 56 and 57

In shape, a perfect hemisphere save for a small flat circle on the bottom. Wall thin with deep wheel marks on the outside. Firm, red glaze fired black around the rim inside and out. The glaze has been scratched from a line on the outside just below the rim. Incised through the dry glaze on the outside, the letters: ZEYC. The *spouton* and *spouton* are by a different hand from the terminal letters but by the same hand as the EY of the following number. The EY may, accordingly, be regarded as the initial letters of the owner's name, fancifully altered to the name of the god by

26\*

someone in an idle moment. Similar in shape to **D 7**. The shape is common enough in terracotta from the earliest times but after a lapse in the earlier classical period it would seem to have returned to favor in Hellenistic times, probably in imitation of the contemporary hemispherical metal bowls. For silver prototypes see those from the Aetolian tomb of the early second century: *Eph. Arch.* 1906, col. 83, figs. 5-7 = National Museum, Nos. 13,141, 13,147, 13,670.

H., 0.074 m. D., 0.151 m. A small fragment missing from rim.

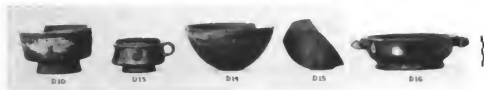


Fig. 56. Black-glaze Ware from Group D

**D 15 (P 606)** Fragment of a hemispherical bowl. Figs. 56 and 57

A fragment from the rim of a bowl similar to the preceding in shape and fabric. In the dry clay of its side-wall are scratched the letters  $\epsilon\gamma$ . For the significance of the letters see the note on the preceding.

P. H., 0.087 m.

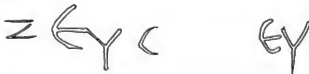


Fig. 57. Graffiti on **D 14** and **15**. Scale 1:1

**D 16 (P 604)** Two-handled bowl. Fig. 56

Low base-ring; shallow bowl with gently outcurved lip; horizontal handles pinched back on themselves. Firm, metallic glaze fired red on the lower part both inside and outside. On the floor, a broad circle of rouletting. The same type of handle occurs at Priene in terra sigillata (*Priene*, p. 433, No. 134, fig. 550). The shape is the Hellenistic version of the familiar fifth and fourth century cup-kotyle with well rounded side-wall and plain, horizontal loop handles. For good illustrations of the intermediate development cf. *Sciatibi*, No. 183, pl. LV1, 121; *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 542-554, pls. 151 and 152.

H., 0.052 m. D., 0.157 m. One handle and small fragments of the floor restored in plaster.

**D 17, 18 (P 602, 603)** Two-handled bowls. Figs. 58 and 118

Low base-ring; shallow bowl with straight upper wall gently interned. Horizontal handles twisted back on themselves. The inside and the upper part of the outside are covered with thin glaze mottled gray and brown. Similar bowls: **E 52** and **53**.

Of **D 17**: H., 0.081 m. D., 0.18 m.

Of **D 18**: H., 0.086 m. Calculated D., 0.18 m.

Both broken and lacking each a handle.

**D 19** (P 620) Spheroid jug. Fig. 58

Flat bottom; globular body, contracted neck and sharply flaring lip. Flaky glaze mottled black and brown; the glaze has been scratched away from a line around the neck. A similar jug: **E 56**.

H., 0.09 m. D., 0.113 m. The handle and fragments from the wall restored in plaster.

**D 20, 21** (P 621, 622) Small pitchers. Fig. 58

Flat bottom; angular side-wall; flaring lip upturned at the edge; double handle bound together by a strap of clay. Metallic glaze mottled brown and black. A similar pitcher: **E 55**. Cf. *Prigne*, p. 422, Nr. 58, fig. 538: identical with our specimens save for two wheel-run ribs around the upper wall. Body profile and handle point clearly to a metal prototype such as was found in a Thessalian tomb of the second century: *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1912, p. 107, fig. 10. Cf. also Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York, 1915, No. 512.

Of **D 20**: H., 0.106 m. D., 0.087 m.

Of **D 21**: H., 0.095 m. D., 0.071 m.

Small fragments broken from both.

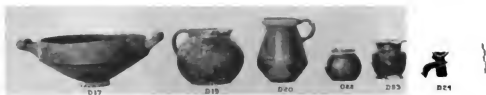


Fig. 58. Black glaze Ware from Group D

**D 22** (P 624) Small pitcher. Fig. 58

Flat bottom; plump body; low lip sharply out-turned. The handle was double and closely reminiscent of its metal prototype in the manner of its attachment to the lip. Metallic black glaze scratched away from a line around the neck.

H., 0.051 m. D., 0.06 m. The handle is missing.

**D 23** (P 623) Small pitcher. Fig. 58

Low base-ring; plump body; vertical neck; flat rim. There are two wheel-run grooves around the shoulder, one on the rim. Metallic black glaze. Here, too, the profile and the grooving show the influence of metal ware.

H., 0.063 m. D., 0.06 m. The handle and fragments of the wall are missing.

**D 24** (P 4074) Small pitcher. Fig. 58

Globular body; contracted neck; bell-shaped mouth; ash-gray clay covered with flaky black glaze; on top of the shoulder, a wheel-run groove.

H., 0.045 m. Estimated D., 0.06 m. Only the mouth and the upper part of the body remain.

## WEST SLOPE WARE: D 25-29

## D 25 (P 599) Amphora. Fig. 59

Low, flaring base-ring; squat body; high neck with slightly flaring lip; twisted handles, each with a plastic mask at its root. Metallic black glaze. Between the handles, on either side of the neck, a conventional wreath comprising, from top to bottom: a line of white dots, a broad white line bounded by brown, a zigzag line incised, a band of pendants rendered in thinned clay. On



Fig. 59. D 25. West Slope Amphora

the shoulder, on either side, groups of diminishing rectangles alternate with panels of checker-board pattern. The rectangles and the checker-board are outlined in thinned clay. White paint is used for alternate squares in the checker-board, and for the dots between the diagonals of the innermost rectangles. The handle attachments both above and below are encircled each with a line of thinned clay. The glaze has been scratched from the bottoms of shallow grooves, two around the neck below the lip, one at the root of the neck, one at the junction of shoulder and side-wall, one around the base-ring. An amphora from the West Slope is identical in shape and the decoration of its shoulder. On its neck, however, there are ivy garlands with a band of alternating horizontal and vertical dashes just below the lip. The handles are of the strap variety and are surmounted by rotelles (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 138, No. 1, pl. III = Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 753).

H., 0.236 m. D., 0.198 m. One handle and fragments from the lip are restored in plaster. *A.J.A.* XXXVI, 1932, pp. 387 f., fig. 5 B; *Ill. Lond. News*, June 25, 1932, pp. 1060, 1063, fig. 14.

**D 26** (P 600) Amphora. Fig. 60

High, flaring base-ring; squat body; low neck with flaring lip and sharply profiled rim; twisted handles, each with a plastic mask at its root and with a wart on either side of its attachment to the neck. Metallic, black glaze fired brown in places. Hung from the handles on either side, an ivy garland, its leaves and stems rendered in thinned clay, its supporting string and berries in white paint. Each of the warts is covered with a star of eight points alternately white and brown. The shoulders are covered each with two groups of diminishing rectangles separated by a panel of checker-board. Rectangles and checker-board are rendered in thinned clay, the alternate squares of the checker-board in white paint. The glaze was scratched away from lines around the rim, the root of the neck, the shoulder and the base-ring. An amphora, probably of Attic origin, found in



Fig. 60. **D 26**. West Slope Amphora

Olbia differs from this only in the substitution of cross-hatching for diminishing rectangles on the shoulders (*Compte-Rendu*, 1886, p. 208, fig. 594 — E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, fig. 255).

H., 0.174 m. D., 0.18 m. Small fragments are missing from lip and side-wall.

**D 27** (P 625) Small amphora. Fig. 61

Flaring base-ring; plump body; flaring lip; twisted handles with a wart on the neck to either side of the upper attachment and with a much debased mask at the root. On either shoulder, a spray of ivy, its leaves in thinned clay, its stem in white paint bounded above and below by a line of white dots. On the neck, on either side, a band of pendants in thinned clay hanging from a white line with a line of white dots below. Highly metallic, black glaze inside and out. The

ivy garland on the shoulders is at about the same stage of development as the grape-vine on the plate **£ 62**.

H., 0.088 m. D., 0.076 m. One handle restored.



Fig. 61. **D 27**. Scale 1:1

**D 28** (P 607) Hemispherical bowl. Figs. 62 and 118

The bottom slightly flattened. On the outside are four wheel-run grooves, on the inside, one. On the floor, a cross in thinned clay; around it a band of horizontal brown strokes alternating with pairs of vertical white strokes. Dull black glaze. For the centre design cf. **C 12** and references there given. The border design is a popular one in the West Slope repertoire. Cf. our saucer **£ 66** and plate **£ 62**; an amphora from the West Slope (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 68, No. 1, pl. III) where a similar band encircles the neck just below the rim.

H., 0.046 m. D., 0.10 m. A fragment missing from lip.



Fig. 62. West Slope and White Painted Ware from Group D. Scale ca. 1:3

**D 29** (P 4075) Fragment from the wall of a kantharos. Fig. 62

Above an incised groove which divided upper and lower wall, there is a band of wave pattern in white paint outlined with incision and with an incised zigzag line below. Metallic black glaze. For the decoration cf. the kantharos **B 8**.

H., 0.044 m. W., 0.045 m.



Fig. 63. **D 30**. Lagynos

LAGYNOI AND RELATED WARE: **D 30-33****D 30** (P 601) Lagynos. Fig. 63

Globular body; cylindrical neck with lip very slightly thickened; strap handle doubly grooved. Fine buff clay covered with thick white paint. Around the outer edge of the shoulder, a broad band of brown paint bordered above and below by two lines. On top of the shoulder, a band of rays with thin end toward the neck. Broad bands of brown paint around the root of the neck and the lip. The surface has been much rubbed. Other lagynoi: **C 15**; **D 31**; **E 70-73**. For an almost identical specimen from Melos, now in Heidelberg, cf. *Exped. E. von Sieghin*, II 3, p. 31, fig. 38 = *G. Leroux, Lagynos*, Paris, 1913, No. 90. Cf. also Leroux, No. 95: from S. Russia (same shape and decoration). On the round shape see Leroux, pp. 85 f.

P.H., 0.214 m. D., 0.142 m. The base is broken away.

**D 31** (P 4076) Fragment of a lagynos. Fig. 62

Buff clay covered with a thin white wash. Around the root of the neck, a band of brown paint. P.H., 0.042 m. A fragment from the lower part of the neck.

**D 32** (P 4077) Fragment of a bowl with lid. Figs. 62 and 64

The bowl had an almost vertical lip with a ledge inside to receive the lid. Both bowl and lid are of fine buff clay covered with a firm white paint on the outside. There is a band of brown paint around the outer edge of the rim of both members and a line of brown dots just inside the rim of the lid. A lid from a similar pyxis has been found on Delos (Leroux, No. 102).

Calculated D. of mouth, 0.14 m. Only small fragments are preserved from the rim of bowl and lid. Identity of fabric and diameter make their association very probable.

**D 33** (P 4078) Fragment from the lip of a large amphora(?). Fig. 62

Broadly flaring lip with profiled rim. Deep-red clay covered inside and out with a thick white paint.

Estimated D. of lip, 0.27 m.



Fig. 64.  
Profile of **D 32**.  
Scale 1:1

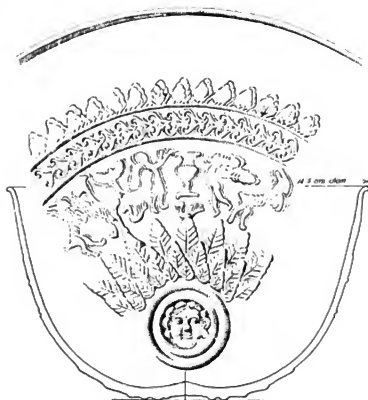
MEGARIAN BOWLS: **D 34-52****D 34** (P 589) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 65

Fig. 65. **D 34**. Scale 2:3



In the medallion, a gorgoneion; around it, 3 rows of deep-veined leaves. Around the body, pairs of erotes approaching kraters alternate with pairs of rampant goats. In the field are flying nikai and water birds(?). In the upper zone, a band of simplified guilloche with a line of upright leaves superimposed. Metallic black glaze somewhat flaked. The bowl shifted slightly in the mould, blurring its relief. For the erotes-krater group cf. *Delphes*, V, p. 175, fig. 739.

H., 0.087 m. D., 0.143 m. Fragments missing from lip.



Fig. 66 a. D 35

**D 35** (P 590) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Figs. 66 a and b

In the medallion, a double rosette; around the medallion, four rows of veined leaves. On the side-wall are four pairs of goats rampant about kraters. In the field between each two pairs are two erotes flying toward one another, two masks and a bird on a wreath(?). The upper zone consists of a band of egg-and-dart and another of double spirals from which rise sprays each with a dolphin at either side. Very glossy black glaze. For the upper members of the upper zone cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 59, A 11. The combination of rampant goats with erotes flying above masks recurs in Dumont et Chaplain, *Céramique de la Grèce propre*, pl. XXI.

H., 0.075 m. D., 0.131 m. Small fragments are missing from the side-wall.



Fig. 66 b. D 35. Scale 2:3

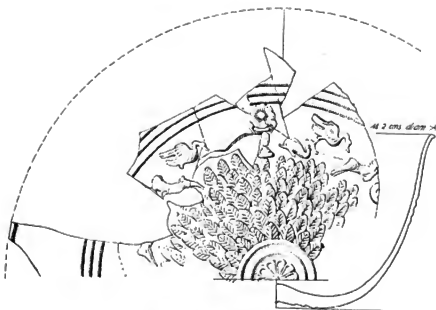


Fig. 67. D 36. Scale 2:3

**D 36** (P 591) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 67

Medallion centered with a 10-petalled rosette and surrounded with many rows of small leaves. Around the wall, rampant goats with rosettes(?) between their feet alternate with kraters surmounted by rosettes. In the field are flying geese and dolphins. The upper zone consists of three raised lines. Metallic black glaze.

H., 0.081 m. D., 0.142 m. Much missing from side-wall; profile complete.

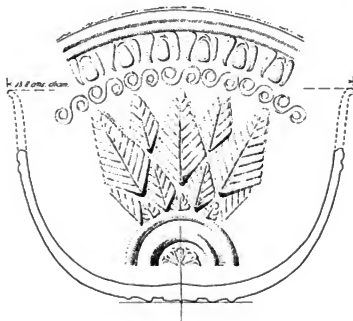


Fig. 68. **D 37**. Scale 2 : 3

**D 37** (P 4079) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 68

The medallion is centered with a small, 8-petalled rosette and surrounded by big and little fronds. The upper part of the field is occupied by a line of double spirals and another of inverted egg-and-dart. Metallic black glaze. For the rim pattern cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 60, A 18.

H., 0.053 m. D., 0.138 m. Only the lower part remains.

**D 38** (P 598) Megarian bowl. Figs. 69a and b

The medallion is plain. The side-wall is covered with a network of jewelled lines bounded above by a band of oblique hatching. Metallic black glaze. For the net pattern on the side-wall cf. also **D 51**; Courby, pl. XII, 7 (Delian bowl); *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 88 (a bowl in a dealer's shop in Athens); Reinach, *Ant. du Bosph. Cim.*, pl. XLVIII, 11 (a bowl from the Crimea); *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 67, Nos. 25 and 26 (bowls from South Russia). The popularity of the net pattern at this period was not confined to Megarian bowls. The same pattern is frequently found on other small bowls and vessels. Cf. **E 58**; *Delphes*, V, p. 174, No. 408; *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 67, n. 19 and further



Fig. 69 a. D 38

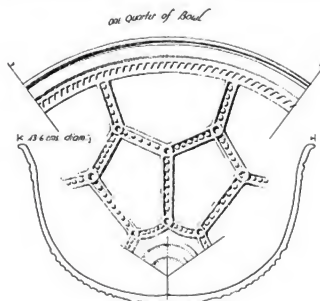


Fig. 69 b. D 38. Scale 2 : 3

references in both these places. Dr. Oscar Bronceer informs me that he has recently found a Megarian bowl with similar decoration in a deposit of pottery in the great stoa to the south of the Agora in Corinth. The context would seem to be not much, if at all, later than the end of the third century

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.136 m. Fragments are missing from the lip.

**D 39** (P 595) Bowl with long petals. Fig. 70

In the medallion is an 8-petalled rosette. From around it spring elongated petals. Upper zone lacking. Metallic glaze, mottled black and brown. For bowls of this type (*à godrons*) cf. Courby, pp. 329 ff., and the general discussion, pp. 456 f.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.121 m. Fragments missing from lip and side wall.

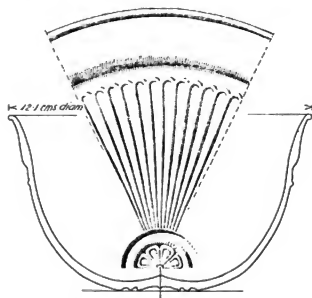


Fig. 70. D 39. Scale 2 : 3

**D 40** (P 596) Bowl with long petals. Fig. 71

Similar to the preceding save for the addition between the petals of jewelled lines terminating above in tiny fronds. Cf. E 74. For a fragment of a similar bowl from the Acropolis see Graef-Langlotz, *Akropolis-Vasea*, II 3, No. 1251, pl. 90, and for another from Delos see Courby, p. 333, pl. IX b. The shape of the bowl found on Delos suggests that it is either of Athenian manufacture or made from an Athenian mould. See below, p. 459.

H., 0.073 m. D., 0.135 m. Fragmentary but complete in profile.

**D 41** (P 597) Bowl with swirling petals. Fig. 72

In the medallion, a double rosette. From around it spring swirling petals separated by jewelled lines. Metallic, black glaze somewhat flaked. Cf. E 85. A fragment found in Delos shows the same decoration on its side-wall (Courby, pl. IX, c, p. 332).

P.H., 0.053 m. Only the lower part remains.

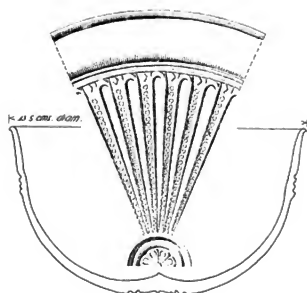


Fig. 71. D 40. Scale 2:3

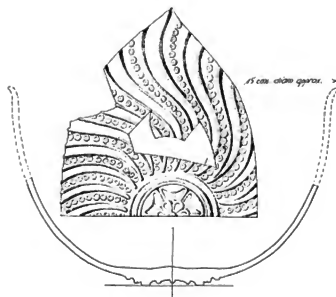


Fig. 72. D 41. Scale 2:3

**D 42** (P 593) Bowl with long petals

Plain medallion from which spring elongated petals. Upper zone lacking; metallic black glaze.  
Cf. **D 43** and **E 77**.

H., 0.072 m. D., 0.142 m. Much missing from side-wall.



Fig. 73 a. **D 44**

**D 43** (P 592) Bowl with long petals

Similar in shape and decoration to the preceding. Metallic black glaze.  
H., 0.07 m. D., 0.137 m. Much is missing from the side-wall.

**D 44** (P 594) Bowl with long petals. Figs. 73 a and b

In decoration it differs from the preceding only in the addition of a tiny leaf between the tips of each pair of petals. Metallic glaze mottled black and brown. In cross-section it approaches the rectangular.

H., 0.071 m. D., 0.126 m. Complete save for small fragments of the side-wall.

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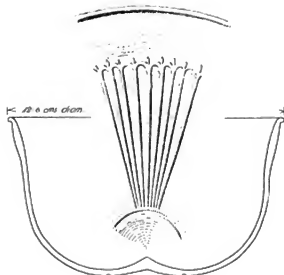


Fig. 73 b. D 44. Scale 2:3

**D 45-52** (P 4080-4087) Fragments of bowls. Fig. 74

Figure 74 illustrates a number of the more significant of the smaller fragments found in the pithos. For the aene flowers of D 45 cf. C 35. Note the rabbit's head on D 50. D 51 was covered with a network different in pattern from that of D 38. D 47 is interesting as one of the half dozen fragments of imported Megarian bowls found thus far in the Agora excavations. Contrary to the

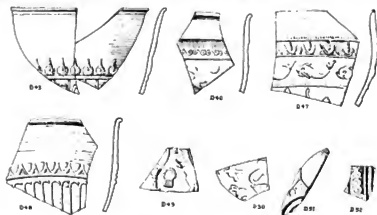


Fig. 74. D 45-52. Fragments of Megarian Bowls. Scale 1:2



Attic practice, its lip is incurved. On its outer wall there remain parts of three zones divided by raised lines; the uppermost is occupied by a band of egg-and-dart; the second by a line of dolphins; the third by leaves and tendrils of which only the tips remain. Fine, brown clay slightly micaceous. Glaze thin, chocolate-colored, metallic. I find no exact parallel for the bowl, but its profile and scheme of decoration suggest a Delian origin. For the krater on **D 49** cf. **C 36**. Of the other fragments of bowls from the pithos all save two are of the long-petalled variety, with or without jewelling.

LAMPS: **D 53-61****D 53** (L 556) Two-nozzled lamp with central tube. Fig. 75

Flat bottom; side-wall gently inclined to a flat and narrow rim. Nozzles short and blunt. Central stem is heavy and hollow in its lower part, broken away above. It still rises 0.05 m. above the rim. Flaky brown glaze fired black in the upper part. This and the following lamp were probably intended for suspension. The central stem would have terminated above in a loop, or it may have been pierced horizontally for the insertion of a cord. For similar lamps from Delos cf. Deonna, *B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 141 f. The type was familiar from earlier times. See, for instance, *Olynthus*, II, pp. 135 f., Nos. 27-31, figs. 229 and 300. In bronze, too, such double suspension lamps were popular, though the bronze lamp was ordinarily suspended by means of chains. Of the many published specimens one may note, for example, those in the British Museum: *B. M. Catalogue of Lamps*, Nos. 35, 48-57, pls. I, III, V-VII.

L., 0.108 m. W., 0.059 m. H. without tube, 0.031 m.

**D 54** (L 557) Two-nozzled lamp with central tube. Fig. 75

High base; side-wall half round in section; nozzles short with rudimentary flukes. An unpierced knob on either side. Ash-gray clay; dull, black glaze inside and out.

L., 0.107 m. W., ca. 0.062 m. H., 0.039 m. The top of the stem, the tip of the nozzle and much of the side-wall are broken away.

**D 55** (L 559) Seven-nozzled lamp. Fig. 75

In shape the lamp approximates those of Broneer's Type XII. Nozzles short and bluntly pointed with rudimentary flukes; vertical strap handle. Metallic black glaze. Wheel-made. This is an early specimen of the so-called "Knidos type." Cf. Broneer, pp. 53 f. For other examples with many nozzles see *B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, p. 145, fig. 7; *B. M. Catalogue of Lamps*, Nos. 384-389, figs. 61-65. There are fragments from at least three single-nozzled lamps of somewhat similar shape, resembling **C 54-57**.

P. W., 0.12 m. The handle, all but one nozzle and the lower part are broken away.

**D 56-59** (L 551-554) Lamps, Type XVIII. Fig. 75

Low base; watch-shaped body; long, blunt nozzle; vertical strap handle. On the shoulder, ribs (save on **D 59** whose shoulder is plain). On the top of the nozzle, two shallow grooves. On the left side, a plastic cornucopia. Flaky black glaze. Mould-made. Similar lamps: **E 97-102**. The type is common in Athens (cf. Broneer, p. 65, figs. 2 and 10), and in Delos (*B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 155 f., fig. 25). A very few fragments have been found in Corinth (Broneer, p. 65, Nos. 301-303, pl. VI) and I have noted a piece of one such lamp from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos.

All are somewhat broken.

27\*

*Hesperia* 3.



**D 60** (L 558) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 75

Low base; watch-shaped body; plain shoulder surrounded by a high rim. Five small holes were pierced through the shoulder inside the rim to permit spilled oil to enter the infundibulum. Nozzle broad and flat on top. Vertical strap handle. Ash-gray clay covered with metallic, gray-black glaze. The lamp is very crudely shaped. Wheel-made.

L., 0.145 m. W., ca. 0.09 m. H., 0.012 m. Fragments are missing from the nozzle and rim.

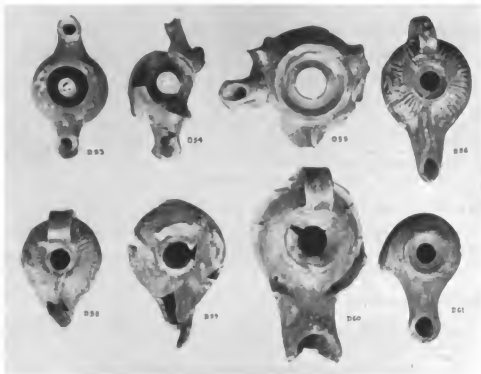


Fig. 75. Lamps from Group D

**D 61** (L 555) Lamp, Type XIX. Fig. 75

Low base; angular profile; raised rim around the filling-hole; heavy unpierced knob on left side; long nozzle rounded at its end. Gray clay; lusterless, gray-black glaze. This is a plain specimen of the so-called "Ephesus type," named because of the number of such lamps found on that site. On the type cf. *B. M. Catalogue of Lamps*, pp. 46 ff.; Broneer, pp. 66 ff.

L., 0.10 m. W. without knob, 0.06 m. H., 0.03 m. Broken but complete.

## PLAIN WARE: D 62-76

**D 62** (P 629) Water pitcher. Fig. 76

Heavy base-ring; tall neck with flaring lip and raised ridge at the level of the handle attachment. Fine brown clay, slightly micaceous.

H., 0.213 m. D., 0.158 m. Handle and fragments from side-wall restored in plaster.

**D 63** (P 4088) Plain jar. Fig. 76

Globular body; low neck with flaring lip; short strap handle. Gritty, buff clay, fired yellow on the outside. Similar in shape to **E 128** and **129**.

P.H., 0.068 m. The handle and a little of the mouth remain.



Fig. 76. Plain Ware from Group D

**D 64** (P 630) Flat-bottomed bowl. Fig. 76

Flat bottom; concave side-wall. Coarse, red clay. Crudely made. The shape shows itaellie influence. For an original in silver cf. a small pyxis from the early second-century tomb in Aetolia (*Eph. Arch.* 1906, cols. 77 ff., col. 82, fig. 10 = National Museum, No. 13,171). A small vase of the same shape was found in a Hellenistic tomb at Sardes along with a bronze coin datable to ca. 189 a.c. (Shear, *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 401 ff., fig. 9). But the shape goes back much earlier, for it is found at Chatby (*Sciatbi*, pl. LVI, 116).

H., 0.075 m. D., 0.225 m. Broken but complete.

**D 65-67** (P 4089-4091) Rim fragments from lekanai. Figs. 76 and 122

All are of gritty, buff-colored clay and are covered on the inside with thin, brown glaze. Of **D 65** the outside is spattered with similar glaze.

**D 68** (P 4092) Amphora with painted decoration. Fig. 77

Plump body; low, vertical neck with thickened lip; strap handles. Gritty, flaky clay, buff to yellow in color. Decorated on the outside with rude stripes of red paint.

D., ca. 0.242 m. Only the upper part with the 2 handles is preserved.

**D 69** (P 4093) Fragments from a large, closed vase with painted decoration. Fig. 77

Gritty, red clay covered on the outside with white paint on which floral(?) designs were painted in red.

Estimated D. of foot, 0.17 m. H. of fragment from side-wall, 0.131 m. One fragment from base and one from side remain.



Fig. 77. Cooking Pots and Painted Coarse Ware from Group D

**D 70** (P 677) Cooking pot. Fig. 77

Round bottom; broad rim with rising lip to retain the lid; twisted vertical handles. Coarse clay, blackened through and through by fire.

H., 0.222 m. D., 0.23 m. Slightly restored in plaster.

**D 71** (P 678) Cooking pot. Fig. 77

Round bottom; vertical neck with slightly flaring lip; two vertical handles. Gritty, red clay, much blackened by fire.

H., 0.195 m. D., 0.171 m. Slightly restored in plaster.

**D 72** (P 679) Casserole. Figs. 78 and 121

Bulging bottom; broad rim with rising lip to retain the lid. Traces of a horizontal loop handle. Gritty, red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire on the outside. Similar casseroles: **C 73-75; E 141-144.**

H., 0.062 m. D., ca. 0.192 m. About one-half remains.

**D 73-75** (P 680-682) Casserole lids. Fig. 78

Plain convex lids with heavy knobs on top. Gritty red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire in places. Similar lids: **A 58**; **E 146-148**. Among the sherds from the pithos are fragments of several more such casseroles and lids.

Of **D 73**: D., 0.228 m.

Of **D 74**: D., 0.245 m.

Of **D 75**: D., ca. 0.25 m.

All are fragmentary.



Fig. 78

Fig. 79. **D 76**. Top of Brazier. Scale 1:5Fig. 80. Inscription on Bottom of Brazier, **D 76**. Scale 1:8

**D 76** (P 683) Brazier. Figs. 79 and 80

The fire-bowl is hemispherical with a heavy rim from which rise three moulded lugs. On their inner sides are masks whose long beards project inward to hold the plate above the glowing coals. This bowl was supported at a convenient height by a hollow column closed at the bottom. In the part of the column preserved there remains the bottom of a vent by which the air entered to reach the coals through small holes pierced in the bottom of the bowl. Stamped on the bottom is raised characters: Y7Y3 (Fig. 80). Coarse, red clay, unglazed. For a more complete specimen cf. E 150. Much of the base of another similar brazier came from the pithos. For the mask cf. *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 153, 3 d, fig. 106.

Of fire-bowl, D., 0.301 m.; of base, D., 0.308 m. Most of the bowl and the base are preserved but very little of the connecting column.

**MISCELLANEOUS: D 77-80****D 77, 78** (P 627, 628) Fusiform unguentaria. Fig. 78

Slender in shape. Ash-gray clay. Two lines of white paint around the body and one around the neck. Crudely made. From the pithos come fragments of five or more other unguentaria of similar shape and fabric.

Of **D 77**, H., 0.14 m. D., 0.027 m. Broken but complete.

Of **D 78**, H., 0.135 m. D., 0.025 m. Entire.

**D 79** (P 4094) Fragment from a small pitcher. Fig. 78

The lip flares and was fitted with a ledge to receive a lid. Coarse clay fired gray and red. Decorated on the outside with horizontal rows of dots applied *en barbotine*. Very thin fabric. Estimated D. of mouth, 0.08 m.

**D 80** (MC 107) Loom-weight. Fig. 78

Conical in shape, much contracted below; with slightly flattened side-walls. Red clay containing large particles of grit. Similar weights: **B 34, 45, 47**.

H., 0.103 m. W., 0.062 m. Entire.

**GROUP E****THE CISTERN**

The ancient thoroughfare that led out of the southwest corner of the market-square was bordered on either side by shops and private houses. One or more of these depended for water on a system of storage basins discovered in 1934 to the east of the main drain which underlies the roadway (Fig. 81). The principal reservoir consisted of a flask-shaped chamber cut in the soft bedrock with a narrow neck curbed above with field stones set in clay. From the chamber, a tunnel led in a westerly direction to a vertical draw-shaft and continued some distance beyond to terminate in a dead end. An overflow was provided by joining the draw-shaft to a neighbouring, tile-curbed well by means of a passage walled with drain tiles. The interior of cistern and tunnels is covered with waterproof stucco. At some time in its history the system was abbreviated

by a wall of field stones set in clay which was built across the passage between the main chamber and the draw-shaft. Since only the face toward the main chamber was plastered, it is clear that only that chamber continued in use.

Draw-shaft and well would both seem to have gone out of use and to have been filled up after this blockage was effected. Their fillings yielded few objects, but the

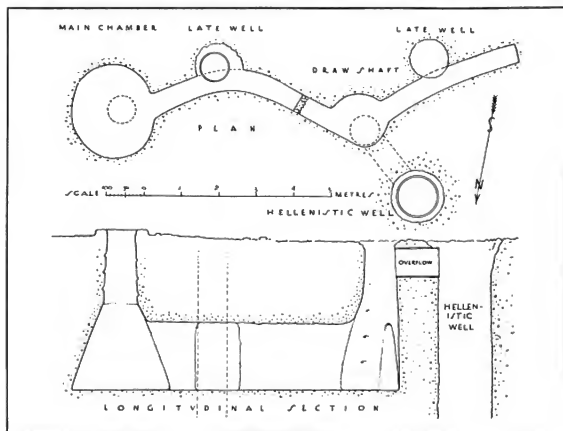


Fig. 81. Clatern E

two groups are closely contemporary: from the draw-shaft, a terracotta head (T 560); two stamped amphora handles, one probably Knidian (SS 2269), and one Rhodian (SS 2262); a conical loom-weight stamped ΜΕΛΙΣ (MC 78), and a fragment probably from a bone flute (B1 84); from the well, a fragment of a black-glaze bowl incised: ΑΓΟ[...] (P 3224); a conical loom-weight stamped ΓΑΥΚ (MC 98); a water pitcher (P 3793); a basket-handled water jar (P 3794); a bronze pail (B 184); a terracotta lid for a large pithos (P 3799), and a fragment from a marble basin (ST 81).

The main chamber of the reservoir was found full of earth that showed no stratification and obviously had been thrown in all at one and the same time; a time considerably

later than the filling of the rest of the system, if one may judge from the objects found in the earth. Among these objects there is an amazing mass of pottery and lamps, to be described below. In addition to those objects which immediately concern us, the miscellany included twelve stamped amphora handles and an amphora neck with two handles preserved and bearing the same stamp (SS 2076, 2157-2160, 2166, 2173-2176, 2250, 2251 and 2170). These all, with one possible exception (SS 2175), were Knidian. Of terracotta figurines there were two fragments, one representing a draped woman (T 559), the other a lyre (T 588). A lead suspension weight had been thrown in (IL 122) and a whetstone (ST 70), a ring of bone (BI 81) and another of bronze (B 158), a bone astragal (BI 83).

Fifteen bronze coins were found in the filling of the main chamber, but they are so badly corroded that none can be classified with precision. Two at least appear to be Athenian bronze of a period not later than 229 B.C.

A useful clue to the date of the filling is afforded by a small fragment of an inscribed stele recovered from the cistern (I 1594). The document is dated by the archon Nikodemus in the year 122/1 B.C.<sup>1</sup> This date must obviously be taken as a *terminus post quem* for the accumulation. The general character of the contents, when compared with the objects from Group D of the mid-second century, precludes a much later date. One might then enquire why the public document represented by the inscribed fragment should have been destroyed so soon after its publication. The explanation is possibly to be found in the destructive visit of Sulla in 86 B.C.<sup>2</sup> It was not far from here that he stormed the city walls and evidence of his passing has already been noted in the Agora in the shape of monument bases denuded at that time and masses of broken sculpture. The cistern may well have been abandoned and filled as a result of changes necessitated in the overlying houses by the damage done to them by the soldiers. If we suppose the filling to have occurred then, or very shortly afterward, we may date the objects from the cistern to the turn of the second and the first century and to the early years of the first.

## CATALOGUE OF GROUP E

### BLACK-GLAZE WARE: E 1-58

#### E 1-15 (P 3183, 3182, 3312-3324) Plates. Figs. 82 and 116

High base-ring; thickened lip. Inferior black or black-red glaze. Most of the plates retain traces of other vases stacked on their floors in the kiln. The cistern yielded a score or more of similar but less complete plates. The same type of plate was found at Priene (*Priene*, p. 424, No. 81, fig. 511).

H., 0.051-0.065 m. D., 0.238-0.265 m. All broken but nearly complete.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Sterling Dow for the reading and the restoration of the officials' names.

<sup>2</sup> Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 95 f.



**E 16, 17** (P 3327, 3328) Plates with stamped decoration. Fig. 115

Similar in shape to the preceding but shallower. Metallic black glaze. On the floor, palmettes stamped within a rouletted circle.

Of **E 16**: H., 0.032 m. D., 0.24 m. Only a segment remains.

Of **E 17**: D. of base-ring, 0.078 m. Only the middle part remains.

**E 18-21** (P 3326, 3330, 3325, 3329) Plates with profiled lips. Figs. 82 and 116

Shallow plates. Of **E 18** the lip is flat on top; of **E 19** and **20** slightly, and of **E 21** sharply, profiled. The glaze of all is thin and metallic. **E 20** and **E 21** supported other vases on their floors in the kiln.

Of **E 18**: H., 0.08 m. D., 0.344 m.

Of **E 19**: H., 0.044 m. D., 0.176 m.

Of **E 20**: H., 0.058 m.

Of **E 21**: H., 0.04 m. D., 0.184 m.

All are more or less fragmentary.



Fig. 82. Black-glaze Plates from Group E

**E 22-26** (P 3332, 3331, 3333-3335) Plates with offset rims. Fig. 83. For the profile cf. **D 1**, Fig. 116

High base-rings; broad, offset rims with outer edge slightly upturned. **E 22-25** have rouletted circles on their floors and retain traces of other vases stacked above them in the kiln. The glaze on all is metallic and has usually fired red where covered by another vase in the baking.

H., 0.044-0.061 m. D., 0.25-0.39 m. All are fragmentary.

**E 27-32** (P 3336-3341) Saucers with furrowed rims. Figs. 83 and 117

Heavy base-ring, slightly flaring. Downturned rim with two ribs carelessly run. The floor only was covered with thin brownish glaze. **E 32** shows traces of stacking in the kiln. There are fragments of several more such saucers among the sherds from the cistern. Similar saucers: **A 3-5**, **38**; **C 2**.

H., 0.035-0.04 m. D., 0.13-0.156 m. All are broken but nearly complete.

**E 33-44** (P 3342-3350, 3350, 3351, 3352) Bowls with outcurved lips. Figs. 83 and 117

Heavy base-ring; angular side-wall. Of **E 43** and **44** the side-walls are exceptionally straight. The glaze on all is thin, metallic and usually much flaked. **E 34** shows traces of stacking. **E 41** is rather finer in fabric than the others and on its floor is a circle of rouletting enclosing tiny stamped leaves. On the floor of **E 44** a ligature, >E, was scratched through the dry glaze; probably the initial letters of the owner's name. There are fragments of many more such bowls from the

cistern. Similar bowls: **A 9-13, 71, 72; C 3; D 2-6**. From a Hellenistic tomb at Sparta comes a close parallel for **E 43**: *B.S.A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 7 j.

Average H., 0.05 m. D., 0.12 m. **E 42** is exceptionally large, measuring 0.07 m. high, 0.18 m. in diameter. All are broken but fairly complete.



Fig. 83. Black-glaze Ware from Group E

**E 45** (P 3353) Base of small bowl

High, thin base-ring; almost flat floor; vertical side-wall. Buff, slightly micaceous clay, covered with flaky, red glaze. On the bottom, within the base-ring, incised in the dry clay, a large mu. Similar bowls: **D 10-12**.

D. of base, ca. 0.052 m. Only a fragment of the bottom remains.

**E 46-48** (P 3355, 3356, 3422) Hemispherical bowls with base-rings. Figs. 84 and 117

All have circles of rouletting on their floors. **E 46** and **47** are covered with metallic black glaze. **E 48** may well be an imported piece: its clay is buff in color, fine but granular and it is covered inside and out with firm, red glaze. A similar bowl: **D 7**. For the shape cf. *Priene*, p. 423, No. 71, fig. 539.

H., 0.019-0.056 m. D., 0.10-0.108 m. All fragmentary.



Fig. 81. Black-glaze Bowls from Group E

**E 49** (P 3354) Deep bowl. Fig. 84

Low base-ring; hemispherical bowl with lip slightly thickened toward the outside. Gritty clay, fired for the most part to ash-gray, in places to red. Covered on the inside with a thin, black wash, some of which was also splashed on the outside.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.20 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

**E 50** (P 3360) Deep bowl. Fig. 85

Heavy, flaring base-ring. Side-wall rises in a gentle unbroken curve. Narrow, outcurved rim pierced for suspension. Covered on the inside and the upper part of the outside with metallic black glaze which has fired red on the floor where another vase was stacked.

H., 0.165 m. D., 0.31 m. Part of side-wall restored in plaster.

**E 51** (P 3361) Large pyxis. Fig. 85

Massive base-ring; shallow lower bowl, divided by a broad, projecting ledge from the upper wall. Buff clay, slightly micaceous, covered inside and out with red glaze which has largely flaked away. It is not impossible that the fragment of a lid, **E 65**, belongs with this piece. The shape is common in this period, though our piece is unusually large. An unglazed specimen, complete with lid, was found in the rieb Thessalian tomb of the second century a.c. (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1912, p. 107, fig. 8, p. 110). Others are decorated in the West Slope style (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 75, No. 19; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 5065, fig. 105; C.F. A. Pays-Bas 2, *Musée Scheyler*, 2, 111 L and N, pl. 4, 12 and 15).

H., 0.201 m. D. at the flange, 0.32 m. D. of rim, 0.21 m. Side-wall restored in plaster.

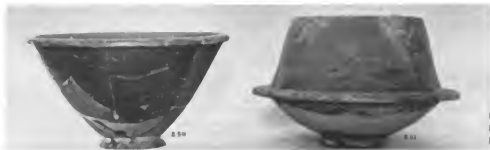


Fig. 85. Black-glaze Bowl and Pyxis from Group E

**E 52, 53** (P 3357, 3358) Two-handled bowls. Fig. 84. For the profile cf. **D 17**, Fig. 118

High, flaring base-rings. Tall upper walls inclined slightly inward. Horizontal handles bent back on themselves. Metallic black glaze. On the floor of each, a circle of rouletting. There are fragments of two other such bowls. Similar bowls: **D 17** and **18**.

Of **E 52**: H., 0.077 m. D., 0.174 m.

Of **E 53**: H., 0.083 m. D., 0.17 m.

Both are fragmentary.

**E 54** (P 3362) Small pitcher. Fig. 86

Heavy base-ring; broad shoulder; slender neck with wheel-run grooves around its lower part; strap handle. Covered with flaky glaze, mottled black and brown.

P.H., 0.09 m. D., 0.11 m. The mouth, the handle and parts of the side-wall are broken away.

**E 55** (P 3363) Small pitcher. Fig. 86

Flat bottom; side-wall of angular profile. Covered with dull black glaze inside and out. Similar pitchers: **D 20** and **21**.

P.H., 0.105 m. D., 0.096 m. The lip, the handle and parts of the side-wall are missing.

**E 56** (P 3364) Spheroid jug. Fig. 86

Flat bottom, slightly inset from the side-wall; spheroid body; low rim, slightly outcurved; covered inside and out with black glaze fired to red in places. A line of glaze has been scratched away at the junction of side-wall and rim. A similar jug: **D 19**.

H., 0.091 m. D., 0.11 m. The handle, much of the lip and part of the side-wall are missing.

**E 57** (P 3176) Bowl with lion's head spout. Fig. 86

Similar in shape to **D 13**. Black glaze, thin, metallic.

P.H., 0.051 m. D., 0.072 m. The handle, base and much of the side-wall are missing.



Fig. 86. Black-glaze Ware from Group E

**E 58** (P 3175) Spheroid inkwell. Fig. 86

The body is almost a perfect sphere with a small opening on the top. On its outside a net pattern was incised while the clay was still soft. There is no trace of handle. Covered inside and out with red glaze somewhat flaked. The base, which must have been broad and flat, is completely broken away. A fragment of a similar but smaller vase came from the Pitlon D. On the net pattern cf. the note on **D 38**. The type is not uncommon. In the National Museum there is a complete specimen very much like ours save that it has on its side-wall a pen-holder in the shape of an eagle's head, pierced vertically (Nicole, *Supplément au Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, Paris, 1911, No. 1158, pl. XX1). An identical specimen is illustrated by Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 498, fig. 106. In the National Museum there is a smaller well, with plain side-walls and without the pen-holder, placed in a case of lamps. There is another specimen like ours, and likewise lacking its base, illustrated in *C. V. A. Pays-Bas 2, Musée Scheurleer*, 2, III L and N, pl. 4, 14. From Priene come two Hellenistic wells with spheroid bodies and flat bases but with a double mouth so arranged that, were the vessel to be overturned, not quite all its contents could escape (*Priene*, pp. 425, 430, Nos. 98, 99, fig. 540, with references to similar vessels in blue faience and terra sigillata and to another from Asia Minor). Several specimens have recently been found in an early Roman well in Corinth, I am informed by Dr. Oscar Broneer. Cf. further Paul Wolters, *Munch. Jahrb.* VIII, 1913, p. 211; F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, pp. 209 f., pl. LXX.

P.H., 0.06 m. D., 0.071 m. Base and fragments of side-wall are missing.

**WEST SLOPE WARE: E 59-69****E 59** (P 3185) Amphora. Figs. 87 and 88

Thick neck with broadly flaring lip. Twisted handles with short spurs at the lower point of attachment. On the shoulder on either side there is a panel of checker-board pattern between cross-hatching. The neck is encircled with an ivy garland. The glaze has been scratched from

shallow grooves around the top of the neck, the root of the neck, and the top of the side-wall. The stems of the ivy leaves are incised. White was used for the alternate squares of the checker-board, for the main stem and the berries of the ivy garland, and for loops on the side-wall below the handles. Fine, buff clay, the glaze mottled black and red.

H., 0.213 m. D., 0.204 m. Fragmentary; the base and one handle are missing.



Fig. 87. West Slope Amphorae from Group F.

**E 60 (P 3177) Amphora. Fig. 87**

Low, flaring base-ring. On the shoulder, to either side of the handle, is cross-hatching in thinned clay. The tasselled ends of ribbons done in white paint hang on the side-wall beneath each handle. The glaze has been scratched from a groove around the base-ring and around the top of the side wall, exposing the mottled-covered clay. Fine, buff clay, metallic black glaze.

P.H., 0.114 m. D. of base, 0.132 m. Only the lower part, including a little of the shoulder, remains.

**E 61 (P 3193) Amphora. Fig. 87**

Low, flaring base-ring, coarsely moulded. On the shoulder there is a trace of diminishing rectangles. On the side-wall beneath each handle are two loops in white paint. The glaze was scratched from a groove around the base-ring and the top of the side-wall. Fine, buff clay, metallic black glaze.

P.H., 0.088 m. D. of base, 0.094 m. The lower part, with a little of the shoulder, remains.



Fig. 88. E 59. West Slope Amphora. From a Restoration in Water-color. Scale ca 1:4

**E 62** (P 3366) Plate. Fig. 89

High, flaring base-ring. Deep bowl with upturned rim. On the bottom, within the base-ring, is a star of 8 points, alternately white and yellow. The glaze is scratched from a groove on the under-side of the base-ring. The side-wall is bounded above and below by a pair of grooves from which the glaze was scratched. Each pair of grooves encloses a band of pairs of short dashes



Fig. 89. **E 62**. West Slope Plate. Scale 1:2

alternately vertical and horizontal. The vertical dashes are rendered in white, the horizontal in yellow. Between these two zones there is a wreath of debased grape-vine, its stem and flowers in

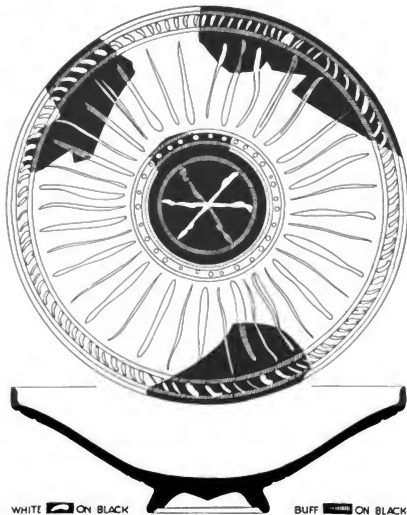


Fig. 90. E 63. West Slope Plate. Scale 1:2

white, its fruit in yellow. Metallic black glaze. Where the glaze was scratched away the surface of the clay had been covered with milots. For a similar state of decrepitude in floral decoration cf. the ivy wreath on the little amphora, D 27.

H., 0.077 m. D. of rim, 0.255 m., of base, 0.079 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

28

**E 63** (P 3365) Plate. Fig. 90

Similar in shape to the preceding. On the bottom, within the base-ring, there is a star of six points, four white and two yellow. The glaze was scratched from a groove on the under-side of the base-ring. The side-wall is banded above and below by pairs of grooves from which the glaze has been scratched. Between the upper pair there is a band of short, transverse strokes in white paint; between the lower pair, a line of dots in white. From the lower zone spring slender rays alternately white and yellow. Metallic black glaze. The shape of this and the preceding piece as plates is surprising at this period and raises the suspicion that the original of the type is to be found in the red-figure lids of fourth century *kyklos* (which could also serve as plates on occasion), one of the most popular shapes of the expiring red-figure style. The relatively late date of our two plates is amply proven by the utter debasement of the old motive of the grape-vine on the one, by the complete predominance of geometric design on the other.<sup>1</sup>

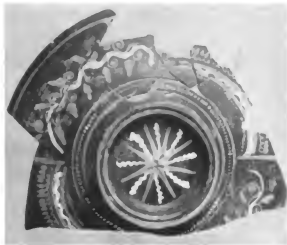
H., 0.078 m. D. of rim, 0.212 m., of base, 0.075 m.

**E 64-68** (P 3367, 3368 and 3373, 3372, 3371, 3370) Fragments of West Slope vases. Fig. 91

Fragments **E 65** a and b come from the lid of a large *pyxis*, possibly **E 51**. Around the edge ran a garland of grain; its stems and leaves in white paint, heads in thinned clay, kernels in white paint. The mid-lines of the stems are incised. There are short bars of thinned clay and dots of white paint in the lower field. Inside and outside are covered with reddish black glaze. **E 66** is from the rim of a saucer similar to **D 28**. **E 67**, with its garland of debased grape-vine (?) is a fragment from the mouth of a straight-walled *kantharos*. The glaze of all the fragments is very poor and the painting is careless.

**E 69** (P 3187) Fragment of a relief bowl with painted rim. Fig. 91

The lower part of the vase was shaped in a mould like an ordinary Megarian bowl. But the wall was carried high above the edge of the mould and inclined slightly inward. The moulded zone comprises a jewelled line, a band of double spirals and a line of rosettes and sprays alternating. On the side-wall, above, there is a conventional wreath of leaves rendered alternately in thinned clay and white paint. Firm, black glaze; scratched away in wheel-run grooves bounding the upper wall. The same combination of motives for the upper zone is found in a Megarian bowl from the West Slope (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 59, A 9). Two fragments of similar high rimmed bowls or *kantharoi*, combining,



West Slope Plate from the *pyxis*, underside

<sup>1</sup> An earlier stage of development is represented by a recent find on the *Pyxis Hill*. For similar decoration on the inside of a plate cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 82, No. 32: from Athens, now in Bonn.



like these, the two techniques, were found on the West Slope (*Ibid.*, p. 71, 8 a and b). Apart from these, the cistern yielded only seven or eight small scraps of West Slope Ware.

P.H., 0.063 m. P.W., 0.071 m. Only a piece of the lip and upper wall remains.

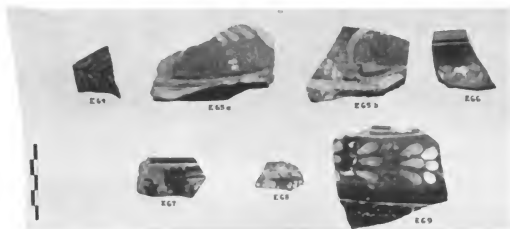


Fig. 91. West Slope Ware from Group E

#### LAGYNOS: E 70-73

##### E 70 (P 3375) Lagynos. Fig. 92

Low body and neck. Flaring mouth. Strap handle doubly grooved. A band of black paint encircles the base-ring and the lower part of the side-wall. Around the top of the side-wall is another broad band with two lines below and two lines on the shoulder above; a black band encircled the root of the neck and another the lip. On top of the shoulder are four ribbons, with tasselled ends tied in bow-knots to the root of the neck. In the field are short black strokes. There are traces of red paint on the back of the handle and around its point of attachment to the neck. Buff clay covered with a firm white sizing. The paint of the designs varies from black to brown.

H., 0.167 m. D., 0.178 m. Fragments of the mouth and side-wall restored in plaster.

##### E 71 (P 3374) Lagynos. Fig. 92

High body; short neck; flaring mouth; handle doubly grooved. Clay buff to red, covered all over with white paint. Around the shoulder, a broad band of black with two narrow lines above and below. There is a band of black paint around the root of the neck and another around the outside of the lip. Of the decoration on the top of the shoulder there remains one ribbon tied in a bow-knot at the root of the neck.

H., 0.162 m. D., 0.167 m. Parts of the side-wall and handle restored in plaster.

##### E 72 (P 3376) Lagynos. Fig. 92

Low body, high neck, thickened lip; strap handle doubly grooved. Above the white there are bands of red paint around the lip, the root of the neck, the junction of the shoulder and side-wall

28\*



Fig. 92. Lagynoi from Group E.



Fig. 93 a E 74

(with a line on the shoulder above and another on the side-wall below) and at the junction of the side-wall and base-ring. On top of the shoulder there were wreaths of which traces of two remain. Dark buff clay; the white paint is much rubbed; the decoration is in red paint. Two closely similar lagynoi were found in the chamber tomb in Aegina to be dated probably between 144 and 133 B.C. (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 274 ff., fig. 35). Cf. also Leroux, No. 17 (from Eretria) for shape and decoration.

H., 0.222 m. D., 0.195 m. Fragments of the side-wall and handle restored in plaster.

**E 73** (P 3188) Lagynos. Fig. 92

Shallow body; the neck tall and tapering; the lip thickened; the handle twisted. There is a band of red paint around the base-ring, another around the outer edge of the shoulder, and within this two red lines; the lip is red; the top of the shoulder is plain. On the side-wall just below the shoulder a mu was carefully incised in the soft clay. The clay is buff in color. Cf. Priene, p. 401, No. 19, fig. 539. Leroux, No. 9 (from Delos) is also very similar in shape and decoration. Among the sherds from this cistern there are small fragments of perhaps three more lagynoi, exhibiting, however, no unusual features.

H., 0.181 m. D., 0.23 m. Fragments of the handle and side-wall restored in plaster.

MEGARIAN BOWLS AND RELATED WARE: **E 74-86**

**E 74-77** (P 3378-3381) Bowls with long petals. Figs. 93 and 94

These four pieces illustrate some of the possible variations among the bowls of long petals: **E 74** with its petals divided by jewelled lines terminating in tiny leaves (cf. **D 40**), **E 75** and **76** with

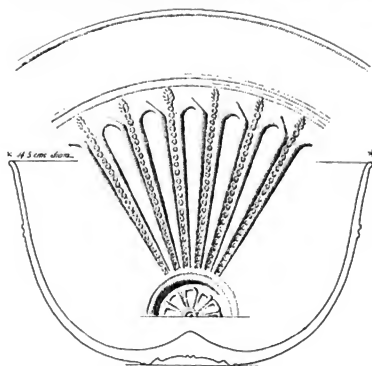


Fig. 93 b. **E 74**. Scale 2:3

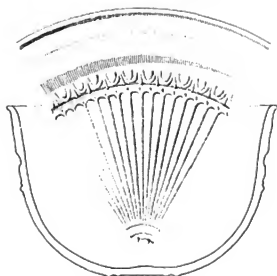


Fig. 91. E 75. Scale 2:3

upper zone of egg-and-dart, E 77 completely lacking an upper zone. Of the first three the medallions were centered with rosettes, that of the fourth is plain (cf. D 42-44). E 74 and 76 have no scratched line beneath the rim. On all the glaze is thin and metallic, varying in color from black to red.

Of E 74: H., 0.083 m. D., 0.145 m.

Of E 75: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.125 m.

Of E 76: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.146 m.

Of E 77: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.138 m.

All are more or less fragmentary.

**E 78** (P 3382) Bowl with concentric semicircles. Figs. 95a and b

In the medallion is a rosette with alternating petals and sepals. The side-wall is occupied by four groups of concentric semicircles suspended from the raised line which constitutes the upper zone. Between each group there is a jewelled line forked at the top. Thin black glaze, somewhat flaked. For the decoration cf. the lamp E 113. It has been suggested that the motive of concentric semicircles developed from the hanging garland (Zahn, *Prinze*, p. 406, Nos. 34 and 35; *Jahrb. XXIII*, 1908, p. 67, No. 24; Courby, pl. XIII, 30; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, Nos. 202 [fig. 46] and 208). But see p. 412.

H., 0.069 m. D., 0.137 m. Much of the rim and side-wall is missing.

**E 79** (P 3377) Bowl with floral and vegetable decoration. Figs. 96a and b

Shallow, flat-bottomed, with slightly rolled lip. In the medallion is a rosette with petals, sepals and stamens. Around it there is a band of small, veined leaves from which spring alternately acanthus leaves, long-stemmed flowers and lotus petals. The upper zone is a band of beading, much blurred, between raised lines. There is no scratched line beneath the lip. Red clay, covered



Fig. 55 a. E 78

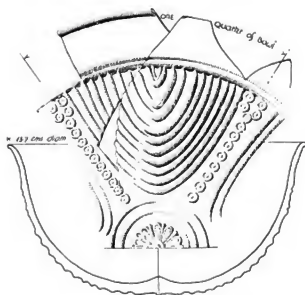


Fig. 55 b. E 78. Scale 2:3

with firm glaze which fired red over the lower part both inside and out. The combination of acanthus leaves and lotus petals was common enough elsewhere than at Athens. Cf. Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. LVIII, 1 (Megara); *Jahrb. XXIII*, 1908, p. 51, No. 5 (South Russia); *Pergamon*, I, p. 274, fig. 10, Beiblatt 40, 42 and 44; 43, (Pergamon); *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 79 a (Alexandria). The same decorative scheme and style are found also on one of the silver



Fig. 96 a. E 79

bowls from Hildesheim (Pernice and Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 28 ff., pls. VI and VII; Courby, p. 374, fig. 75 h). Its fabric, shape and decoration are against an Athenian origin for our piece. Its shape is close to that of Pergamene bowls and the scheme of decoration would also seem to have been popular in Pergamon.

H., 0.095 m. D., 0.185 m. Parts of the base and side-wall are restored in plaster.

**E 80** (P 3385) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

On the side-wall are the horses of a quadriga galloping left. Of the upper zone there remains a band of egg-and-dart. The relief is high. Dull black glaze, somewhat flaked.

P.H., 0.051 m. P.W., 0.068 m.



Fig. 96 b. E 79. Scale 2 : 3

**E 81** (P 3382) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

Apollo stands, gripping a log of his tripod with his right hand. Metallic black glaze. For the same scene cf. **C 18**.

P.H., 0.029 m. P.W., 0.037 m.

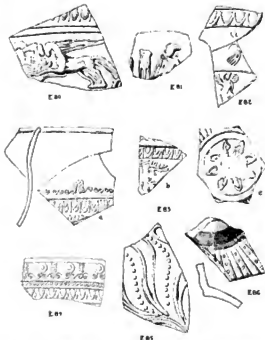


Fig. 97. **E 80-86** Fragments of Megarian Bowls and of a Relief Pitcher. Scale 1:2

**E 82** (P 3386) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

The lower side-wall is divided by a fine, raised line into two zones. In the lower a winged victory stands, a wreath in her left hand, her right arm raised above her head. In the upper a victory flies right. Above, a band of ovals. Buff clay, covered with black glaze, much flaked. Such a division of the side-wall into two figured zones, rare in Athens, suggests the influence on the Attic industry of vases imported from such a manufactory as that of Pergamon where the scheme was more common. (Cf. *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 41 = 12<sub>11</sub>; 13<sub>12</sub>. For a somewhat similar arrangement cf. *Olympia*, IV, pl. LXX, No. 1311. On the principle of the arrangement see Courby, p. 371.)

P.H., 0.053 m. P.W., 0.038 m.

**E 83** (P 3383) Fragments. Fig. 97

In the medallion is a rosette of eight, pointed petals. On the side-wall are traces of sprays with leaves. The upper zone consists of a band of egg-and-dart surmounted by a line of double



spirals which is punctuated by tiny leaves. Buff clay, covered with black glaze, fired to red in places and somewhat flaked. For the same combination of motives in the upper zone cf. *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 45, No. 1. The decoration of the side-wall consisted probably of vine tendrils, like that of A 74.

Estimated D., 0.15 m.

**E 84** (P 3384) Wall fragments. Fig. 97

From bottom to top the zone comprises a band of egg-and-dart, a jewelled line, a row of double spirals on which rest alternately rosettes and tiny sprays. Buff clay, firm black glaze. For the zone cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 59, A 9, where, however, the egg-and-dart does not appear.

Two fragments from the upper zone are preserved.

**E 85** (P 3388) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

It was covered by long, swirling petals divided by jewelled lines. Buff clay, metallic black glaze. Cf. D 41.

P.H., 0.038 m. P.W., 0.041 m. Only a fragment of the side-wall remains.

Of the numerous other fragments of bowls from the cistern, practically all are of the long-petalled variety, with or without rosettes in the medallion. Hence this was decidedly the popular type at the period although the comparative numbers of the published pieces might lead one to think otherwise.

**E 86** (P 3389) Moulded vase. Fig. 97

The fragment comes from a small vase with slender neck. Its body was moulded and covered with vertical ridges. Every other channel is jewelled. Fine buff clay, covered with a white sizing, over which is painted a brown band around the root of the neck. The vase was undoubtedly a one-handed pitcher with a spout protruding from the shoulder like the Delian piece illustrated by Courby, pl. XIV, 5, p. 367. The clay of our fragment is identical with that of lamp E 106, signed by the potter Ariston.

Max. Dim., 0.055 m. A fragment of the neck and upper part remains.

**LAMPS: E 87-116**

**E 87** (L 1307) Lamp with central tube. Fig. 98

Flat bottom; side-wall gently inclined; rim narrow and flat; nozzle short and set close to rim; flaky black glaze inside and out. Cf. C 58 and references there given.

H., 0.061 m. W., 0.051 m. H., 0.025 m. Upper part of central tube broken away.

**E 88** (L 1385) Lamp, Type X. Fig. 98

Flat bottom; side-wall bulges slightly toward bottom; filling hole surrounded by raised rim. Nozzle has blunt, slightly flaring end. Buff clay, red flaky glaze. Closely similar is *Delfnes*, V, p. 186, No. 492, fig. 789. Cf. also *Aegina*, pl. 130, 9, and Broneer, No. 163, pl. IV.

L., 0.079 m. W., ca. 0.052 m. H., 0.03 m. Much of the side-wall is missing.

**E 89** (L 1310) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 98

Well defined base; angular profile, the upper wall inclined sharply inward; depressed rim; vertical strap handle. Unpierced knob on left side. Brown glaze much flaked. Wheel-made. Comparable lamps, with and without handles and knobs, from tombs at Sparta: *B.S.A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 6, c and f.

P.L., 0.086 m. W., 0.062 m. H., 0.031 m. Handle and tip of the nozzle missing.

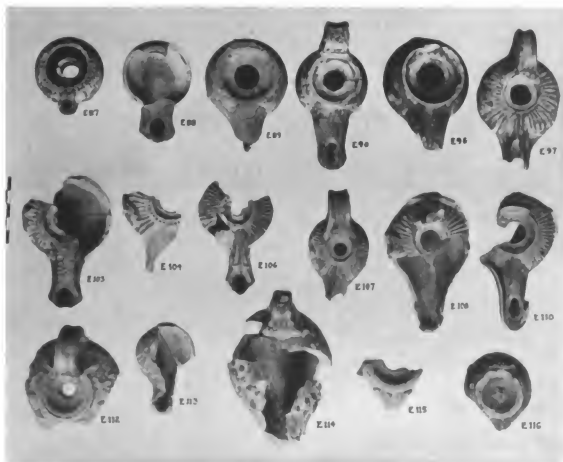


Fig. 98. Lamps from Group E

**E 90-95** (L 1312, 1306, 1305, 1309, 1386, 1387) Lamps, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 98

Similar in shape to **E 89**, save that the top is rather smaller. All have vertical handles and unpierced side-knobs. On all, the glaze is black and metallic and usually somewhat flaked. Wheel-made. For earlier lamps of this type cf. **C 54-57**.

All broken but fairly complete.

**E 96** (L 1300) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 98

High base; sharply angular profile; narrow rim surrounded by a high ridge. Vertical strap handle; unpierced knob on left side. Thin glaze mottled black and brown. Wheel-made.

L., 0.093 m. W., 0.063 m. H., 0.043 m. Handle and tip of nozzle are missing.

**E 97-105** (L 1304, 1389, 1330, 1388, 1394, 1390, 1391, 1393, 1399) Lamps, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

This group of lamps is closely uniform in type: low base; watch-shaped infundibulum; continuous band of ribs around the shoulder; a plastic cornucopia on the left side; two shallow longitudinal grooves on the top of the nozzle; vertical, strap handle. The nozzle is long and drawn to a blunt, rounded tip. The nozzle of **E 103** is marked by rudimentary flukes. On **E 104** the filling-hole is surrounded by a circle of raised dots. Of **E 105** the shoulder is plain. All are covered with metallic black glaze, inclined to flake, and all are mould-made. Similar lamps: **D 56-58**.

Usual dimensions. All are broken but more or less complete.

**E 106, 107** (L 1392, 1303) Lamps, Type XVIII. Figs. 98 and 99

Low base, rising slightly toward the middle. Angular profile. Around the filling-hole, a groove between two ridges. Long nozzle with angular tip. On the shoulder are ribs, on the top of the nozzle an elongated palmette. On the left side, a plastic cornucopia. On the bottom of **E 106**, moulded in raised characters:  $\Delta P[\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon]\Sigma$ . The under-side of **E 107** is plain. Very fine buff clay; red glaze somewhat flaked. Mould-made. For further discussion see pp. 463 f.

Of **E 106**: H., 0.028 m. W., 0.056 m. P.L., 0.067 m. (handle and much of the side-wall are missing); of **E 107**: H., 0.027 m. W., 0.046 m. P.L., 0.062 m. (tip of nozzle missing).



Fig. 99.  
Reverse  
of Lamp  
**E 106**.  
Scale 1:1

**E 108-111** (L 1395, 1398, 1396, 1397) Lamps, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Similar in shape to **E 97-105** save for the addition of a high rim around infundibulum and nozzle. Inferior glaze, usually metallic and somewhat flaked. Cf. *B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 150 ff., fig. 24; Broneer, No. 304, pl. VI. On the raised edge, intended to catch the oil spilled in filling, see Broneer, pp. 12 ff.

Usual dimensions. All broken but fairly complete.

**E 112** (L 1308) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

The rim is broad and decorated by a band of five boukrania linked together with dotted garlands. In the field are rosettes and flowers. Around the filling hole, a depression surrounded by two raised lines. Vertical strap handle. Tan-coloured clay covered with a thin purplish wash.

P.L., 0.062 m. W., 0.063 m. The handle and the back part of the top remain.

**E 113** (L 1401) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Low base-ring; watch-shaped body; narrow depression around filling-hole. Vertical strap handle. The wick-hole is surrounded by a round collar. The shoulder is decorated with concentric circles and nodules; the top of the nozzle with a palmette. Buff clay, metallic glaze, mottled black and brown. A lamp found in Delos shows a similar scheme of decoration (*B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pl. II, 1). Cf. also the Negarian bowl, **E 78**.

L., 0.068 m. W., 0.044 m. H., 0.024 m. The handle and much of the side-wall are missing.

**E 114** (L 1400) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Low base-ring; high body with convex profile; vertical strap handle. On the shoulder are nodules, irregularly spaced, and on the top of the nozzle, herring-bone pattern. Buff clay, dull black glaze.

P.L., 0.104 m. W., ca. 0.077 m. H., 0.014 m. The end of the nozzle and much of the side-wall are missing.

**E 115** (L 1403) Lamp, Type XIX. Fig. 98

A low ridge around the filling-hole; a high ridge on the shoulder. On the top of the nozzle, the tip of a thunderbolt (?) opening toward the filling-hole (cf. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, p. 59, No. 179, pl. VII). Ash gray clay, black glaze, much flaked. Mould-made.

P.L., 0.04 m. W., 0.019 m. Only a fragment of the upper part remains.

**E 116** (L 1402) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Low base-ring; vertical strap handle. On the bottom within the base-ring, is a raised rosette with five petals, and on the under-side of the nozzle is the lower part of a palmette in relief. Buff clay, metallic black glaze.

P.L., 0.06 m. W., ca. 0.052 m. Only the lower part remains.

In addition to the lamps here catalogued there are fragments of perhaps a dozen more, none of which, however, shows features not illustrated by the published pieces.

PLAIN WARE AND PAINTED COARSE WARE: **E 117-150****E 117** (P 3394) Plain bowl. Fig. 100

Flat bottom, slightly offset from the side wall. Hemispherical bowl with lip flaring very slightly. Inside and outside left quite rough by the wheel. Gritty, ash-gray clay, unglazed.

H., 0.08 m. D., 0.184 m. Part of the side-wall restored in plaster.

**E 118** (P 3395) Plain bowl

Low base-ring; hemispherical bowl with plain lip. Coarse red clay, unglazed.

H., 0.095 m. D., ca. 0.183 m. Only a segment remains.

**E 119-121** (P 3398, 3397, 3399) Lekanoi. Fig. 101

Low, false base-ring; steep wall; sharply down-turned lip; heavy handles pressed close against the rim. Gritty clay, fired to buff and greenish yellow. E 119 and 120 are unglazed. Of E 121 the inside is covered with a thin, red wash.

Of E 119: H., 0.14 m. D., 0.39 m.

Of E 120: H., 0.135 m. D., 0.39 m.

Of E 121: H., 0.127 m.

All are broken but fairly complete.

**E 122** (P 3401) Deep lekane. Fig. 100

High, almost vertical side-wall; plain outcurved rim. The interior is decorated with intersecting horizontal and vertical striations. Coarse, red clay, unglazed. For similar combing cf. A 63; C 68.

P.H., 0.24 m. D., ca. 0.36 m. Only a fragment from the upper part remains.



Fig. 100. Plain Ware from Group E

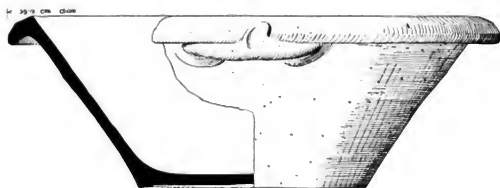


Fig. 101. E 119. Scale 1:3

**E 123** (P 3400) Rim fragment of lekane. Fig. 122

The lip curves gently out and is sharply indented on its outermost edge. Heavy loop handle. Coarse yellow clay, covered on the inside with a thin red wash.

D., 0.31 m. A fragment from the rim and one handle remains.

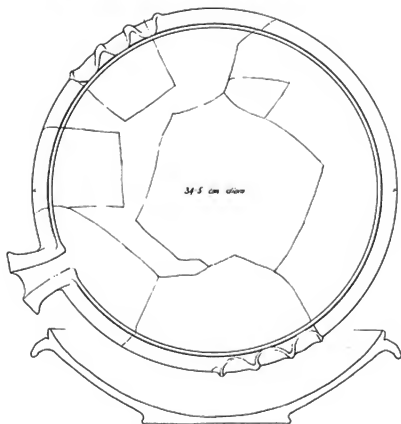


Fig. 102. E 124. Scale 1:3

**E 124** (P 3396) Mortar. Fig. 102

Flat bottom, slightly offset from the side-wall; sharply profiled rim; slender spout with fluted end. On the rim on either side, a hand-grip made like a pie-crust with an applied strip of clay. Pale yellow clay containing large fragments of white grit. Traces of abrasion on the floor. Unglazed.

H., 0.092 m. D., 0.345 m. Broken and lacking small fragments from the side wall.

**E 125** (P 3403) Plain amphora. Fig. 100

Low base-ring, barrel-shaped body, slightly flaring lip; vertical, ridged strap handles. Buff clay covered with a pale yellow slip, much flaked. Cf. *Priene*, p. 423, No. 70, fig. 540 (smaller and with the two handle attachments in a horizontal line).

H., 0.29 m. D., 0.276 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

**E 126** (P 3203) Plain amphoriskos. Fig. 100

Elongated ovoid body with shallow horizontal corrugations. Round vertical handles. Gritty buff clay, lightly slipped. A similar amphoriskos was found in a chamber tomb on Aegina (*Arch. Anz.* 1891, cols. 274 ff., fig. 36). In the National Museum at Palermo there is a similar flask from Salinistrano.

P. H., 0.27 m. D., 0.08 m. The top of the mouth is missing.



Fig. 108. Fragments of Jars and Pitchers from Group E

**E 127** (P 3404) Water pitcher. Fig. 100

Low base-ring; ovoid body; high neck, expanding toward the top; flaring lip; heavy, ridged handle. A ridge encircles the neck at the level of the handle attachment. Coarse, red clay, unglazed.

H., 0.375 m. D., 0.244 m. Parts of lip and side-wall restored in plaster.

**E 128** (P 3405) Plain jar. Fig. 100

Low base-ring; plump body; low neck with flaring lip. Gritty, ash-gray clay, unglazed. Similar in shape to D 63.

H., 0.197 m. D., 0.171 m. The handle and much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

**E 129-132** (P 3406-3409) Fragments of jars. Fig. 103

E 129 is from a jar of the same shape as E 128. Its clay is pale buff in color, unglazed. Of the other pieces the clay is coarse, in color varying from red to gray. E 130 is covered on the inside only with a thin, red wash.

Only the handles and parts of the mouths remain.

**E 133** (P 3410) Pitcher with bell-shaped mouth. Fig. 103

Low, slender neck. Large, bell-shaped mouth, one side of which is pinched in to form a spout. Vertical strap handle. Coarse clay, mottled gray and buff, covered with a flaky brown glaze.

*Cf. Priene*, p. 422, No. 68, fig. 544. Much the same shape, though without the pinched beak, appears also at Chatby (*Sciatibi*, pl. LIX, 134 and 136).

P.H., 0.044 m. W. at lip, 0.037 m. The mouth, part of the neck and handle remain.

**E 134** (P 3392) Coarse stamnos with painted decoration. Fig. 104

Low base-ring; ovoid body with horizontal handles set at the shoulder. Coarse, red clay covered with a thin, pale yellow wash. There are four broad bands of red paint on the outer wall and between the uppermost two a wavy line. There is a band of red paint on the outer face of each handle.

P.H., 0.245 m. D. of base, 0.145 m. The mouth and much of the side-wall are missing.

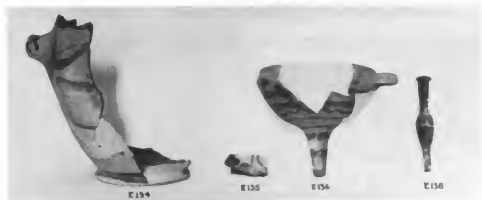


Fig. 104. Painted Coarse Ware from Group E

**E 135** (P 3393) Fragment from a coarse vase with painted decoration. Fig. 104

Coarse yellow clay, covered with a white wash over which a garland of ivy was painted in brown. P.W., 0.073 m. Only a fragment from the side-wall remains.

**E 136** (P 3178) Terracotta funnel. Fig. 104

The upper wall of the bowl is sharply incurved, the lip flaring. Horizontal loop handle. The outside is decorated with seven straight bands and one wavy band of red paint.

H., 0.166 m. D., 0.18 m. Partly restored in plaster.

**E 137** (P 3390) Fusiform unguentarium.

Slender. Purple-gray clay, with two bands of white paint around the body and one around the neck. Crudely made. Similar unguentaria: **A** 64 and 65; **B** 6 and 7, 44; **C** 76 and 77; **D** 77 and 78; **E** 138.

P.H., 0.196 m. D., 0.045 m. The mouth is broken away.



**E 138** (P 3391) Fusiform unguentarium. Fig. 104

Similar to the preceding in shape and fabric.

P.H., 0.167 m. D., 0.031 m. The base is chipped.

In addition to the two examples here catalogued, the *cisterna* yielded fragments of perhaps ten more fusiform unguentaria of similar fabric, some of them rather plumper in profile but all showing the same coarse, careless workmanship.



Fig. 105. Plain Cooking Vessels from Group E

**E 139** (P 3420) Cooking plate. Fig. 105

Flat bottom; low side-wall, sloping sharply outward; plain rim. Coarse clay, blackened through and through by fire.

D., 0.26 m. H., 0.033 m. Much of the bottom restored in plaster.

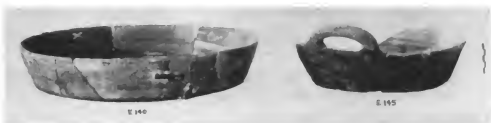


Fig. 106. Plain Cooking Vessels from Group E

**E 140** (P 3186) Cooking plate. Figs. 106 and 107

The plate had already been broken in antiquity and carefully mended by means of dove-tailed lead clamps consisting of two members. The upper was inlaid in the inside of the plate, the other was set on the outer surface, and the two were secured to one another by a lead pin at either end. Parts of seven clamps remain. Flat bottom, high side-wall, sloping gently out; plain rim. Coarse red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire on the outside.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.375 m. Broken in many pieces, a few of which are missing and restored in plaster.

29\*

**E 141-144** (P 3413, 3412, 3415, 3411) Casseroles. Figs. 105 and 121

Slightly bulging bottom; straight side-wall; broad, flat rim; no trace of handle. Coarse, red clay, blackened by fire on the outside. Similar casseroles: **C 73-75**; **D 72**.

Of **E 141**: H., 0.066 m. D., 0.249 m.

Of **E 142**: H., 0.10 m. D., 0.28 m.

Of **E 143**: H., 0.12 m. D., ca. 0.40 m.

Of **E 144**: H., 0.09 m. D., ca. 0.26 m.

All are fragmentary.



Fig. 107. **E 140**. Cooking Plate Mended in Antiquity



Fig. 108. **C 70**, Cooking Pot and **E 150**, Brazier. Scale ca. 1:8

**E 145** (P 3414) Casserole. Figs. 106 and 121

Slightly bulging bottom; high side-wall, sloping outward. The rim has a narrow ledge to receive a lid. There remains one vertical loop handle set on the rim. At one point the lip was slightly deflected to form a rudimentary spout. Coarse red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire on the outside. Cf. *Aegina*, pl. 122, 18. A similar casserole, complete with lid, from Chatby: *Sciatia*, I, p. 89, No. 273, fig. 51.

H., 0.07 m. D., ca. 0.34 m. Much of the side-wall and of the bottom is missing.

**E 146-148** (P 3416, 3417, 3419) Lids of casseroles. Figs. 105 and 121

Plain, convex lida. The knob on **E 146** is exceptionally elaborate. It finds a parallel in a fragment from the Stoa of Attalos. The other two lida have button-like knobs. Similar lida: **A 58**; **D 73-75**.

D., of **E 146**, 0.24 m.; of **E 147**, 0.185 m.; of **E 148**, 0.26 m. All three are more or less fragmentary.

**E 149** (P 3418) Lid of a cooking pot. Fig. 105

A flat disk with a small knob rising from its mid-point. Coarse red clay, unglazed. Suitable for such cooking pots as **D 70**.

H., 0.021 m. D., 0.134 m. Partly restored in plaster.



Fig. 109. **E 150**. Brazier. Scale ca. 1:3

**E 150** (P 3421) Brazier. Figs. 108 and 109

The fire-bowl is deep, its bottom pierced with one central and three lateral holes. It has a broad, down-curving rim. From the rim rise three rectangular lugs, their inner faces decorated with satyrs' masks in relief, the out-thrust beards supporting the cooking vessel. The stand consists of a hollow column, swelling toward the bottom and surrounded at the base by a broad channel. One of the handles remains: an upturned loop set on the column close below the fire-bowl. The column is pierced by a large air-hole. Red clay, containing much grit, unglazed, blackened by fire on the inside of the bowl. A fragment from the base of another such brazier made its way into the cistern. A similar brazier: **D 76**.

H., to rim, 0.57 m. D. of bowl, 0.312 m.; of base, 0.322 m. Much of the fire-bowl and base remain, but they do not join. Restored in plaster.

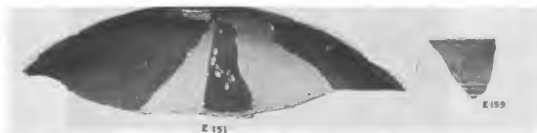


Fig. 110. Scale ca. 1:2

## PERGAMENE WARE: E 151-152

**E 151, 152** (P 3424, 3423) Fragments of Pergamene plates. Figs. 110 and 116

Flat floor; high, almost vertical rim. Fine, buff-colored clay covered with firm, red glaze. **E 151** had been broken and mended in antiquity. One lead clamp remains: dovetailed at either end and carefully inlaid in the inner surface of the plate.

D. of **E 151**, ca. 0.315 m.; of **E 152**, ca. 0.275 m. Of each plate only a small part of the rim and floor remain.



Fig. 111 a. Detail from Neck of E 153



Fig. 111 b. Detail from Neck of E 153

**E 153** (P 3155) Krater with plastic decoration. Plate III and Fig. 111 (*Ill. Lond. News*, June 2, 1934, p. 863, fig. 10, p. 896)

H., 0.27 m.; D. of lip, 0.205 m.; D. of body, 0.188 m.; D. of base, 0.106 m. Parts of the lip and side-wall and one handle are restored. Several of the plaques are damaged. A round hole, ca. 0.02 m. in diameter, pierced in the floor after firing, suggests that the vase was used as a flower pot. Fine, ash-gray clay, covered with thin glaze which has fired irregularly to black, brown and silvery gray.

High, moulded base; small body; narrow, abrupt shoulder; high, cylindrical neck with broadly flaring lip. On either side, a round, ribbed handle rises from the shoulder. Plastic leaves spring



Fig. 111 c. Detail from Neck of E 153

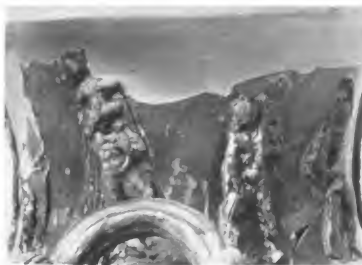


Fig. 111 d. Detail from Neck of E 153

from the handles and beneath each point of attachment there is a lion's head in relief. Before the handles were attached, a line of ovules was stamped all around the outer edge of the shoulder. The ovules are bounded above by a line of tiny circles, below by a straight line. The top of the shoulder is lightly stippled.

Around the neck of the vase is a series of nine relief plaques, moulded separately and attached. The presence of stray limbs at the edges of two of the plaques suggests that the moulds for making them were shaped on a more compact band of relief. The plaques in order from left to right represent:

1. An erect, female figure clad in chiton and himation, with the himation drawn over her head, grasping a tall sceptre in her right hand. This is probably Leto. The goddess, in similar pose and costume, appears before her seated son on one side of each of the little terracotta altars already mentioned.<sup>1</sup>
2. A maenad, in swirling drapery, moving left but looking back, holding a kid in her left hand. Of a second figure which stood to her left in the prototype there remains one leg, the right shoulder and the right hand resting on the maenad's shoulder. As an example of a prototype in metal one may compare the dancing maenads on the silver pyxis from the second-century Thessalian tomb.<sup>2</sup> In terracotta there are parallels on the "Maenad Krater" from Sparta.<sup>3</sup> The type, of course, was a favorite one on the Neo-Attic reliefs, of which such pieces as ours may be regarded as forerunners. In this connection the place of origin of our vase (probably Pergamon) assumes added interest.<sup>4</sup>
3. A female figure, wearing chiton and himation (the latter drawn over her head) standing erect, supporting in her left hand a tall sceptre(?), in her right a patera. A somewhat similar figure, holding a patera in her r. hand, a sceptre in her l., appears on an Athenian Megarian bowl from South Russia. Zahn (*Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 48, No. 2) suggests that it may be Demeter.
4. The youthful Dionysos, with long locks, his drapery gathered over his thighs, supported on his left by an anxious, draped woman, on his right by another figure of which only the left arm remains, resting on his shoulder. This triple group: the young Dionysos supported on one side by a satyr, and on the other by a Maenad or Ariadne, occurs on another face of the small terracotta altars already mentioned, and, with slight variations, on Megarian howls and other works of art of the period.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deonna, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, 10, p. 246, fig. 1, and Courby, fig. 70, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1912, pls. IV and V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, p. 425, and see *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923-1924, 1924-1925, pp. 304 ff. for a general discussion of the type. On the dancing maenad cf. also Winter, 50th *Winckelmann's Program*, 1890, pp. 97 ff.: "Über ein Vorbild neu-attischer Reliefs" and Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. XXXIII, 27-35, XXXIV, 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> On the place of Pergamon in the development of the Neo-Attic style cf. F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, Stuttgart, 1889, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Deonna, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, 10, pp. 251 ff.; Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXI, 1908, pp. 45 ff.; Courby, fig. 69, 3; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 196.

5. A bearded satyr moving right, playing a double flute. His cloak is fastened around his neck and falls loose behind. Satyrs playing double flutes occur elsewhere on the late Pergamene relief ware.<sup>1</sup>
6. A standing figure, to right, with cloak falling behind.
7. A satyr moving toward the right, carrying a great basket on his left shoulder. His cloak hangs in a heavy mass behind him. Cf. a similar figure on a late Pergamene relief bowl.<sup>2</sup>
8. A winged eros, torch in left hand, gazing left.
9. A nude, male figure, probably a satyr, moving right, carrying a sack over his shoulder. His right arm is raised high above his head.

The way in which the relief plaques were handled, the style of the figures themselves and the preponderance among them of the Dionysiac element suggest that our vase belongs to a group of late Pergamene relief ware which has been studied in detail by Courby.<sup>3</sup> The clay of our piece differs in color from that of most of the vases of the group, but its fabric is identical with that of a lagynos in the National Museum whose shoulder is decorated with a series of similar relief plaques.<sup>4</sup> That this lagynos belongs to the Pergamene group is made altogether probable, as Courby has pointed out, not only by its technique but also by the appearance on it of a group (drunken Dionysos supported by a satyr) that recurs on a fragment of ordinary Pergamene fabric.<sup>5</sup> Its fabric, then, need not stand in the way of a Pergamene origin for our vase.

A small but significant direct link between our krater and Pergamon is given by the band of deeply impressed ovules surrounding the shoulder of the vase: a favorite decorative motive on the contemporary Pergamene lamps.<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting, too, that in the Pergamene lamps clay and glaze occasionally fired gray.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps the closest parallels for our vase are to be found in a number of fragmentary kraters from the acropolis of Sparta.<sup>8</sup> They, too, were of gray clay covered with black glaze and decorated around the neck with relief plaques moulded separately and attached. Among the representations appear a seated Athena, dancing Maenads, Eros with a lion and scenes of rape. These kraters may well belong to the same Pergamene group. This is suggested by the close similarity that Miss Hobling has pointed out between the seated Athena and the goddess that appears on Pergamene silver coins of Attalos I and

<sup>1</sup> Courby, fig. 101, 11 a and b. See also Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. XXXIII, 1-15.

<sup>2</sup> Courby, fig. 101, 11 h.

<sup>3</sup> *B.C.H.* XXXVII, 1913, pp. 418-442; *Vases grecs à reliefs*, Chapter XXIV: "La Céramique à reliefs de Pergame."

<sup>4</sup> National Museum, No. 2170, of unknown provenience = Leroux, *Lagynos*, No. 137, pp. 84 f.; Courby, *B.C.H.* XXXVII, 1913, p. 424; *idem*, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 452, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 452.

<sup>6</sup> *Pergamon*, I, p. 280, Nos. 1, 11 2, Beiblatt 50, Nos. 3 and 5, Beiblatt 51, Nos. 2, 3 a and 7. Cf. also the plate rim, p. 270, No. 24 and the West Slope bowl rim, Beiblatt 38, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Pergamon*, I, p. 280.

<sup>8</sup> Hobling, *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923-1924, 1924-1925, pp. 297 ff.

Attalos II, and the possibility that both coin and relief type may be copied from the cult statue of Athena Nikephoros set up by Attalos I in commemoration of his victories. We find another connecting link between the pieces from Sparta and the Pergamene ware in the similarity between the peculiar dental ornament that encircles the kraters and that found on a fragment of a pyxis(?) from Pergamon.<sup>1</sup> The probability of a Pergamene origin for the kraters is further strengthened by the demonstrable Pergamene influence on the local fabric of Megarian bowls.<sup>2</sup>

Our vase illustrates admirably the technical process that Courby had supposed to have been employed in many cases by the Pergamene potters: the potter would place a band of moist clay over a metal relief frieze, and then, because he could not use a mould so long on his vases, would cut the strip into a number of short lengths, bake them and so provide himself with several moulds, the casts from which he could then use in any desired combination.<sup>3</sup>

Courby (*op. cit.*, pp. 480 ff.) dates the Pergamene series to ca. 150-50 B.C. Our piece may well fall about midway in that period.

#### GRAY WARE: E 154-158

**E 154-156** (P 3425, 3428, 3429) Plates of "Gray Ware." Figs. 112, 115 and 116

**E 154** has a flaring base-ring and a gently concave floor surrounded by a high, vertical rim. In the middle of the floor are two small concentric circles; farther out another pair with hatching between. On the floor of **E 155** are two small concentric circles; on that of **E 156**, a rouletted circle. **E 155** and **156** would seem to have been closely similar to **E 154** in profile. Of all three the clay is fine and ash-gray in color, covered with hard, gray-black glaze.

Of **E 154**: H., 0.044 m. D., 0.215 m. (parts of rim and floor restored in plaster); of **E 155**: D. of base-ring, 0.049 m. (only the middle part remains); of **E 156**: D. of base-ring, 0.048 m. (only the middle part remains).

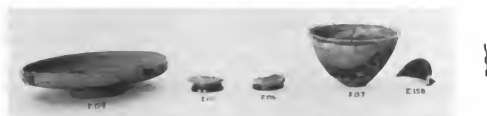


Fig. 112. Gray Ware from Group E

**E 157** (P 3426) Hemispherical bowl of "Gray Ware." Fig. 112

Fine ash-gray clay, covered with a firm glaze mottled gray and black.

P.H., 0.075 m. D., 0.14 m. The bottom restored in plaster.

<sup>1</sup> *Pergamon*, I, p. 271, No. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Hobling, I. c.*, pp. 292 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Vases grecs à reliefs*, pp. 156, 173 f.



**E 158** (P 3427) Fragment from the mouth of a pitcher of "Gray Ware." Fig. 112

Broadly flaring lip, thickened at the edge. Fine, ash-gray clay, covered with firm, black glaze with a silvery sheen. Of this same fabric there are fragments from another open bowl, the base-ring of another plate and the bell-shaped mouth of a large pithos with a strainer in its throat. P.H., 0.036 m. D. of lip, ca. 0.09 m.

**E 159** (G 20) Fragment of a glass bowl. Figs. 110 and 113

Steep wall; slightly flaring lip. The bowl was undoubtedly hemispherical in shape and footless. There are two shallow grooves around the outside of the lip, and at least three farther down on the side-wall. The bowl was moulded and then polished on the lathe. Both inner and outer surfaces show clear traces of lathe-work. The glass is yellowish-green through and through. There is a very thin film of oxidation over part of the inside, but no real flaking has occurred.

The fragment provides a welcome addition to our evidence for the chronology of these early glass bowls. Its lip profile alone would show that it is contemporary with the Megarian bowls among which it was found. For the type cf. Edward Dillon, *Glass*, London, 1907, p. 45.

P.H., 0.035 m. P.W., 0.039 m. Part of the lip and side-wall remains.



Fig. 113. Rim Profile of E 159.  
Scale 1:1

RED-FIGURE PELIKAI.<sup>1</sup> Figs. 13, 14 and 114**B 1, 2**

Of the many r. f. horse pelikai resembling ours, those most useful for comparison are two from Olynthos,<sup>2</sup> a pair from the Alexandrian cemetery at Chatby,<sup>3</sup> two now at New Haven<sup>4</sup> and one found in a grave at Kertsch.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Miss Lucy Talcott for preparing the following study of the two r. f. pieces. Since her writing, Schefold's long awaited and very welcome *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* have appeared and I have added references to that book. Otherwise, I quote Miss Talcott *verbatim*.

For further comparison with our vases one may now quote from Schefold's catalogue the following pelikai with similar scenes: Nos. 361, 427, 428, 429, 432, 458, 459, 460, 463, 464, 470, 490.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, *Olynthos*, V, No. 267, pl. 130: A, Amazon and horse, B, Amazon and griffin; No. 268, pl. 121: A, Amazon and griffin, B, two ephebes. These are of local manufacture. No. 269 (oinochoe) has the same subject.

<sup>3</sup> Breccia, *Sciabi*, No. 91 (I p. 49 and II pl. 47, 71-72 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 334): A, two Arimaspes fighting a griffin, B, two cloaked figures; No. 92 (I p. 50 and II pl. 48, 73-74 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 335): A and B as of No. 91, but less well preserved. Aside from squat lekythoi with coarse palmettes these seem to be the only red-figure from the cemetery, which is believed to date from the founding of the city.

<sup>4</sup> Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 136 (fig. 37, p. 109): A, Amazon, horse and griffin, B, two ephebes; No. 137 (fig. 37, p. 109): A, Amazon and horse, B, two ephebes. Dated by Baur in the fourth century. These, apparently, are not catalogued in Schefold's *Untersuchungen*.

<sup>5</sup> Restoritz, *Decorative Art in South Russia*, S. Petersburg, 1913 (in Russian), pl. 28, a group from a tomb found at Kertsch, including: a black glazed cup-kantharos, with good stamping inside (Nos. 1 and 2); six small squat lekythoi with net pattern or coarse palmette design (Nos. 3-5); one plain alabastron (No. 6); two strigils (No. 8); four "autonomous" coins and two illegible, not further referred to nor taken into account in dating the tomb, which is done by the pots; one pelike: A, Oedipus and the Sphinx, B, two ephebes (No. 10 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 501); another pelike: A, Amazon and horse, B, two ephebes (No. 9 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 498).

Of this group, the two earliest members may well be the pots from Olynthos, whose roundly bulging bodies (so far as the shapes can be made out) suggest forms of the mid-fourth century, as Schefold, *Bilder griechischer Vasen*, Heft 3: *Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 24 b (= *Untersuchungen*, No. 366), rather than anything later.

The two examples in New Haven, and those from Alexandria, should be slightly later. They show a lessened bulge (more noticeably lessened in the last than in the



Fig. 114. B 2. Scene from the Obverse. The Lighter Parts have been Restored.

first two), a more drawn-in neck, and more angular handles. The shapes may be compared with those illustrated by Schefold (*Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 16 = *Untersuchungen*, Nos. 508 and 367) and dated by him *ca.* 335.

By the same criterion of shape the Kertsch example could be a little later than any of these. To it the shape of the Agora examples responds the most closely.

With respect to style, we note that, whereas the griffins on the Athenian pieces are fairly plausibly represented, on the pots from Olynthos they are hardly griffins at all. On the other hand, the mantle figures of the Olynthian pots have features, and some

pretense of humanity. On the Agora examples both have disappeared, and the style of the reverse is definitely later than that of any of the published Olynthian pieces.

Possibly the provincial painter was ill acquainted with griffins. His models for them were remote; mantle figures however were part of his daily stock in trade. To the later Athenian potter of the Agora examples, the griffin is an accepted part of the traditional design, adequately represented as such. Only his mantle figures betray, in comparison with the pieces from Olynthos, the impending collapse of his technique.

Whereas such changes in style and shape indicate some divergence in date among the members of the group of horse pelikai, it is on the whole their obvious similarity which should be emphasized. Their closeness in date as well as in style is indicated by the grave group to which the Kertsch piece belongs. This group has close affiliations both with Olynthos, and with the finds from the Chatby cemetery. The former is illustrated by the cup-kantharos with stamped decoration, similar to examples from Olynthos, but with a somewhat more developed conical moulded foot. The latter connection is provided by the small lekythoi with coarse palmettes and with net patterns, common both at Olynthos and in Alexandria. A further indication of the date of this group is provided by the only other figured piece, a pelike with Oedipus and the sphinx. The body is slender, but the proportions are not ungainly, and the style is hardly later than the decade 340-330, if we follow Schefold's dating. His *Kertscher Vasen*, Plate 22, a and b (= *Untersuchungen*, Nos. 214 and 212) affords good comparisons for the types of head, and for the drawing.

If we may safely date this grave group to the decade indicated, the relationships of the horse pelikai become fairly clear. The grave looks back to the contents of the Olynthian houses destroyed in 348. It is roughly contemporary with the manufacture of the pelikai<sup>1</sup> taken to Alexandria by Macedonian colonists in 332, and it looks ahead to the final decay of red-figure painting, as evidenced by the Agora pelikai, in the succeeding decade, at the latest.<sup>2</sup>

#### BLACK-GLAZE WARE

**A 1-37, 70-72; B 5, 15-18, 31, 46; C 1-10; D 1-24; E 1-58**

Practically all the plain black-glaze ware from our groups is of local manufacture and shares with Attic pottery of this and the preceding age the inestimable superiority made possible by the seemingly inexhaustible beds of Attic clay: fine in texture, con-

<sup>1</sup> On grounds independent of context, the Chatby pelikai can probably be dated to the vicinity of the decade 340-330. Though the work is so coarse as almost to defy comparison, we can note the peculiar jagged representation of the ground, characteristic of a period better illustrated by Schefold's *Kertscher Vasen*, Plate 22. The curious arrangement of the drapery, with marked horizontal fold-lines, appears on what I take to be the latest identifiable piece from Olynthos (Plate 93, No. 146), a pelike whose shape and style alike suggest a date only slightly before that of the Alexandrian pieces.

<sup>2</sup> Another pelike, in Leningrad, very close to ours both in shape and style, is now assigned by Schefold to the period 320-300 a.c. (*Untersuchungen*, No. 490, pl. 25, p. 142) [H. A. T.].

taining little or no mica and grit, firing to a warm buff color. Although the Hellenistic potter did not wash and work his clay as thoroughly as his ancestor, yet its freedom from objectionable foreign matter, its clean and pleasing color and its good firing qualities make the Attic fabric stand out in comparison with most of the contemporary local wares of the Greek world.

In the glaze, however, one can trace a progressive decline. The plates and saucers and drinking cups of Groups A and B show the thick, rich, deep-black glaze which the fourth-century potter had inherited from the workshops of the two previous centuries. That finish no longer retained the velvety depth of the fifth century and it now more commonly suffered from misfiring, but it was still the finish developed for and proper to ceramics and its quality can be appreciated even from the photographs. In the third and second centuries the glaze was often, apparently deliberately, altered in composition to heighten the metallic effect sought after in the changing shapes of the vases. The deep black has given way to a bluish or grayish tinge with a higher, more reflecting sheen; a change that is most marked in those pieces which are obviously most closely based on metal, for instance, the little pitchers **D 20** and **21**, **E 55**, the bowls with lion's-head spouts **D 13**, **E 57**, the two-handled bowls **D 16-18**, **E 52**, and above all the Megarian bowls (pp. 452 ff.). Such a metallic finish may often be of excellent quality. But in this period the quality too often suffered, perhaps at times from careless blending of ingredients, sometimes certainly from the stinginess with which it was applied: the floors of many of the later saucers with furrowed rims are but lightly daubed with the thinnest of brown glaze, in striking contrast to the rich black finish on the earliest saucer of the type in our series (**A 38**). Further evidence for the striving after economy, natural enough in this age of mass production, is to be found in the increasingly common practice of stacking the open vessels one on top of another in the kiln. The difference in color produced by the difference in the conditions of firing was sometimes rich and striking (note the plate, **D 1**) but too often the result was merely an unsightly gray blotch or ring on the floor or the wall of the vase. That the Attic potter of the third and second centuries was interested in the red finish *per se*, whether produced by a difference in the composition of the glaze or in its firing, seems improbable.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of stamping patterns with little individual moulds in the soft clay before glazing continued throughout our period but was not so commonly employed as in the preceding century and a half (Fig. 115). For there can be no doubt that this system of decoration goes back at least to the middle of the fifth century. By the time of our earliest pieces the style had long since passed its prime in Athens and we find only the simplest forms still in use. The palmettes on the little bowls from the Well A (**A 7, 14, 72**) have much the same shape as those on the latest pieces from Olynthos (mid-fourth

<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of a red finish on Attic pottery of the Greek period has been discussed by Waagé (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 280 ff.). Such a finish, deliberately aimed at, would appear to be less common in our period than in the sixth to fourth centuries, a consideration which weighs against any attempt to trace a direct connection between the red glaze of the earlier Greek period and that of terra sigillata.

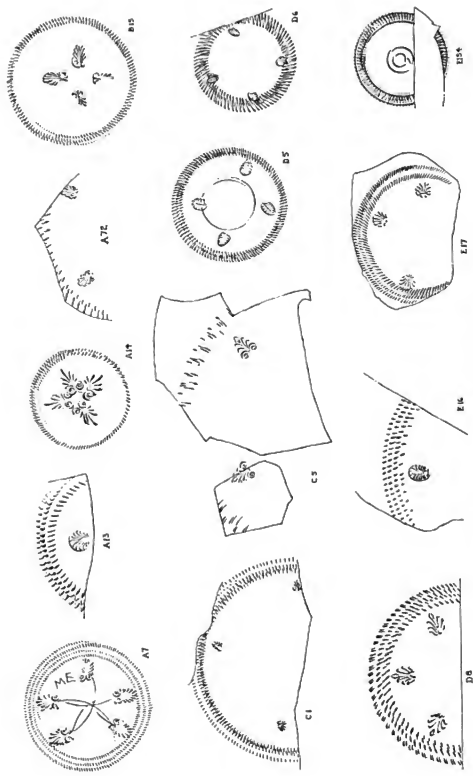


Fig. 115. Stamped Designs on Black-glaze Ware. Scale 1:2

century) and those on **A 7** are still tied together by the impressed arcs so common in the fourth century. But the palmette of the old standard form from now on is often replaced by palmettes with pointed and angular petals and without the base volutes (**C 5**, **D 8**). On some of our latest pieces we find something that is not a palmette at all but rather a tiny spray such as might have been impressed with a stamp from the tool-box of a maker of Megarian bowls (**D 5** and **6**, **E 16**). As time went on, the individual motives tended to become smaller. Within our period there remains nothing of the complex designs of alternating bands of palmettes and ovules which enriched the floors of the cups and saucers of the late fifth century. Indeed, the individual motives are now rarely held together even by the arcs of the fourth century. Once released, the palmettes yield to centrifugal force and fly outward as far as the bounding line of rouletting will permit, sometimes further (**D 6**), and their scattered arrangement is emphasized by their diminishing size and number. It was this latest form of Attic stamping, with tiny and much scattered palmettes or fronds, that was adopted and carried on by such later wares as the Pergamene.<sup>1</sup>

Compared with the fifth, and even the fourth century, the Hellenistic age seems poor in variety of vase forms, i.e. of terracotta. The shapes of the old classical krater and amphora had almost completely disappeared with the red-figure style together with which they had grown to perfection. The kylix as a drinking cup had made way in the course of the fourth century for the black-glaze kantharos and this was soon to be replaced by the Megarian bowl. The skyphos too was supplanted by that same ubiquitous vessel.

The shapes in plain black glaze which did survive into the third and second centuries are fairly well represented in our groups. They may be roughly classified and briefly discussed under the headings of drinking cups, plates and saucers, bowls and pitchers. Before considering these classes individually, we may note a feature common to the development of them all, viz. a growing tendency to ape the corresponding shape in metal. This is probably responsible for the increasing thinness of fabric. The heavy walls of the fourth century, proper to the ceramic art, were within a century reduced often to egg-shell thinness, and this thinness, combined with crisp firing and a metallic glaze, frequently resulted in a remarkably close imitation of metal. This tendency toward thinner walls is best illustrated by the profile drawings of plates, saucers and bowls, Figs. 116-118.

Further evidence for the influence of the toreutic on the ceramic art is to be found in the increasing popularity of angular shapes in terracotta. Consider, for example, the

<sup>1</sup> The whole history of stamped decoration on Attic pottery deserves detailed investigation. Miss Lucy Talcott is working on the material from the Agora. Until some such study is available one may consult: R. Zahn, *Priene*, pp. 397, 399 (Zahn errs in supposing that the practice of stamping died out in Athens in the third century); E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, pp. 410-411; Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902-1904*, I: *Les petits Objets*, Berlin, 1931, cols. 657 f.; Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1933, II 3, Nos. 1266-1286, pls. 90 and 91: elaborate stamping dated by the editors to the end of the fifth and to the fourth century.

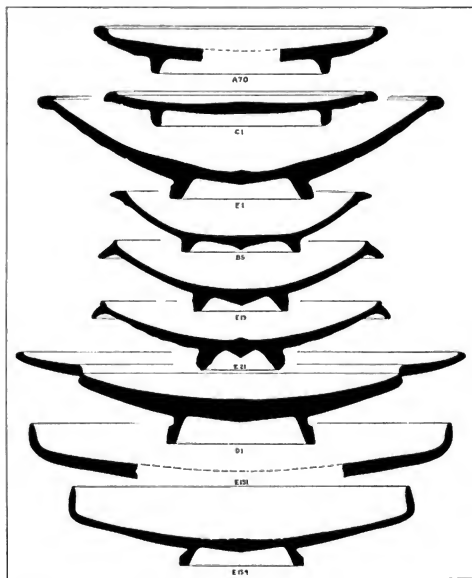


Fig. 116. Profiles of Plates. Scale 1:2

two-handled bowls **D 17** and **18**, **E 52** and **53** and the pitchers **D 20** and **21**, **E 55**. The potter, indeed, was sometimes led on to produce a form quite impractical in his medium, such as the plates with sharply offset rims (**D 1**, **E 22-26**). The same tendency is apparent also in the shape of certain handles: those of the little pitchers (**D 20** and **21**, **E 55**), double and bound together with a hoop, are purely metallic, and so too are those of the two-handled bowls (**D 17** and **18**, **E 52** and **53**), so sharply bent back on themselves, and those of the kantharoi (**A 30-32**). In the hemispherical bowl we have a shape that had been familiar enough to the primitive potter, but had practically disappeared from the repertoire of the Attic potter of classical times. In our period it returned to favor as a cheap imitation of the metal vessel of the same shape. How popular the metal prototype might be is proven, for instance, by the number of such found in the second-century tomb in Aetolia (cf. p. 372). The dependence of the terracotta on the metal form is shown beyond doubt by the deep horizontal grooves both inside and outside and by the relief *emblemata* so commonly inset in the floor of the earthenware bowls.

Another tendency common to all the pottery of the period is a growing carelessness in execution: no longer is the surface polished before glazing, frequently the wheel marks are prominent both inside and out, all interest is lost in finely modelled base-rings. This tendency was to continue in Athens down at least to the first century A.D. and it was undoubtedly responsible for Athens' loss of her one-time monopoly on finer pottery in the Mediterranean market and left the way open for the importation of such technically superior wares as the Pergamene, Samian and, later, the Arretine.

The drinking cups with handles (kantharoi) included in our groups must be closely contemporary and so show but little development. Their place in the general history of their type has been pointed out in the description of the individual pieces, e.g. **A 26** and **27**. We may note further a continued tendency toward a less compact, more slender shape, well illustrated for instance by a comparison of **A 27** and **28** with **A 29**, **B 17** and **18**. Here again the metal worker was leading the way with shapes like those referred to under **B 20** and **C 36**.

The change in the shape of the ordinary dinner plate within our period is best illustrated by the profile drawings of **A 70**, **C 1** and **E 1** in Fig. 116. **A 70** is still fairly close to the mid-fourth century plates of Olynthos. Its fabric is massive, its profile simple, its lip thickened. In **C 1**, perhaps a century later in date, the weight of the fabric is markedly less and the lip profile has begun to assume a form that was to become regular in the following century, reaching its climax in such a piece as **E 1**: the thickening, instead of being upward, as in **A 2**, is now downward and the inner edge of the thickened lip is frequently undercut on the wheel. This undercutting is already marked on several fragments of plates from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos. **E 1** is quite typical of the many dinner plates found in Cistern E and shows the increased depth that had become popular in the advancing second century. **B 5**, **E 19** and **E 21**, also drawn in Fig. 116, illustrate the variety of smaller, shall we say "tea-plates,"



that were available for the table of the period. Among these, too, there is a movement away from the simple old lip profile. The indented profile of **E 21** is reminiscent of metalwork. This is still more true of the sharply offset rim of the large plate **D 1**. The drawing (Fig. 116) shows clearly how impractical the shape was in terracotta and the fact that this and most of the other plates of similar shape were found with their rims broken off proves the point. This shape first appears in Pitios D and had become quite popular by the time of Cistern E, if one may judge from the five specimens found there (**E 22-26**). **E 151**, probably Pergamene, and **E 154**, perhaps also of Asian origin, show profiles strikingly different from the contemporary Attic plates. They have, indeed, something in common with the Attic West Slope plates, **E 62** and **63**, but we have found reason to suspect that those pieces are in the line of descent, not so much of the dinner plate, as of the pyxis lid.

The little saucer with furrowed rim (**A 3-5, 38; C 2**; uncatalogued fragments from Pitios D; **E 27-32**; cf. especially Fig. 117) is one of the most distinctive of Hellenistic dishes. It is not completely the invention of the age, for its ancestors are to be recognised in pieces of the fourth, probably even of the late fifth century. In its earlier development, the dish is usually greater in diameter, less in depth, more carefully shaped and glazed both inside and out. Among the pieces from our groups, **A 38** (Figs. 6 and 117) decorated in the West Slope style, is unquestionably the earliest. It is completely glazed and its side-wall shows a pleasing curve. It should be noted, too, that the furrowed top of its lip is practically horizontal. As time went on, the lip began to slope more and more steeply. At the same time, the furrows were run with less and less precision until, as in **E 27** (Fig. 117), we find that one of the normal two furrows has been completely omitted. The drawings again illustrate how these changes were accompanied by a loss of subtlety in the wall profile, and by increasing coarseness in the base-ring. It has been already noted that the glazing, too, became more and more careless. After **A 38** only the floor was covered and in **E 27** that only by thin, brown dabs.

Another shape very characteristic of the age is the little bowl with outcurved lip (**A 9-13, 71, 72; C 3** and **4; D 2-6; E 33-45**; see especially Fig. 117). The shape probably had its beginning toward the end of the fourth century. **A 9**, the earliest of the series, still shows good black glaze, rouletting on its floor and carefully shaped base-ring and lip. In its side-wall there is just the beginning of that angularity which becomes increasingly marked as the series advances. It is worth noting that the later bowls have become somewhat deeper in proportion to their diameter. And here again one may make the dreary record of coarsening base-rings and general carelessness in wheelwork.

In Fig. 117, **A 20, D 9, E 46**, are given the profiles of representative bowls of a deeper sort. **A 20** is very typical of the fourth century: heavy fabric, well modelled foot and side-wall, incurved lip. This shape, in a great variety of sizes and depths, was still common at the close of that century. **D 9** illustrates the thinning of the fabric

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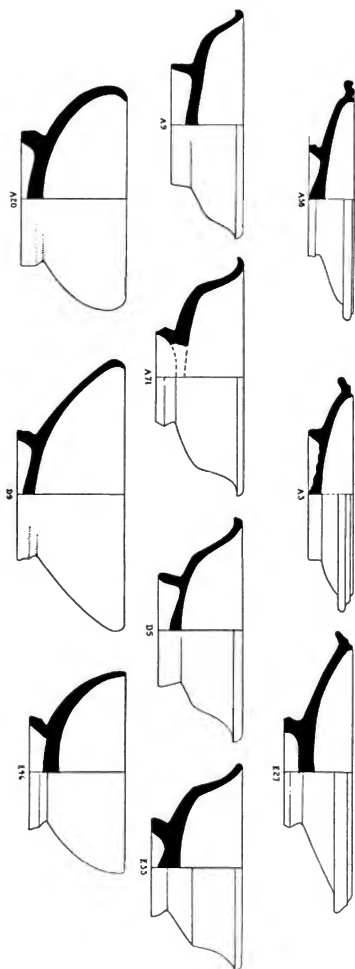


Fig. 117. Profiles of Saucers and Bowls. Scale 1:2

and the loss in subtlety of line so generally suffered in the following century. The little bowls represented by **E 46** seem to become common late in our period (cf. **D 7**; **E 47** and **48**), and the shape continued to be produced by the makers of terra sigillata. It is interesting to note that, in general, the housewife of the fourth century preferred a small bowl with incurved rim, while she of Hellenistic times favored rather the open shape.

Of little pitchers and jugs for oil and vinegar and other condiments there was need in every age. The old and once very popular lekythos did not survive the fourth

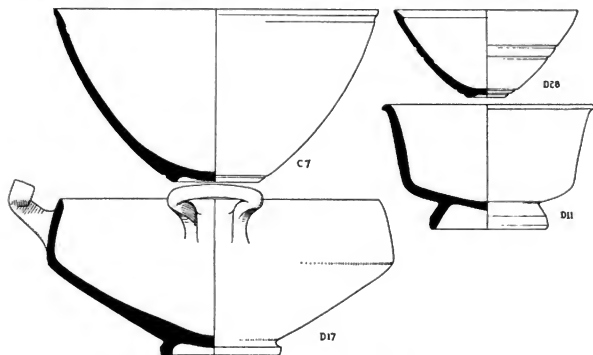


Fig. 118. Profiles of Bowls. Scale 1:2

century, scarcely the fifth. But in our period its place was taken by a great variety of little pitchers, with plain and trefoil mouths and handles of all sorts (**B 31, 32**; **C 8-10**; **D 13** and **E 57**; **D 19** and **E 56**; **D 20, 21** and **E 55**; **D 22-24, 79, E 54, 133**). There is, however, a noticeable paucity in the Hellenistic period of large, black-glaze pitchers with trefoil mouths, useful for wine or water, such as had been common in the fifth and fourth centuries. Our two specimens, **A 36** and **37**, fall early in the period. Later, water was undoubtedly kept commonly in the large, unglazed pitchers to be discussed below; for wine, vessels of metal probably became more popular.

Of the relative chronology of these black-glaze wares enough has been said in the foregoing discussion. Their absolute chronology is sufficiently indicated by their occurrence in the various groups. The date suggested for each of those groups at the close of

the description of each well or cistern may be accepted with assurance for these plain wares which would certainly not be treasured for generations as heirlooms, but would seldom survive a useful life of more than twenty or twenty-five years. In the matter of chronology, the series of dinner plates, the saucers with furrowed rims and the little bowls with outcurved lips are most interesting, for they extend over the entire period and careful observation will show that they underwent a consistent development.

#### WEST SLOPE WARE

**A 38, 39, 73; B 3, 4, 8, 19-26, 35-37; C 11-14, 53; D 25-29; E 59-69**

West Slope Ware was first isolated as a distinct ware by Carl Watzinger who based his study on a group of vases found in the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute at the foot of the West Slope of the Acropolis, supplemented by pieces scattered among the museums of Europe.<sup>1</sup> In a very thorough way he investigated the technique, the motives, the shapes and the chronology of the fabric. Since his foundation study, the most important contribution has been made by Rudolph Pagenstecher in his discussion of the imported and local ware of this type found in and about Alexandria.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the new material from the Agora lies in the opportunity which it affords of studying the development of the ware over a considerable period of time on a single site. In the brief discussion that follows, progress beyond the position reached by Watzinger will be marked chiefly in this direction.

From the closing years of the fifth throughout the following century the practice had been growing in Attica of decorating the necks and sometimes the walls of black-glaze vessels, especially hydria, kraters and kantharoi, with garlands of ivy or olive or laurel or with imitations of necklaces rendered in thinned clay, frequently covered with gold leaf to heighten the illusion of gold overlay on silver, and in white paint. Numerous examples of this class of ware are to be found on the Agora shelves. Among the vases of the present groups the type is well illustrated by **B 20**. The chief element in the beauty of the vessel continued, however, to be the rich black glaze which completely covered its side-wall and the deep reeding which was often used to produce a play of light and shadow on its lower wall. The added decoration was distinctly subsidiary and assisted chiefly in providing a striking contrast of rich colors.

But toward the end of the fourth century, when the red-figure style had completely degenerated in Athens and Attic potters were compelled to devise some new scheme of primary decoration, they naturally turned to and developed the method long familiar in a secondary rôle and that principally on small vases. It is difficult to define precisely

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 67-102.

<sup>2</sup> *Exped. E. von Siegin*, II 3, pp. 13-20, pp. 40 f. Cf. also l'uhl's brief review (*Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, pp. 908 ff., especially p. 910) and his bibliography (*ibid.*, pp. 914 f.). For bibliography see also Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, pp. 460 f.

the beginning of the ware ordinarily denoted by the term "West Slope," but we may perhaps fix it arbitrarily at the point where thinned clay and white paint were first used for primary decoration on such large vessels as amphorae. For a good while still, smaller vessels continued to be decorated with simple wreaths as they had been for a century past.

The elements of the decoration were three: thinned clay, applied with a brush or a pointed stick or possibly with a fine tube, a heavy white paint, and incision. As the area covered by the thinned clay increased, the practice of gilding it was discontinued, for one of the chief recommendations of an imitation must be its cheapness.

The use of white paint was familiar not only from the fruit and flowers of the forerunners of West Slope Ware noted above but also from the late red-figure vases. In view of its very wide-spread use on the latter vases the restraint with which it was employed on the earlier specimens of the new style is surprising. Perhaps there had been a very intelligible revulsion of feeling. On the earlier vases it was used, however, and that not only for berries and flowers but notably for the filling of the popular wave pattern (**B 3, 8, 35**). Later, as the decorative motives became predominantly geometric, the white paint became almost as prominent as the yellow clay, the two ordinarily being used for alternate members of the pattern: star, rosette, band of dots, diminishing rectangles—checker-board frieze. But in these later stages the white also encroached further in the naturalistic motives, where it was used for filling in the doubled stems of garlands (**D 26**) or for the strings on which painted pendants hung (**D 25**).

At first, incision was used but sparingly and that in a way common throughout the fourth century, *viz.* to pick out a line around the foot or the shoulder or beneath the lip of the vase. A heightened effect was sometimes secured by covering the surface of the clay in those parts before glazing with a thin coat of miltos which showed bright red when the glaze was scratched away.<sup>1</sup> Incision became progressively more common. On the plates **E 62** and **63** it was used to border fringes of geometric motives; on **C 13** and **D 25** the pointed pendants were attached to the main string by an incised zigzag line; on the amphora **E 59** the stems of the ivy leaves were scratched through the glaze. But in our present groups we are spared the final stage in which the entire scheme of decoration, consisting of large panels of diminishing rectangle, checker-board and cross-hatching, was rendered by incision.<sup>2</sup> It has been well observed that by this time the cycle had been completed and the ceramic art was once again at the level of the lowest layers of Troy.

We have already seen that the West Slope style of decoration depended for its effect very largely on the contrast of color. To assure this contrast, a solid black background was most desirable; a consideration that will account in part for the general superiority

<sup>1</sup> For the same technique in Megarian bowls, cf. p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, the plate in Bonn *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 81, No. 31) and a pelike with lid in the National Museum (No. 13,156).

of the glaze used on vases to be decorated in this style as compared with that on the plain black-glaze contemporary vessels. The potter was also inclined to be more generous and painstaking with his glaze on vases which were unquestionably the most pretentious among those still being produced in terracotta. And yet, even among the West Slope vases, one may trace the inevitable, if more gradual, deterioration which beset the glaze used on all classes of Hellenistic pottery in Athens. The successive stages are well marked in our series of amphorae. **B 3** and **35** wear a generous coat of the rich and glossy black characteristic of the fourth century. Even in places where it fired red it is firm and pleasing. On **D 25** and **26** the coat is thinner and its surface assumed the metallic sheen so obviously sought after in this period. Finally, the very thin, blotchy and flaked covering of **E 59** would alone proclaim it the youngest of the series.

Toward the end of the fourth century the potter-artist, and perhaps still more his customers, would seem to have grown weary of human and animal figures on vases. Certainly men and animals are extremely rare in the new style of decoration.<sup>1</sup>

Even apart from this rarity of human and animal figures, the vases show an amazing poverty of design. There is a limited repertoire of naturalistic motives which in the later period was supplemented and in large measure supplanted by purely geometric design. Among the earliest and most popular of the naturalistic motives was a representation of a necklace with painted pendants which, as we have seen, was already in use in the fourth century on terracotta vases imitating metal.<sup>2</sup> In the new style, too, it continued in use over a long period, being rendered with progressive crudeness. Compare the delicately shaped and hung pendants of **B 21** with those of **C 13** and **D 25**, and note especially how the finely drawn and arched threads of attachment have given way in the later vases to a roughly incised zigzag line. The main cord, too, has become thicker and coarser. Another motive traceable to the earlier fourth century, this time to red-figure painting, is the band of wave pattern, the water rendered with white paint, the surface of the waves at first with thinned clay (**B 8, 35**), later with incision (*Delfes*, V, p. 174, No. 409; fig. 734). Perhaps the most common and at the same time the most effective designs were based on the ivy and the grape-vine; stems, leaves, flowers and fruit. Both motives were well known in the history of Attic vase painting. In the hands of the Hellenistic artist they soon showed signs of aging. Compare the carefully drawn and quite realistic grape-vine of **B 35** and the ivy garland of **B 4** or **22** with their scarcely recognizable descendants on **E 62** and **D 27**.

The names of divinities that appear on some of the kantharoi (γραμματικά ἐκπώματα) are sometimes worked in as part of the decorative scheme (see especially **B 23**). They

<sup>1</sup> A fishing scene on a vase from the Cyrenaica, now in the Louvre (Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sirglin*, II 3, p. 11 f.); a large bird on the wall of a bowl from Pergamon (*Pergamon*, I, p. 273, fig. a). The dolphin occurs, but not so commonly as on the Megarian bowls, and chiefly on the earlier vases (**B 8** and **35**; *Att. Mit.* XXVI, 1901, p. 70, No. 7 a; p. 71, No. 8 h; p. 80, No. 28; *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 38, 4).

<sup>2</sup> For a fine example in silver cf. the kantharos from the Crimea (Reinach, *Ant. du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. XXXVIII, 1).

occur but for a limited period and that in the earlier stages of the style, as may be gathered from the provenience of our specimens and from the quality of their glaze. An early date is suggested, too, by the style of the lettering, which is distinctly that of the fourth and third centuries rather than that of the second.

Purely geometric motives may occur early in the series as is shown by the presence of diminishing rectangles on the kantharos **A 39**, whose carefully moulded foot, good glaze and profile combine with its place of finding to date it among the earliest pieces in our collection. But the geometric style of decoration reached its height considerably later in the alternating panels of diminishing rectangles and checker-board pattern that mark the period of our large amphorae **D 25** and **26**. The rectangles and the checker-board were the most popular and most effective of the geometric motives. They were supplemented by the central stars or rosettes which, in the Attic fabric at any rate, are almost invariably more geometric than naturalistic (**C 12**, **D 28**, **E 62** and **63**), and by the bands of pairs of dashes set at right angles to one another (**D 28**, **E 63** and **66**). One of the latest geometric designs to appear was cross-hatching, and the fact that only two examples of it occur in our collection and that in the latest group (**E 59**, **60**) proves that its use had certainly not become common before that group was closed. It was ordinarily used in panels in combination with either checker-board or diminishing rectangles, replacing one or other of the members of that old pair.<sup>1</sup> It was sometimes used alone in a continuous band around the upper wall.<sup>2</sup> This cross-hatching is the simplest and most rudimentary of all forms of geometric ornament and its appearance marks, we may hope, the beginning of the final stage in the degeneration of the West Slope Ware.

That the free use of geometric motives was more common at Athens than in other centres where similar ware was produced, may be gathered from a glance at the publications of Pergamon, Delphi and Alexandria. Nor are purely geometric designs so common among the contemporary wares of Italy. The present state of our evidence does not permit us to say whether this geometric style developed earliest in Athens, but in any case the relative chronology of the various schools would not stand against such a supposition.

Yet among these geometric motives we feel more remote than in the case of the naturalistic from Attic pottery of the red-figure period. Their origin has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is well known that such geometric designs were popular among the native potters of Cyprus and Apulia both in early and late times, but there is no evidence to suggest that the ceramic industry of Athens was subject to influence from either of those regions in the third and second centuries B.C.<sup>3</sup> Connections have been suggested with the contemporary wares of the Gauls in Asia and with the late La-Tène fabrics; but here, too, if there be any actual interrelation, the influence was

<sup>1</sup> For good examples cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 81, Nos. 30 and 31; National Museum, No. 13,156 (pelike with lid).

<sup>2</sup> *Delphes*, V, p. 174, No. 411, fig. 736.

<sup>3</sup> Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 17.

probably from old Greece outward.<sup>1</sup> It may indeed be asked whether the Athenian potters of the period, granted that their art had sunk again to such primitive levels, did not have the ingenuity to devise anew such essentially simple designs.

Still another explanation may be suggested. There is an obvious similarity between those West Slope vases done in the geometric style and Greek Protogeometric and early Geometric wares: in the choice of motives such as checker-board pattern, cross-hatching, diminishing rectangles, stars, in the arrangement of these designs in zones of rectangular panels, and in the predilection for the shoulder of the vase as the primary field for decoration. There is, indeed, so far as I am aware, no example of a West Slope vase decorated with concentric circles or semicircles, two of the most popular motives in Protogeometric. Yet it must be remembered that these designs would be difficult to execute in the media which would have been employed by the West Slope artist: thinned clay or incision. And it is worthy of note that in **E 78** we have a Megarian bowl whose wall is covered with pendant concentric semicircles in the true Protogeometric manner. The rosettes and stars that appear so commonly on the floors and undersides of the West Slope vases are reminiscent of the decoration on the underside of Protogeometric and early Geometric plates and pyxides. Even the ribbons that hang from the handles of the amphorae **E 60** and **61** find their closest parallels in similar ornaments on globets and large water jars of the Protogeometric period. And the "warts" on the necks and walls of vases are common to both periods.<sup>2</sup>

The similarity in design is sufficiently obvious, but the difference in time seems to preclude any direct relation. Yet the gap of seven or eight hundred years may perhaps be bridged with evidence gathered from excavations in the region of the Agora. They

<sup>1</sup> Pagensteeler, *l. c.*; Zahn, *Arch. Anz.* 1907, col. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Both cross-hatching (or lattice-work) and checker-board are found commonly alone or variously combined on vases of both periods. But a more significant phenomenon is the appearance in both of the two motives combined in horizontal zones. For such a combination in West Slope Ware one might cite, *inter alia*, our amphora **E 59**; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 73, No. 13: a footed bowl with a zone around the side-wall; *ibid.*, p. 78, No. 26: a kantharos with a zone around the top of the side-wall; *ibid.*, p. 81, No. 30: a bowl with a zone around the top of the inside; *ibid.*, p. 83, No. 31: an askos (from Thèbes) with a zone around the middle; the amphora from Olbia, referred to under D 26, with a zone on its shoulder; a pelike in the National Museum, No. 13,156, with a zone around its shoulder. From the earlier period there is *C. F. A. Copenhagen*, 2, pl. 71, No. 4 a: an early geometric pyxis, its wall decorated with a zone made up of groups of checker-board between cross-hatching divided by swastikas; and a Protogeometric globet (P 3,171) found in the spring of 1931 on the slopes of Kolonos Agoraios in the Agora Excavations. Its side-wall is covered with a tall zone of alternating panels of checker-board and cross-hatching. I do not know of any example of diminishing (or compound) rectangles in Attic Protogeometric, but the motive occurs on the Protogeometric ware from Marmarone in Thessaly and one may find there a zone of alternating panels of diminishing rectangles and cross-hatching which can be exactly paralleled on West Slope vases (*B. S. A.* XXXI, 1937-38, p. 18, No. 51, pl. IV; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 81, No. 31). For Protogeometric skyphoi decorated with groups of concentric semicircles pendant from the rim, cf. Myres, *Handbook of the Cernia Collection*, p. 289, Nos. 1710-11 (from Cyprus); *B. S. A.* XXIX, 1927-28, pl. VI, 8 (from Crete); *ibid.* XXXI, 1930-31, pp. 28 ff., Nos. 115-122, fig. 12, pl. VII; and *C. F. A. Copenhagen*, 2, pl. 65, No. 1 (from Marmarone). Our growing knowledge of Attic Protogeometric (a fabric of which we as yet know little) may shed more light on the problem.



have shown that the slopes of the Areopagus and of Kolonos Agoraios were dotted with graves of the Protogeometric and early Geometric periods. Dörpfeld in the 90's discovered two burials of the early Geometric period to the north of the Amyneion on the south slopes of the Areopagus, and six more at the northern foot of the Areopagus.<sup>1</sup> The current excavations have so far brought to light two amphora burials of the Proto-geometric period and three graves of the early Geometric at the northern foot of the Areopagus; one grave (of which only the vases were found) of the Protogeometric and one of the early Geometric period on the east slopes of Kolonos Agoraios. These fifteen burials have yielded a total of fifty vases. Of earlier times we have found but a solitary, Mycenaean, burial; of a later period, none whatever.<sup>2</sup> The area in question would appear to have been used as a burial ground over a limited period in Protogeometric and Geometric times. In earlier and later ages burials were made by the Dipylon, in the great cemetery which remained in continuous use throughout the history of the city.

Now in classical times the earth filling overlying the bedrock was comparatively shallow, seldom more than a meter in depth and often much less in those parts surrounding the market-square, so that in sinking their foundations to bedrock, as they regularly did, builders must constantly have been exposing burials accompanied by vases of the Protogeometric and early Geometric periods. At no time would the opportunity for such finds have been greater than in the second century B.C., for that century was unparalleled for the extent of the building operations which it witnessed in the Agora. Indeed, at that time the whole market-square was reorganized: toward the east a new limit was established by the Stoa of Attalos, and along the south side by a great double stoa closely contemporary with that of Attalos. To the same period is to be assigned the reconstruction and enlargement of the Metroön on the west side of the square. These large operations involved the disturbance, the removal and in some cases the re-setting of older and smaller structures. The Athenian potters, we know, lived and worked in this very region, on the edges of the market-place, so that they could not avoid seeing the products of their ancestors as they came from the ground.<sup>3</sup> That they should have been interested in them is proven by the enthusiasm which the ancients displayed over such finds on other occasions: at Capua in the building done by the colonists sent out under the *Lex Julia*, and at Corinth on the occasion of its refounding in 44 B.C.<sup>4</sup> That they should have been sufficiently interested to adopt and utilize the motives on the old vases is made probable by the general tendency which has been observed in the art of this period to turn back to the archaic

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXI, 1896, pp. 106 f.; XXII, 1897, p. 178; *C. V. A. Athens*, 1, pls. 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 168 ff.; *A. J. A.* XXXVI, 1932, p. 386, fig. 5 A; XXXVII, 1933, p. 540; *Illustrated London News*, June 25, 1932, pp. 1060 ff.; Aug. 26, 1933, pp. 326 ff.; June 2, 1934, pp. 862 f.; *Arch. Anz.* 1932, cols. 108 f., fig. 7; 1933, col. 198.

In addition to the graves, three large pits at the north foot of the Areopagus yielded quantities of Proto-geometric pottery.

<sup>3</sup> *A. J. A.* XXXVII, 1933, pp. 290 f.

<sup>4</sup> Suetonius, *Div. Julius*, 81; Strabo, VIII, 381.

and the primitive.<sup>1</sup> That such archaizing should have taken precisely this direction will not be surprising to one familiar with the present practice among the Athenian potters of decorating their vases with motives taken directly from the spoils of the graves of fifth-century Greece.

Of large vases the amphora was the shape most commonly chosen by the West Slope potters for their distinctive style of decoration.<sup>2</sup> The development which the shape underwent in their hands is well illustrated by our series **B 3** and **35**, **D 25** and **26**, **E 59**, which are placed in that chronological sequence by their places of finding. The form of the amphora is distinctive and its origin is puzzling. It is quite different from that of the late red-figure pelikai which immediately precede it. Nor in its earliest stage of development does it show evidence of metallic influence. That came later and is illustrated by the applied plastic masks of **D 25** and **26**, **E 59**, and by the deeply indented rim profile of the last two vases. But within the series once begun, one can trace a consistent development or degeneration. In **B 3** and **35** we find a compact and well proportioned, if not a graceful, outline, handles that follow and emphasize the lines of the body and a base of satisfactory height reasonably well modelled. In the later examples the fine sense of proportion is lacking: at one time the neck is unduly squat (**D 26**), again it becomes so big as to overshadow the body (**E 59**). The mouth shares with those of various groups of large plain vases, to be studied below, a tendency to become unduly flaring. The handles are inclined to start off at angles most disturbing to the general lines of the vase (**D 25**). Finally, the foot sinks to a base-ring of insignificant height,—an ovolo in profile. Throughout this development in form, however, the scheme of decoration remained constant: neck and shoulder provided the sharply defined fields for ornamentation, the one for garlands suspended from the handles, the other for zones continuous or panelled.

Another of the most popular and distinctive West Slope vase forms is the kantharos with straight walls and strap handles (**A 39**, **73**; **B 4**, **8**, **21–25**, **37**; **D 29**; **E 67**).<sup>3</sup> The form finds its closest parallel in the Kabeiric cups of the fourth century.<sup>4</sup> On the Athenian vases we do not find the double spurring of the handles so characteristic of the Boeotian. But the proportions are the same and the scheme of decoration is common to both: the side-wall is usually divided horizontally, on the West Slope vases by a wheel-run groove, on the Kabeiric by a painted band, and the decoration is confined to the upper part. The use of the grape and ivy is also common to both, and both show the influence of the toreutic art in the shape of the handles and in the horizontal division of the wall. The majority of the Kabeiric vases are doubtless of the fourth century, their production running down perhaps to the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335 B.C. This would

<sup>1</sup> Pfuhl, "Die Wurzeln der hellenistischen Kunst," *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altertum*, XXIII, 1909, pp. 609 ff.; *Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, p. 803; Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieghin*, II 3, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the shape cf. Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 91 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Watzinger, *ibid.*, pp. 91 f.

<sup>4</sup> On the Kabeiric vases and their literature, cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, § 780–782.

indeed permit of a Boeotian origin for the Attic wares; but that a local ware of Boeotia should have had any decisive influence on Attic pottery of the late fourth century seems altogether improbable and we should continue to seek a common ancestor for both. The presence among our earlier groups of these distinctive kantharoi proves that they were popular in the beginning of the West Slope period, more especially perhaps because they afforded a more satisfactory field for decoration in the new style than did the kraters and kantharoi of the fourth century type. Those old types also lived on for a while in the ceramic art (**B 20**), longer still perhaps in the toreutic, but both types of drinking cup soon gave way to the Megarian bowl. The preponderance of the kantharos in our two earlier groups, the supremacy of the Megarian bowl in the three later, probably illustrate truly the history of the two forms. The slight variations in shape and scheme of decoration within the limited period of their popularity are adequately illustrated by the three kantharoi **A 39**, **B 4** and **21**. The quality of their glaze supports their contexts in proving that all three are closely contemporary. The form, with variations, occurs elsewhere, at Delphi,<sup>1</sup> at Pergamon,<sup>2</sup> at Alexandria,<sup>3</sup> and it was sometimes copied with most unfortunate results.<sup>4</sup>

One might have expected that the West Slope artist would have favored the plate as offering an attractive field for his style of decoration. From the surviving specimens, however, we may surmise that he found the problem involved in the decoration of its surface rather beyond his genius. A practical consideration may also have deterred him, for the Hellenistic housewife must often have lamented the perishable nature of the West Slope decoration. Small saucers such as **C 12**, **D 28** and **E 66** are common. The West Slope style was quite unsuited for the decoration of the smaller table ware, such as little pitchers, which were consequently for the most part left in plain black glaze. **C 13** is an exception.

Our well and cistern groups provide the best evidence so far available for the absolute chronology of the fabric.<sup>6</sup> The earliest stage in the development of the ware as defined above (p. 439) is undoubtedly represented by the closely contemporary amphorae: **B 3** and **B 35**, kantharoi **A 39**, **B 4** and **B 21**, and saucer **A 38**. Now of these, the amphora **B 3** and the kantharos **B 4** were found in a branch of Cistern B in very definite association with the two red-figure pelikai **B 1** and **2** which can be dated with reasonable assurance in the third quarter of the fourth century. Even granting that the pelikai may have been kept in the house for twenty years or so, they undoubtedly reached the cistern before or about the end of the century. It is, then, in the last years of the fourth century that we may place the beginnings of the true West Slope style and thus we may regard it as the immediate successor of the red-figure

<sup>1</sup> *Delphes*, V, pp. 172 f.; Nos. 386, 389, 390, 391, figs. 716, 719, 720.

<sup>2</sup> *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 39, Nos. 2 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 26 ff., Nos. 1-12, 14-16, fig. 34; *Sciabi*, pl. LI, 94, LII, 101.

<sup>4</sup> See the two vases from Olbia, now in Bonn, *Arch. Anz.* 1891, col. 19, No. 3.

<sup>5</sup> For an earlier discussion of its dating cf. Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 86, 94, 99 f.

style. The close similarity between our kantharoi and those from the Kabeirion, which probably run down only to 335 B.C., tends to confirm this dating. It is strengthened too by an examination of the glaze on all the members of the above group.

For the ceramic history of the third century, we need more cistern groups. When we reach Pithos D, there is obviously a considerable chronological difference between its West Slope Ware and that earliest group. The difference is best illustrated by comparing the amphorae **D 25** and **26** with **B 3** and **35**. If we suppose that the Pithos was closed around the middle of the second century and grant that the two amphorae, as "mantel-piece" rather than table articles, may have been in the house for a good while, we may date them somewhere in the first half of that century. The fragmentary specimens from the Cistern C (**C 11-14**) fall midway between those two groups and may be placed, in respect of degeneration and fabric, let us say, in the second half of the third century. A score of fragments from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos still show reasonably good glaze and a restrained use of incision, a consideration which will warn us against dating too early the vases of this period. All the pieces recovered from Cistern E agree in marking another considerable advance, or rather degeneration, beyond those of Pithos D. Again the downward tendency is most clearly marked by the amphora **E 59**. This group may be dated in the late second century. Beyond the end of that century the style was doomed to still further degeneration in the increasingly common use of the more primitive motives, such as cross-hatching, and of the most primitive technique, incision.

When Watzinger wrote in 1901 he was obliged to leave the origin of wares of this type an open question, although he was inclined to favor the coast of Asia Minor as a starting point.<sup>1</sup> Various local schools in the eastern Mediterranean have been recognized: in Pergamon,<sup>2</sup> Alexandria,<sup>3</sup> in South Russia.<sup>4</sup> Recent excavations at Corinth have brought to light a quantity of similar ware of excellent quality and certainly not of Athenian manufacture. Some at least of it may be Corinthian, and in any case it proves the existence of another centre of manufacture.<sup>5</sup> It is dangerous to make generalizations that rest even in part on negative evidence which may be invalidated by further excavation or publication of other sites, but it may be said that at present no other site in the eastern Mediterranean rivals Athens in the quantity of this ware produced, nor, in all probability, in the early date of its beginning. In Athens, too, we have found an easy transition between the black-glaze vases of the fourth century, carrying a secondary decoration in thinned clay and white paint, and the vases done

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 101 f. On the question of its origins cf. also Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Pergamon*, I, pp. 272 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16 with references. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Oscar Broneer for showing me the material, which came chiefly from the great stoa closing the south side of the market-place in Corinth.

in the true West Slope style. In fact, we have been able to trace the whole history of the style on this one site. These considerations make Athens the most probable original home of the ware.<sup>1</sup>

KERNOI<sup>2</sup>

A 40; B 9, 10, 27-29

These vases of distinctive shape are undoubtedly the sacred vessels used in the worship of the Eleusinian Demeter, and they must come from the Athenian sanctuary of that deity. Their provenience is definitely limited, for, apart from a single specimen,<sup>3</sup> all have been found within a small area between the northern foot of the Areopagus and the southern edge of the market-square (Sections ΣΤ and Ζ).<sup>4</sup> The Athenian Eleusinion will be found in that region.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The relations between the Athenian and the Italian wares require further investigation. Cf. Picard, *B. C. H.* XXXV, 1911, pp. 197 ff., 206 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Although the form *κέρκος* is found in the official inventories of the objects kept in the Athenian Eleusinion for the years 408/7 and 407/6 B.C. (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup> 313<sub>17</sub>; 314<sub>25</sub>) and although the same object is in all probability denoted by the two words, yet the form *κέρκος* is the better attested from literary references (Leonard, *Real-Encycl.* s. v. *kernos*, cols. 316 ff.). The best description of the kernoi as vases is by O. Rubensohn in *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 271-306; pls. XIII and XIV. See also Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, Bonner Dissertation, Munich, 1905. For a more recent discussion and the citation of literature see Leonard in *Real-Encycl.*, 1921, s. v. *kernos*. A complete publication of the large collection of kernoi in terracotta, bronze and stone found at various times in the excavations at Eleusis is being prepared by Dr. K. Kourouniotes.

<sup>3</sup> This piece, of the simple type, came along with a small sanctuary dump of the late fourth century found in a cistern to the west of the Stoa of Zeus (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 128, 454). The deposit may conceivably have come from the nearby Metroön, for the kernos occasionally is mentioned in connection also with the worship of Kybele (Leonard, *l. c.*, cols. 325 f.).

<sup>4</sup> In addition to those included in the inventories of the present groups, fragments of other kernoi were found scattered at random in Section ΣΤ: 6 of the simple, 2 of the compound type.

<sup>5</sup> This is not the place to discuss in detail the topographical problem involved. But it may be noted that for the suggested location of the sanctuary additional evidence is now at hand in a number of terracotta figurines appropriate to the worship of the Eleusinian Demeter found in that same region. For this suggestion I am indebted to my wife. From the same place come two fragments of the inscription bearing the inventory of the confiscated goods of Alcibiades (I 236 a; *Hesperia*, III, 1931, p. 47, No. 35; I 236 b found in 1931). According to Pollux (*Onomastikon*, X, 97), if his text is in order, the stelai on which were inscribed the inventories of the goods of those involved in the desecration of the Mysteries stood in Eleusis (not in the Eleusinion, as in Jandich, *Topographie*<sup>3</sup>, p. 289). But copies may well have been set up in Athens and where more appropriately than in the Athenian Eleusinion? Further evidence is provided by the coins, for among those found in this region there is a larger proportion of pieces bearing the Eleusinian symbols (accompanied by the name either of Athens or Eleusis) than in groups from other areas of the excavation. These small copper coins may well have been struck on the occasion of the celebration of the Eleusinia, whether in Eleusis or in Athens, and especially for use at the sanctuaries (cf. Babelon, *Traité*, III<sup>2</sup>, pp. 140 f.; Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 262 ff.). Nor is it unlikely that the seventh-century votive deposit recently published and tentatively assigned to the Sanctuary of the Eumenides really comes from the Eleusinion (*Hesperia*, II, pp. 436 ff.). This possibility was pointed out by Miss Burr (*l. c.*, p. 637). The close similarity between certain of the votives from the deposit and others from Eleusis takes on added significance. A more substantial remnant from the sanctuary has long



In works of art, moreover, it is the simple type that is represented to the exclusion of the other, often, notably in the case of coins, because of its very simplicity. The smallness of their bases makes it altogether improbable that they were intended to be borne on the head. They may rather have been carried in the hand, slung on a cord passed through the holes in the rim. That these holes were not intended, exclusively at any rate, for the fastening of the lid is proven by their occurrence on specimens whose mouths are quite unsuited to receive lids.

Our small kernoi find close parallels in size, shape and finish among the latest pieces from the filling of Philon's Porch at Eleusis. There too the fabric is a fine, buff clay, covered usually with a thick, white paint, sometimes with blue or red. As yet, we have no examples showing the more elaborate polychrome decoration found on some of the kernoi of Eleusis, nor the covering of gold leaf, shreds of which still cling to some of the Eleusinian pieces.<sup>1</sup> Lids are not common at Eleusis, but when they do occur they are of openwork like our **B 29**.<sup>2</sup>

The kernos appears occasionally not as a type but as a symbol on Athenian coins, but the uncertainty regarding the date of issue of most of the series on which it is represented makes the comparison of less value than might at first be expected for fixing the chronology of the vases. Our specimens are close in point of shape to the kernos that was used as a symbol on a series of bronze coins assigned by Svoronos to the period 255-229 B.C., by the British Museum cataloguer variously to 406-393 B.C. and 393-322 B.C.<sup>3</sup> A closely similar shape is to be found in the symbols used on certain of those coins which are ordinarily regarded as of Eleusis but which bear the name of either Athens or Eleusis; among numismatists there appears to be no agreement regarding their date.<sup>4</sup> The lid of pierced work, such as that of our **B 29**, is well illustrated on some of these pieces.<sup>5</sup> Again, on some of those official bronze markers which Svoronos has called theatre tickets there appears as a reverse type a kernos not unlike ours in shape. This particular series is assigned by Svoronos to the period 255-220 B.C.<sup>6</sup> The kernos continues to appear occasionally on Athenian coins of the New Style (229-30 B.C.) as an adjunct symbol of the magistrates.<sup>7</sup> As a type it is common on the coins struck for the Athenian

<sup>1</sup> On the technique of manufacture and decoration cf. Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 286 ff., pl. XIII, 8 a and b. On the doubtful significance of the pierced cover cf. *ibid.*, pp. 287 ff.; Leonard, *op. cit.*, cols. 323 f. That it should have been intended for the ventilation of a lamp placed in the bowl as suggested by the ancient scholiast on Nikander, *Alexipharmaka*, 217 f., seems improbable in view of the absence on the preserved specimens of any trace of the burning which must have been left by the flame of a lamp confined in a vessel so small.

<sup>3</sup> Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 24, 33-40; *B.M.C. Attica, etc.*, No. 218, pl. vi, 4; No. 245, pl. vi, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 103, 29-32 and 47-49. For a discussion of the various views regarding this money, cf. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 104, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 102, 37-39. Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 377.

<sup>7</sup> Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 33, 7-11 (229-197 B.C.); pl. 39, 6-10 and pl. 81, 18(?), 19, 22-24 (196-187 B.C.); pl. 75, 1-13 and pl. 79, 35 (first century B.C.).

cleruchs in Delos, i.e. subsequent to 166 B.C.<sup>1</sup> But in these later issues the shape has changed: the stem is shorter, the bowl flatter, the neck more contracted.

For fixing the chronology, a comparison between the Eleusis pieces and two kernoi from Alexandria (one from the cemetery at Chatby) is of interest.<sup>2</sup> The latter, even if, as is possible, they were carried to Egypt by some of the first Greek settlers, cannot antedate the foundation of the city by many years. The similarity in shape between them and the later pieces from Philon's Porch proves that some at least of the Eleusis pieces are little if at all earlier than the time of building of the Porch, i.e. than the late fourth century. As for our specimens of the simple sort, their resemblance on the one hand to the Alexandrian pieces and the latest of those from Philon's Porch and the fact that they are obviously earlier than those represented on coins of 229 B.C. and later, suggest a date for them in the late fourth—early third century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

#### LAGYNOI<sup>4</sup>

**C 15; D 30, 31, 32 (pyxis); E 70-73**

Among the most interesting of the imported vases represented in our groups are the lagynoi. From literary references and from the appearance of the word *λάγνος* on the shoulder of a specimen from Alexandria it is clear that the lagynos served as a wine decanter (*οἰνοδόχος*) for use on festive occasions. Although a similar shape had occurred sporadically much earlier, the form is one of those most nearly peculiar to the Hellenistic period: a squat body, sometimes round, sometimes sharply angular and again sometimes approaching the rectangular in outline, surmounted by a tall slender neck with thickened lip and with a vertical handle, usually flat, sometimes round in section. The fabric is quite uniform among our pieces: a very fine buff clay, covered with a firm white paint on which the design is executed in brown paint. Leroux has concluded that the shape is of little or no significance for the chronological development.

It has been conjectured that the type arose in East Greece, perhaps on the islands, on Cyprus or in Asia Minor; in any case in some region where it was a familiar practice to coat the surface of the clay completely with a white sizing. There were undoubtedly local centres of manufacture; the specimens from Cyprus seem especially distinctive. More useful work might be done in distinguishing among the products of different regions. Our fragments are certainly not of Athenian origin and at present I know of no evidence to suggest a local manufactory.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 106, 30, 45, 46, 18-51, 76-83; 107, 1-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 11 f., fig. 17; *Sciatti*, No. 248, pl. LVIII, 131.

<sup>3</sup> On the chronology cf. also Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 302 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The standard study is by Gabriel Leroux, *Lagynos: Recherches sur la Céramique et l'Art Ornamental Hellénistiques*, Paris, 1913; reviewed at length by Picard, *Rev. Arch.* XXII, 1913, pp. 160 ff. Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 30-32; has some useful general remarks. See too Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, § 1000.



Leroux concluded that the lagynoi began to be made toward the end of the third century and were still in common use in the middle of the first century a.c.<sup>1</sup> Our groups, leaving as they do a large gap in the third century, are not helpful for fixing the initial date of the series but they do suggest that in Athens the lagynoi were coming into use in the early second century and were popular in the second half of that century.

## MEGARIAN BOWLS

**A 74-76; C 16-53; D 34-52; E 69** (with painted rim), **E 74-85, 86** (relief pitcher)

In cataloguing the Megarian bowls and related fabrics from these groups we have found occasion to question their Attic origin in only three instances: **D 47, E 79** and **86**. The clay and glaze of the others, if compared with those of the contemporary plain wares of undoubtedly local origin, would alone suffice to prove their Athenian manufacture. Were further evidence desired for a flourishing Athenian industry in the fabric, it is now forthcoming in the moulds that have been found in recent years in Athens. The Agora collection now numbers twelve, all fragmentary, and the excavations by the Dipylon have yielded about the same number. These fragments have been found where they were thrown out by the potters of the Kerameikos. It was probably from this same region, at any rate from the immediate neighbourhood of potters' shops, that a mass of earth filling was gathered to level off the top of the Pnyx hill for the reception of a large building erected there in late Hellenistic or early Roman times. Mixed with the earth was much discarded rubbish from potters' workshops: terracotta rings for supporting vases in the kiln, *Fehlbrände*, broken, unused vases (chiefly plain black-glaze bowls and plates and countless fragments of Megarian bowls) and broken moulds: several for lamps of Hellenistic types, and over fifty for Megarian bowls.<sup>2</sup> The specimens from the Dipylon will be published shortly by Dr. Willy Schwabacher; those from the Agora and Pnyx must wait. It may be noted here, however, that among the Agora pieces, there are three decorated with grape-vines (P 1523, 1592, 3130); of one the wall is completely covered with imbricate leaves (P 3157), of another, with elongated petals (P 2138), while the others show the usual variety of human and animal figures, with calyces of leaves. On the Pnyx there have been found pieces of one mould decorated with tendrils, of two with nodules, of one whose side-wall was covered with imbricate leaves, and of 21 with long petals, in 10 cases separated by jewelled lines.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The building, probably to be associated with the Thesmophorion, has come to light in the recent excavations conducted under the joint auspices of the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies. The Hellenistic pottery will be published eventually along with the other small finds from the Pnyx.

<sup>3</sup> The following names occur on these moulds:

from the Agora:

1. P 1523. ΗΦΑΙC[... retrograde. Scratched while the clay was still soft on the inside of a mould decorated with vine leaves.

The technique of manufacture is familiar and requires but brief description.<sup>1</sup> The moulds are bowl-like in shape, with or without base-rings, and ordinarily extend up no farther than the upper zone (Fig. 119). Soft clay was pressed into the mould. This was then centered on the wheel and spun so that the interior of the bowl and its rim were wheel-run, its lower outer surface moulded. The negative impressions in the mould itself were produced either by shaping the mould on another vessel of metal or terracotta, or, more commonly, by pressing into its still soft clay stamps bearing the individual scenes, leaves, flowers, etc. in any desired combination. In the Agora collection (SS 88) there is one of these individual stamps (*poisson*) for making the medallion: a rosette (Fig. 120). The jewelling was done in the mould by means of a tiny, hollow punch. Tendrils, vine twigs and frequently even such complicated geometrical designs as the guilloché were incised free-hand in the mould with a sharp point. If the mould was made from a complete positive, its medallion might be restamped while its clay was still soft.<sup>2</sup> Traces of this procedure may be detected both in moulds and bowls. One can readily understand that such methods permitted of almost infinite variety. That variety was aimed at is proven by the complete absence of duplicates in such a considerable collection as that of the Agora and the exceeding rarity of such among all the bowls known. The variety in the surviving bowls was probably increased by the short life of the moulds themselves. Only a limited number of copies could be made from a mould, especially one bearing much fine detail, before it was worn out.

The clay used for the bowls, from the earliest to the latest in our series, is fine, clean and of the typical warm buff Attic colour. Occasionally it carries a few small grains of mica. The glaze shows the consistent degeneration common to all classes of Attic pottery through this period. A few specimens, and notably those decorated with tendrils and grape vines (A 74, C 16 and 17), are covered with the rich, deep-black glaze which one ordinarily associates with the plain black-glaze wares of the late fourth century. On most of the bowls with figured decoration the glaze has assumed a metallic

from the Pyx:

2. EN: Incised while the clay was still soft on the underside of the base of a mould on the medallion of which there is a rosette surrounded by veined leaves.

3. XAPI: incised like the preceding on the base of a mould with plain medallion, and with elongated petals on its side wall.

In the Agora collection there is a fragment of a bowl (P 1450) with a calyx of long anemone leaves and with flying birds on the side wall, on which there is the name KAAA[... retrograde.

A fragment of another bowl (P 3211), decorated with long anemone leaves and thin brown glaze has the letters . . . PAT[... . . . Y[... There is also preserved a fragment of the mould from which the bowl came.

For other signatures cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 72, and note 31; Courby, pp. 363-366, 393, 411 f., 415 f.; Holding, *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923: 24: 1924-25, pp. 291 f.; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 199.

<sup>1</sup> On the technique cf. Courby, pp. 327 f., 370 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For other examples of free-hand drawing in the mould cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 49, No. 3 (tendrils on an Attic bowl); Robert, *Jahrb.* XXXIV, 1919, p. 73 (adjustment of figures on a Homeric bowl); Holding, *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923: 24: 1924-25, p. 281 (tendrils on a mould from Sparta).



Fig. 119. P 3157. Mould for Making Megarian Bowls



Fig. 120. SS 88. Stamp for the Making of Moulds for Megarian Bowls

shcen and often shows not true black but rather steel-blue or gray. In some cases, e.g. **D 35**, the artists were remarkably successful in attaining the metallic effect that they were obviously seeking. Later still, the makers of the bowls with long petals, though desirous of the same effect, were too sparing of their glaze and applied it so thin that the buff colour of the clay often shows through. Although an occasional long-petalled bowl carries a fair glaze, yet on the whole there is a marked decline in this respect among the bowls of that class. Among the bowls of all classes, occasional specimens are mottled red and black as a result of careless firing, and a few (e.g. **C 21**) show red patches and circles of fusion on their floors, caused by the practice of stacking in the kiln so common at this period. Distinctive of the Attic bowl are the lines scratched free of glaze (after firing) around the medallion and just below the lip on the outside. These areas were usually, though not invariably, coated with red miltos before glazing and, when the glaze was removed, the miltos remained, its bright scarlet often producing a striking effect in contrast to the deep surrounding black.<sup>1</sup> Both the scratching and the miltos were in general use throughout our period, but in some of the latest specimens (**E 74**, **76**, **79**), especially of the long-petalled variety, the line around the lip was omitted. The scratching was done, as one might expect, with various degrees of care. On the fine bowl decorated with grape-vines (**A 74**) the line around the lip was incised with a needle point. On other bowls the lines were traced with a blunt instrument leaving a furrow two millimeters or more in width.

The Athenian bowl is distinctive, too, in its shape. The Athenian potter preferred a deep bowl with lip slightly flaring, as compared, for instance, with the shallower body of the Asian centres and the intumed rim of Delos. And yet, within the Athenian series there is a well marked development in shape that is consistent with, and so confirms, the development in the glazing. The ideal shape in the mind of the earliest Athenian producer was obviously that illustrated by **A 74** (Fig. 11b). The bottom is well rounded and the bowl, up to the lower edge of the upper zone, forms an almost perfect hemisphere. But the line of the side wall carries through unbroken and above the zone swings gently out, coming to rest in the sharply everted lip. This perfection of line was not often attained. It was approximated in some of the better bowls of Group C, notably in **C 16** (Fig. 34). The bowls with figured decoration retain the depth and the rounded bottom but the subtle curve of the upper wall has been lost and its line is straightened. Among the bowls of long petals there is a tendency toward greater shallowness, a flatter bottom and a side-wall approaching the vertical but never actually bending inward. The transition between the moulded and the wheel-run part is now sometimes carelessly treated, so that the profile is broken at this point. The new shape is probably due to the influence of imported wares such as **E 79** which were now becoming, if not more common, at least less rare.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Courby, p. 328, who has, however, failed to observe the true order of procedure. For the same practice employed on lamps, cf. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 46, and on pottery in general Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, New York, 1923, pp. 53 ff.

Enough has been said regarding the decorative motives and their arrangement by Courby in his discussion of the "*bols à glaçure*," for this group corresponds substantially to the bowls of Athens (*op. cit.*, Chapter XX). His fourfold classification (*ibid.*, p. 328) may be accepted, at least until such time as an exhaustive study is made of the Athenian fabric alone. But the evidence from the Agora makes it possible to define more closely the chronological sequence of these various classes and their relations to one another.

We must consider first the bowls with purely floral and vegetable decoration (Courby's Class III: *les bols à décor uniquement végétal et floral*) represented by **A 74**, **C 16**, **17** and **38**, **E 83**. The glaze and the shape of these bowls would alone be sufficient to place them at the head of the Athenian series. This position is confirmed by the provenience of the pieces, coming as they do with the earlier groups. Apart from the very fragmentary **E 83**, which may well be a chance intrusion, there is not a fragment of a bowl bearing this decoration in the two later groups. We should be driven to the same early dating by a consideration of the ornament. Granted that the Greek industry in terracotta relief bowls was influenced in its beginning by Egyptian art, and especially by Alexandrian toreutic art (for this hypothesis a strong case has been made out and, with some modifications, retained after continued re-examination),<sup>1</sup> then we should expect to find Egyptian elements most in evidence in the earliest of the Greek bowls. It is precisely in this group that we find Egyptian features in preponderance: the idea of a base medallion surrounded by outspringing vegetable members; the palm branches, the petals of the true lotus and of *nymphaea coerulea*, and the bird sitting in the branches. Courby has already pointed out the striking similarity between other known bowls of this group and two ancient casts in plaster made probably from metal bowls, whose Egyptian origin is proven by the presence on the upper walls of representations of the god Bes and of Hathor heads (Courby, pp. 336f.). Bowls with this type of decoration are not common. Courby in 1922 could name only six (p. 335) and in the Agora in general they are comparatively rare. The close similarity which they exhibit among themselves in fabric suggests that they were made over no long period of time. Naturally, however, they do overlap with those of the following two types.

Courby has grouped together a few bowls whose walls are completely covered with nodules or with imbricate leaves (II: *bols à bossettes et à imbrications*, p. 334). Our collection contains a fragment of one bowl decorated with nodules (**C 29**) and of another with similar decoration to which was added a broad rim painted in West Slope style (**C 53**). We have already observed that bowls of this type were not uncommonly used in such combination. The West Slope decoration found on the upper parts in such cases is not of the earliest type but is still comparatively fine, and this, in view of the relative chronology of the two series of pottery, would suggest a comparatively early date

<sup>1</sup> The view was first advanced by R. Zahn, *Priene*, pp. 410ff. It has been reconsidered and modified by Courby, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXIII. Egyptian influence is undeniable, even if we do not admit the completely Egyptian origin of the Megarian bowls. Cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, pp. 910, 915.

for this type of moulded decoration. This dating is supported by the fabric: the bowls are well made and their glaze approximates that of the preceding group. Our single specimen of the sort whose side-wall was covered with imbricate leaves is rather closer in shape and glaze to the general run of the following group.

This group includes the bowls of varied decoration with a band of vegetable motives surrounding the base medallion (Courby's Class IV: *bols à décor varié et corolle végétal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 338 ff.). Some of the Egyptian elements persist: the lotus leaves (C 23), the pairs of goats rampant about kraters (Courby, p. 351); perhaps the occasional water bird is reminiscent of Egypt (D 36). But the Hellenistic craftsman-artist has now realized his opportunity and here finds ample scope to deploy the myriad repertoire of his art: erotes flying and riding, satyrs in all satyric poses, miniature copies of favorite statuary groups, birds and dolphins, masks, wreaths, leaves and flowers. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to trace any consistent development in the choice or arrangement of these decorative motives, but one would be inclined to place early such bowls as that showing Apollo with his tripod and Artemis with her stag (C 18), the exercising ephebes (C 19) and the combatants (C 20), bowls on which the main scenes or groups are well ordered and not overwhelmed by space-filling subordinate ornaments. It is, perhaps, significant that all three pieces come from one of the earlier cisterns. Bowls of varied decoration proved tremendously popular and must have been the best sellers for close on to a hundred years in Athenian pottery shops. Every well and cistern filled up in the time of their bloom yields quantities of fragments and every earth filling of that time is sprinkled with them.

But the time came when people must have wearied of their overloaded surfaces, especially as their reliefs became more commonly faint and blurred as a result of increasingly careless workmanship, and so favor inclined to the more sober bowls decorated with long petals (Courby's Class I: *bols à godrons*, pp. 329 ff.). The growing popularity of this latest type is well illustrated by our groups. The first three contain not a fragment of long-petalled bowls; in the fourth, numbers are about equally divided between bowls of varied decoration and the long-petalled variety; in the fifth the latter type is easily ahead. This alone is convincing evidence of the lateness of that type, the group which Courby had regarded as among the earliest of the "*bols à glaçure*."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Courby was led to this view chiefly by his belief that the decoration *à godrons* was a development from the reeding on the side-walls of the kraters and amphorae popular in the second half of the fourth century (*op. cit.*, p. 332). But the two schemes of decoration are fundamentally different: in reeding the individual member is convex, in the type of bowl under discussion it is concave. The one, moreover, is a mechanical geometric motive, the other is undoubtedly naturalistic in its origin. The members are to be regarded as elongated petals springing from a common centre,—not a surprising development considering how often a lesser number of long leaves was thrown out from the rosette. Thus the origins of the style *à godrons* are inherent in the lotus petals of such a bowl as our A 74. The very fact that, among the bowls *à godrons* known to Courby, the greater number came from Delos should have warned him against placing them so early, for the Delian fabric is relatively late as compared with the Athenian (*op. cit.*, pp. 333, 397 ff.).

The variety of decoration within the group itself is limited. There are long round-tipped petals with (D 40) or without (D 39, 42-44, 48; E 75-77) jewelled lines between; there are petals with pointed tips (E 74) and there are swirling petals separated by jewelled lines (D 41, E 85). It should be noted that, quite apart from the sobriety of the wall decoration itself, there is also a marked simplicity in the other decoration: the upper zone is usually omitted or abbreviated to a row of ovules (D 48) or egg-and-lart (E 75, 76). At times that zone would seem to be feebly represented by the tiny leaves topping the jewelled lines (D 40, 44; E 74). The medallion is frequently left plain (D 42-44; E 77); when it is decorated it is with a simple rosette. It seems impossible at present to arrange these various subgroups with any assurance in a chronological sequence, for all are found together and their shape and glaze prove that there are early and late examples of each.

Our groups illustrate clearly and decisively the relative sequence of the various types of bowl. To fix the absolute chronology is more difficult. An upper limit may be set with some precision. So far in the Agora we have never found Megarian bowls of any type in significant association with red-figure pottery, and we have already explored many wells, cisterns and other closed deposits of the crucial period. This consideration would seem definitely to exclude the fabric from the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Nor does the type occur at all in any part of Cistern B, and the coins found there show that parts at least of the reservoir were open down into the early years of the third century. In Well A specimens of the fabric were found sparingly and that only in the upper filling and one of those pieces is probably the earliest bowl in our collection. Its glaze is but slightly inferior to that on the plain black-glaze pottery found in the depths of the same well, and that filling probably extends but little into the third century. I should be inclined to place the beginning of the fabric in Athens in the first quarter of the third century, probably towards its end.<sup>2</sup> Such a date would give time after the founding of Alexandria for the undeniable Egyptian influence to make itself felt in Athens. Among the earliest bowls we may place those with decorations purely floral or vegetable. Then follow in quick succession the better specimens with vegetable calyces and varied wall decoration, and contemporary with the earlier of these will be the bowls with nodules. The bowl with varied decoration must have been decidedly the favorite and well nigh the exclusive type from the middle of the third into the second quarter of the second century. For there we should probably place the beginnings of the long-petal type. From the pits that were dug in the spring of 1933 in the undisturbed filling within the older part of the Stoa of Attalos (built by Attalos II,

<sup>1</sup> M. B. Hobbins, *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923-24, 1924 25, p. 279, places the beginning of the *bols à glaçure de décoration variée* about 330-310 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Courby, pp. 333, 360 ff., places the beginning of the *bols à godrons* at the beginning of the third century; of those *à décor varié* at the end of the fourth. Zahn, *Pyrene*, p. 111, places the development of the Athenian bowls in the third century.

159-138 B.C.), among a considerable quantity of pottery, including more than twenty fragments of bowls of varied decoration, there was not a fragment of a bowl with long petals. But a few specimens of this type have been found in Corinth (destroyed in 146 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> and if we are right in supposing that our Pithos D was closed up around the middle of the second century we see that the type had already gained some popularity in Athens by that time. The objects from Cistern E are on the whole unquestionably later than those of Pithos D. We have suggested that E was closed near the beginning of the first century B.C. The comparative numbers of the two types found in these cisterns show that, as the second century progressed, the bowls of long petals continued to grow in popularity. Those of varied decoration probably ceased to be made before the end of the century. How much later the long-petal variety of bowl continued to be produced in Athens we cannot say. For the ceramic history of the city in the first century B.C. we have as yet but little evidence. It is worth noting, however, that in at least one well which yielded good Arretine ware from its undisturbed lowest filling, no Megarian bowls were found.<sup>2</sup>

We have found ample reason, first in the monis discovered locally and secondly in the quantity of Megarian bowls which have come to light in Athens itself, to believe that there was a flourishing local industry and a distinctive school of Attic "Megarian bowls." The Athenian fabric may, therefore, be assigned with assurance its place among the many local fabrics which have been isolated in old Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, Egypt and Syria.<sup>3</sup> Since the Athenian fabric is practically identical with Courby's entire group of "*bols à glaçure*" his general remarks on the relative position of that ware need be but briefly reviewed.

The Athenian fabric is unquestionably one of the oldest wares of this type, in its earliest phases contemporary with the Homeric bowls which are probably of Boeotian origin.<sup>4</sup> That no corresponding fabric existed in Athens is almost conclusively proved by the absence of any fragments of such bowls with narrative scenes and accompanying inscriptions among the extensive finds in the Agora. Nor do these two fabrics seem to have influenced one another; rather, in shape and decoration, they show the common influence of fine metal ware. Athens' debt to Egypt, especially in decorative motives, has been pointed out above. But after this initial impulse the Attic potters would seem

<sup>1</sup> I owe this observation to Dr. Oscar Broneer. For bowls of earlier type found at Corinth cf. Shear, *A. J. A.* XXX, 1926, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> A well on the east slopes of Kolonos Agoraios, explored in the spring of 1934. Courby closes his series of bowls à *décor varié* in the last quarter of the third century (*op. cit.*, p. 362). That this series continued in use considerably later is sufficiently proven by the groups discussed above. Bowls of Delian fabric, he supposes, were probably still in use as late as 30 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 398).

<sup>3</sup> Since Courby's writing other fabrics have been localized at Sparta (Hobling, *B. S. A.* XXVI, 1923-24; 1924-25, pp. 281 ff.), Antioch (Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, pp. 67 f.) and probably at Hierakleia (modern Florina) in Macedonia (Keramopoulos-Blegen, *A. J. A.* XXXVIII, 1934, p. 474). Doubtless every ceramic centre in the Hellenistic period produced relief ware of the same general sort.

<sup>4</sup> C. Robert, 50th *Winckelmann's Program*, 1890, pp. 1-96; Courby, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIX.



to have relied very much on their own genius in developing the ware. Their output through the third and second centuries was enormous, sufficient to provide for a certain amount of export trade,<sup>1</sup> and to keep the home market exclusively to themselves. This latter consideration in itself would account for the lack of foreign influence on the Athenian type. Only comparatively late, when imports were less rare, is foreign influence again at all apparent. We have noted that the flatter shape common to the latest Athenian howls may be copied from imported pieces.

The influence of the Athenian on other fabrics is more pronounced. This is most clear in the case of South Russia. A few bowls with varied decoration have been found there, imported and undoubtedly of Athenian origin.<sup>2</sup> That a flourishing local industry developed is proved by the discovery of many other bowls of local clay bearing characteristic local names. These show some influence from Asia Minor, notably Priene.<sup>3</sup> But still more have they copied the Athenian products in both shape and decoration.<sup>4</sup>

Attic influence is also apparent both in the shape and decoration of the local fabric of Myrina.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, it is altogether probable that the type of decoration with long petals (*à godrons*) originated and developed in Athens, and subsequently became exceedingly popular throughout the sphere of the Megarian bowl. Courby (p. 333) had hesitatingly assigned the origin of the type to Boeotia, chiefly on the evidence of the number of such bowls found there. When he wrote he knew of only one fragment of a bowl of this type from Athens.<sup>6</sup> But recent excavations have added vastly to its company. The moulds from Agora and Pnyx prove that there were local workshops producing this type in Athens. What is more important, the one mould for bowls of this type found in Delos is probably of Athenian origin.<sup>7</sup> Courby (p. 327) noted that its clay was identical with that of the other mould known to him, one unquestionably Athenian. It finds close parallels, moreover, among the moulds from the Pnyx. It is tempting to see in this mould the very beginning of the fabric of the type *à godrons* in Delos, a beginning owed to Athens.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 333, 335, 356 f.

<sup>2</sup> Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, pp. 45 ff., Nos. 1-2, perhaps also 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> For the shape consider Zahn, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 11 and 12 (p. 54), 13 (p. 55), 14 (p. 56), 20 (p. 60), 21 (p. 61); for the decoration Nos. 13, 14, 21. Cf. also Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

<sup>5</sup> Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 402 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 61, B 11. Fragments of like bowls with this type of decoration were found in Aegina, one with plain petals, the other with jewelled lines between: *Aegina*, I, p. 465, Nos. 360, 361, fig. 398. These are in all probability of Athenian origin.

<sup>7</sup> Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 333, pl. IX d.

<sup>8</sup> On the transport of moulds and particularly of moulds for the making of relief vases, cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, pp. 52 ff.

## LAMPS

**A 41-47; B 11, 30, 38; C 54-60; D 53-61; E 87-116**

At the end of the fourth season, the catalogue of terracotta lamps from the entire excavation numbers 1552 and includes a rich variety of shapes and forms extending from the seventh century B.C. into Turkish times. The specimens included in our group afford a fair notion of the changing styles during the third and second centuries B.C. Further excavation will certainly provide more evidence for those years. When the excavation has been completed it will be possible, and necessary, to establish an independent classification for the lamps of Athens. In the meantime, Broneer's classification, based on the finds at Corinth, has been used as a guide and his types retained wherever they can be transferred from one site to the other. The brief general discussion of our lamps which follows will emphasize the groups in which they were found. Groups A and B will be considered together.

Our series begins with lamps which may be placed in Broneer's Type VII, although among the Agora specimens two sub-groups must be distinguished.<sup>1</sup> Lamps of both groups are wheel-made, with massive walls and well defined bases. On those of the first group (**A 41, B 38**) a single deep groove encircles the top and within the groove a broad, gently convex shoulder surrounds the filling-hole. The horizontal handle and the pierced knob on the left side are optional features. Both inside and outside are covered with black glaze, usually rich and firm. The second group (**A 42-44; B 11, 30**) is clearly a development from the first. The deep groove has been drawn in closer to the filling-hole and, as a consequence, the shoulder has become narrower, and more sharply rounded. Occasionally an extra rill or two was run around outside the principal groove. Here again both handle and knob are optional, though the specimens included in our groups exhibit neither. The infundibulum has become more ball-like and the nozzle is smaller in proportion to the whole. The most distinguishing mark of the second group is the fact that it is glazed on the inside only; its outside is covered with a slip and polished. **A 45**, which falls into Broneer's Type VIII, is a variant from Type VIIa in another direction: the groove around the top has moved out to the very edge, leaving a broad, flat area about the filling-hole. The shape of the nozzle and the scheme of glazing prove that this specimen is contemporary with those of the second group of Type VII. **A 46**, with its groove far out, its flat top and its sharply rounded shoulder about the filling-hole, combines features of both Type VIIb and Type VIII. Among groups A and B the latest lamp, typologically, is **A 47** (Broneer's Type IX). The sharply angular profile of its infundibulum and the thinness of its wall are quite unknown in the fifth and fourth centuries and show that we are at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hesperio*, II, 1933, pp. 199 f.

Groups A and B are of value for the chronology of these various types. The seven lamps catalogued in Group A must have reached the well within a very few years of each other, nor can the lamps of Cistern B be separated by any great length of time from one another or from the lamps of Well A. We have already observed in the catalogue that Type VII a was the most popular style in Olynthos at the time of the city's destruction in 348 B.C. and that it was the type of lamp carried to Alexandria by the Greek colonists in 332 B.C. Type VII b was just coming into favor when Philip destroyed Olynthos. We have placed our Group A in the closing years of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C., those parts of Group B which include lamps in the early years of the third. We may say, then, that at the turn of the fourth and third centuries in Athens Type VII a had almost ceased to be made (2 out of a total of 10 lamps in the two groups); Type VII b was the most popular (5 out of 10) and variations of it were being tried. The thin-walled, angular lamps of the Hellenistic period proper were just beginning to be made. Lamps of Type IX, like **A 47**, were to be among the most popular in use at Athens during the third century.

By the time of Group C, Type IX had already passed out of favor and another distinct type was dominant, that, namely, represented by **C 54-57**. These lamps correspond most closely to Broneer's Type XII.<sup>1</sup> Just at this time the most far-reaching change in the history of ancient lamp-making was taking place: the wheel was giving way to the mould.<sup>2</sup> Examples of the use of both devices are to be found among the lamps of this type. The base is ordinarily lower than on the earlier lamps; the walls are thinner, usually angular, sometimes watch-shaped in profile. We have here the beginning of that practical device so general among the later Hellenistic lamps, *viz.* a broad, flat top surrounded by a raised ridge to facilitate filling. The nozzle has been rounded on top and occasionally shows a tendency to flare at the tip (**C 55**), a feature carried to its extreme in the flukes of the slightly later lamps of the "Knidos type." The handle is optional, but when it does appear it is of the vertical, strap variety. The side-knob too may or may not be added and it may be either pierced or solid. By now, the glaze has suffered the degeneration common to all classes of Hellenistic pottery. It has almost completely flaked away from some lamps of this type (**C 57**). We cannot stress the significance of Group C for the dating of the lamps included in it, inasmuch as we have used them for fixing the date of the group. But the comparison made in the catalogue between these lamps and a pair found in an Aetolian tomb of the beginning of the second century makes it clear that the two groups are closely contemporary. We may suppose, then, that **C 54-57** are typical lamps of Attic manufacture in use at the beginning of the second century.

Their clay and glaze are against an Attic origin for the other lamps from Cistern C: **C 58-60**. **C 58**, with its central tube, belongs to a type common on Delos and represented

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 290 ff., where similar lamps from the Agora are compared, less correctly, with those of Broneer's Type XVI.

<sup>2</sup> On the beginning of the use of moulds in lamp-making see Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 54.

also at Priene. In fabric it is similar to **C 59** and also to **E 87, 106** and **107**. All would seem to have come from some central Aegean manufactory. In view of what we shall have to say about **E 106** and **107**, Rhodes should not be left out of mind. **C 59** is the earliest specimen in these groups of a moulded lamp with decoration. Such decoration probably originated and developed farther to the east. It never became very popular at Athens. The tradition of severe plainness appears to have persisted among Attic lampmakers from classical times throughout the Hellenistic period, so that our groups seem sober in comparison with the elaborately ornamented lamps of such sites as Delos, Pergamon and Priene. This is surprising in view of the flourishing Athenian industry in Megarian bowls. Lamps and bowls are products of similar technique and taste.<sup>1</sup> **C 60** is an imported specimen (perhaps from Asia Minor) of the same general type as the Attic lamps **C 54-57**. On it, however, the encircling ridge was made separately and attached, and small lateral holes were pierced through the top to permit spilled oil to enter the infundibulum. There is no reason why these three imported pieces should not be closely contemporary with the Attic lamps with which they were found. They are of special interest as representing the invasion of the Athenian market made possible by the decline of a local industry which through the fifth and the fourth century had supplied with lamps, not only Attica, but much of the Mediterranean region.

By the middle of the second century B.C. the dominant type of lamp in Athens had become that represented by **D 56-59** and the numerous uncatalogued fragments of the same sort (Broneer's Type XVIII). These, of course, are all mould-made. Their bases are low, their infundibula watch-shaped; the vertical, strap handle and the cornucopia-shaped lug on the left side have become regular features. Their moulded decoration is reminiscent of that on the contemporary Megarian bowls of the long-petal variety. Lamps **D 54** and **55** represent the farthest that Attic makers went in the direction of the fluted nozzle of the "Knidos type." Lamp **D 60** is of the same general type as **D 56-59** with the addition of the separately shaped and attached rim which was to become more common later. Its gray clay and glaze and the peculiar shape of its nozzle make improbable an Attic origin. In crudity and ugliness it is the outstanding lamp of the collection. **D 60**, too, was probably imported, from some place familiar with the "Ephesos type." As for the glaze of the lamps of Group D, even the photograph (Fig. 75) will reveal its metallic quality, especially marked on **D 55**.

Group E is of interest as showing the variety of lamps that may have served an Athenian family in the lifetime of a single generation around the turn of the second and first centuries B.C. **E 89-96** illustrate the persistency of the type represented by **C 54-57**. Their contracted tops and elongated nozzles are indicative of the advanced development of the specimens from Cistern E. Type XVIII was still the most popular sort. But in our latest group two new features have become common in the type: the pointed nozzle (**E 103, 106, 107**) and the attached rim surrounding the top

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zahn, *Priene*, p. 438; Deonna, *B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 160 ff.; Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 61, 67 f.

of infundibulum and nozzle (**E 108-111**). **E 112-114** (Broneer's Type XVIII) are representative of the more elaborately decorated moulded lamps which shared with the contemporary Megarian bowls a common repertoire of motives. **E 87, 106, 107** and **112** are all imported, the first three, as already noted, probably from the same place.

Ariston, whose name appears on **E 106**, is one of the most familiar of Hellenistic potters. Objects bearing his name have been found on several sites. From Athens other lamps are known;<sup>1</sup> from the Peiraeus a relief pitcher with a strainer in its throat;<sup>2</sup> from Attica a mould for lamps;<sup>3</sup> from Delos a large number of lamps<sup>4</sup> and fragments of three relief pitchers similar to that from the Peiraeus;<sup>5</sup> from Rome a lamp.<sup>6</sup>

The close similarity among the lamps and the pitchers bearing the name, and the uniformity of the lettering in those instances where the signature is certain, prove that all these objects were produced by one establishment within a comparatively short period of time. Where was that establishment situated? The discovery of a mould in Attica would suggest that a factory was active there. It is said that one of the fragments of a relief pitcher bearing Ariston's name found on Delos was never fired.<sup>7</sup> If this be the case, the fragment provides good evidence for supposing that there was a manufactory under this name on the island. But there are disturbing considerations against both suppositions. The signed lamp in our collection, **E 106**, seems not to be of Athenian manufacture. Its pointed nozzle, the delicate palmette on its throat and the greater precision of its moulding mark it off from the many lamps of undoubtedly local origin that were found with it. Its clay, too, is finer and of a more soapy texture than that which was being used by contemporary Attic potters. Lamp **E 106** is identical in form and fabric with lamp **E 107** and in fabric with **E 86** which is a relief pitcher of the same type as those signed by Ariston. There can be little doubt that these three articles all came from Ariston's manufactory and that they were made elsewhere than at Athens. On the other hand, their extremely fine clay, so different from that which is ordinarily regarded as the local Delian, is against a Delian origin for the lamps and pitchers. It is worthy of note, however, that their fabric is very close to that of wine amphorae bearing the name of Ariston as fabricant in similar, perhaps slightly earlier lettering found on Delos, at Pergamon and in Rhodes. These amphorae are of the ordinary Rhodian

<sup>1</sup> National Museum, Nos. 3181, 3281; Deonna, *B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 158 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 69, No. 5; Deonna, *l. c.*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *Sammlung Sabourff*, I, pl. LXXV; Deonna, *l. c.*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> *B.C.H.* XXX, 1906, p. 606; XXXII, 1908, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> Deonna, *l. c.*, pp. 159 and 160; Courby, p. 365.

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.* XV, 2, p. 864, No. 6871. A terracotta figurine of a woman and a mould for a relief plaque representing a combat of a Greek and an Amazon found in Tarentum appear to bear the name Ariston in fragmentary form (*B.M. Catalogue of Terracottas*, 1903, E 16 and E 69). But the letters as reproduced in the catalogue do not resemble those on the lamps and vases and only an autopsy could confirm the identity of the signature.

<sup>7</sup> Deonna, *l. c.*, p. 160; Courby, p. 365, pl. IX f.

sort whose Rhodian origin cannot be questioned.<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to believe that the same man or the same firm was responsible for the lamps, pitchers and amphorae and that the factory was situated in Rhodes from where a lively trade was carried on throughout the Aegean. But a thorough re-examination of the fabric and lettering of all products bearing the name Ariston might throw additional, perhaps decisive, light on the problem.<sup>2</sup>

As to the period of Ariston's activity, there need be less uncertainty. We have already pointed out that the various products bearing his name seem to have been made within a comparatively short time, probably within the compass of a single active lifetime. Our two pieces, **E 106** and **107**, are typical of the general run of his lamps. There is every reason to believe that they are contemporary with the bulk of the cistern filling in which they were found and this, we have suggested, is to be dated around the turn of the second and the first century B.C. The decoration on the relief pitchers bearing his name is akin to that on Megarian bowls of the long-petal variety, and these were popular in the latter half of the second century B.C. The form of lettering employed by Ariston agrees closely with that on dated documents of the late second century and that undoubtedly is the time when he lived and worked.<sup>3</sup>

#### PLAIN WARE

A. Water pitchers and jars. **A 48-56; B 12, 32, 33, 39, 42, 43; D 62, 63, 68, 69; E 125-135**

The carelessness of Athenian housemaids has been responsible for the appearance of perhaps an unduly large proportion of plain water jugs among the vases found in our wells and cisterns. It will be noticed that the big, plump pitcher with trefoil mouth

<sup>1</sup> Deonna, *B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 159 f.; Courby, p. 365; *Pergamon*, VIII 2, p. 152, Nos. 936-940; Nilsson, "Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos" in *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, V, Copenhagen, 1909, p. 394, No. 114; Grace, p. 229 of this Volume of *Hesperia*.

<sup>2</sup> Even the discovery of a lamp mould bearing Ariston's name in Attica does not, unfortunately, establish beyond question the existence of a factory of Ariston in that region. The mould might well have been imported, or, more likely still, it could have been made directly from an imported lamp bearing Ariston's name.

<sup>3</sup> Broneer suggested (*Terracotta Lamps*, p. 65) that Ariston may have been the name of a firm originally seated in Athens, from where it may have established a branch factory in Delos at the time of the Athenian colonization of the island in 166 B.C. But Broneer was misled into attributing a long period of activity to Ariston by Courby's error in dating much too early the style of bowls to which Ariston's pitchers are related. It is quite impossible that lettering of the style used in his name should antedate 166 B.C. The broken bar in the alpha, for instance, is not known even in stone-cut inscriptions before the 60's of the second century and, as Mr. Sterling Dow points out to me, it is a precautionary device for cutting in stone undoubtedly originated by the stone cutter and so not likely to be copied in a safe medium such as soft clay until some time later.

occurs early, only in Well A (**A 48-51**). Its shape is based closely on that of the contemporary black-glaze pitcher, e.g. **A 36**. The glazed vessel was probably used for wine, the unglazed, whose porous walls would permit of perspiration, evaporation and cooling, for water. This shape early gave way to that represented by **A 53-55**, **B 39** and **E 127**: flat bottom, ovoid body, tall cylindrical neck finished above with a rolled lip and surrounded by a ridge at the level of the attachment of the strap handle. The clay shows a great variety of tints: pale yellow, greenish-yellow, buff, pink, brown. Pale yellow is the most common. Yet the texture is much the same in all: marked by numerous particles of grit and white matter. The clay undoubtedly all came from the same pits. Pitchers of this sort are the dominant form throughout our two centuries and they appear in unbelievable quantities of whole or broken specimens in some of the deep wells of this period. The actual shape underwent little change in all this time. A comparison of **E 129** with the earlier specimens will indicate the tendency of the neck to lose its perfectly cylindrical shape, becoming broader toward the top, and of the lip to flare, a characteristic common to practically all vessels of the period. A not uncommon variant in the same fabric is represented by the plain-mouthed, high-handled pitchers **A 52** and **B 12**.

This type of pitcher would seem to have been in vogue throughout the Aegean region in the Hellenistic age.<sup>1</sup> They were probably not made in Athens, for their clay is not typically Attic and both the fabric and the shape represent a sharp break from those of the plain pitchers in common use in Athens in the fourth and earlier centuries. Yet there was undoubtedly a single centre of production in the Hellenistic age. At present the evidence seems insufficient to fix that centre with certainty. The fabric is not unlike that of the modern products of Aegina. At the present day there is a flourishing manufacture of plain wares on the island and the Aeginetan water jar is recognized as the best in Greece. It is not impossible that the island industry has a long tradition.

In addition to the pitcher proper, intended not only for the carrying and keeping but also for the convenient pouring of water, there is a variety of large, plump jar with one or two handles (**D 63**; **E 125**, **128-132**) intended for the storage of liquids or solids before the day of the cheap tin can. Their clay is different from that of the group just described, yet in most cases it seems not to be Attic. Where they were made we cannot say.

Then too there is a group of plain, heavy-walled pots, mostly storage jars (e.g. **D 68**, **E 134**) but including also the funnel **E 136**, of coarse, buff clay sketchily decorated with straight and wavy lines and occasionally with garlands of ivy suspended between the handles. These may be Attic. This is not true of such other large jars as **D 69** and **E 135** decorated with floral designs applied over a coat of white paint.

<sup>1</sup> For finds on Aegina see the note on **A 53-55**. The type is common also at Corinth.

## PLAIN WARE

B. Cooking vessels, **A 57, 58; C 69-75; D 64, 70-76; E 117, 118, 139-150**

Apart from the jars intended for water, there are others whose fire-blackened sides prove that they were used for cooking. These are round-bottomed pots of the simplest shape with one handle (**A 57, C 69**) or with two (**C 70, D 70** and **71**). On some (**C 70-72, D 70**) the lip was shaped to receive a lid such as **E 149**. Even here metallic influence made itself felt: in the grooves and the sharp rim profile of **C 70**, in the handles of **C 71** and **72**. The round bottom, which might seem so disturbing to a western housewife of today, accustomed to a flat-topped stove, was, of course, admirably adapted for use with the braziers on which most ancient (and modern) Greek cooking was done (Fig. 108).

For cooking on the same braziers were intended the plain casseroles represented by **C 73-75, D 72, E 141-145**, regularly intended to receive lids (**A 58, D 73-75, E 146-148**).<sup>1</sup> Pots of this type were, of course, indispensable in the Greek kitchen of all periods and on the Agora shelves their history may be traced back into the sixth century. On specimens of the sixth to fourth centuries the fabric is usually somewhat finer and the profile of the side-wall is more rounded than on ours; indeed, the earlier bowl is often watch-shaped. In that earlier period, also, the two vertical loop handles set close to the rim, which commonly appear on the casseroles of our period, were frequently supplemented by a long, tubular handle projecting upward from the shoulder. Within the limits of our period a consistent development in shape may be traced (Fig. 121). Our earliest specimen, **C 73**, still retains something of the well rounded side-wall. The steep angle of its rim and the double break in the line of its inside are also to be noted. In the later examples the profile of the bowl becomes more and more angular and the flaring lip intended for the lid is set flatter and flatter until the form of **E 141** was reached, a shape which carried through into Roman times and which indeed differs but little from that used by the modern Greek. Such was the common shape. A variant shape in the same fabric is represented by **E 145** (Figs. 106 and 121). The lids show little change from century to century: convex disks topped with big or little knobs.

In addition to these lidded bowls we find also flat, open plates, surprisingly like the modern pie-plate (**E 139** and **140**). In this period too there were still shallower plates fitted with long round handles; the ancient frying pan. The type is not represented in our groups.

Associated with the cooking vessels by identity of fabric and by their purpose are the braziers **D 76** and **E 150**.<sup>2</sup> And here again it was not, of course, the Hellenistic

<sup>1</sup> The casserole **E 141** and the lid **E 146** (Figs. 105 and 121) do not belong together, the lid being slightly too large.

<sup>2</sup> The most complete study of such braziers is by Coaze in *Jahrb. V*, 1890, pp. 118 ff. Cf. also the study by F. Mayence of the specimens found on Delos (over 850 at the end of 1901): *B.C.H.* XXIX, 1905, pp. 373-401. For other specimens from the Agora see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 189, fig. ii.



housewife who first felt the need of such a utensil. But the Athenian brazier of the fifth and fourth centuries was of quite a different form: a shallow bowl either circular or rectangular in plan with raised lugs on its flat rim to support the cooking vessel.

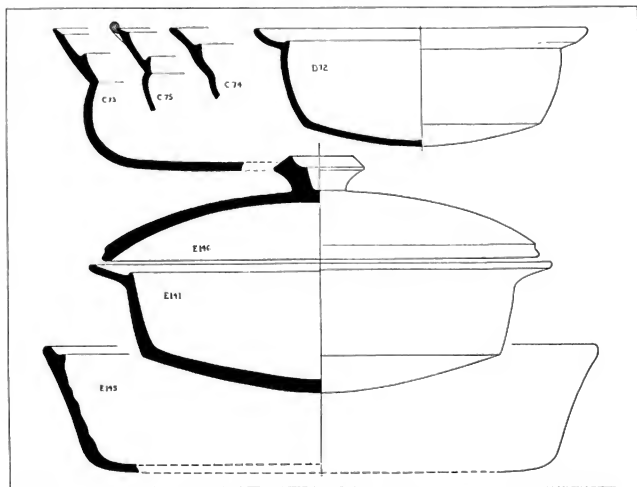


Fig. 121. Profiles of Casseroles. Scale 1:2

It, too, stood on a hollow stand pierced to admit of a draft, but bowl and stand combined seldom attained half the height of the Hellenistic brazier. The earlier specimens, moreover, were of quite a different clay: finer in texture, more buff in color. They may have been of local manufacture. This is almost certainly not the case with the later variety. Against its Athenian origin are the clay, the comparative paucity of specimens found in Athens, and, still more telling, the failure to find in Athens moulds for the shaping of the masks. But clearly, as soon as the new model was introduced,

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it became popular with the Athenian housewife who must have been thoroughly weary of the old, low, back-breaking variety. Just when the high variety reached Athens is difficult to say. I have noticed one finely modelled lug, with satyr's mask, from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos. Their occurrence in Pithos D suggests a date at least equally early. Yet **D 76** is certainly not an early specimen. The superiority in design and execution of other examples from elsewhere in the Agora would suggest for them a date possibly fifty years earlier.

As already noted, the close similarity in fabric suggests that the braziers and cooking vessels were made in the same place, and, since it is practically certain that the braziers were imported, the same is probably true of most of the cooking vessels. Braziers of precisely the same type are found throughout the Mediterranean world and indeed they provide a small but significant indication of the community of ways and manners that developed in Hellenistic times. But nowhere are they found more commonly than on the Aegean islands, notably Delos. It is not unlikely that braziers and cooking pots alike were made on and disseminated from some one of those islands. Nor must it be thought strange that such coarse pottery should have been commonly imported and that to Athens. In modern times, just as Aegina is famous for her water jars, so Siphnos is noted for her cooking pots and braziers, of much the same shape and fabric as those from our wells and cisterns. In any Aegean port one may see little Siphnian sailing boats loaded to the gunwale and higher with such products, and the same wares are to be found on sale in shops and markets throughout Greece.

#### PLAIN WARE

C. Large basins and mortars. **A 59-63, 77-79; B 40, 41; C 61-68; D 65-67; E 119-124**

Our wells and cisterns have provided a good selection of the large wash basins necessary both in kitchen and lavatory. The very simplicity of the shape admitted of but little variation: a deep open bowl with steep sides which ordinarily carried down a little below the floor to provide a sort of false base-ring, an out-turned rim and a couple of vertical loop handles set close under it (Fig. 101). The clay has fired to various shades of red, yellow and brown but its texture is the same in practically all: coarse and often gritty. It scarcely requires the evidence of the *Fehlbrand*, **B 40**, to prove its Attic origin. In many cases the interior was covered with thin brown or reddish glaze. Occasionally the inner wall of these basins was striated by both horizontal and vertical strokes of a comb-like instrument drawn across the still soft clay. The three fragments from our groups that show this treatment have walls steeper than those of the ordinary basin (**A 63, C 68, E 122**).

For the development of the type, the rim profile is the most significant detail. On the earlier examples (**A 59-62**) the out-turned rim is flat on top, decorated some-

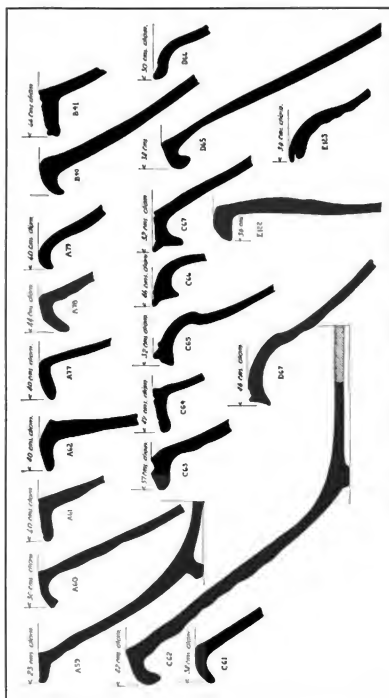


Fig. 192. Rim Profiles of Lekam. Note 1-2

times with a couple of shallow grooves with or without an incised zigzag line between, or else it is gently convex. In either case it is but slightly, if at all, turned down. These are the shapes that we find at the end of the fourth century and they are close enough to those used earlier in the century. The second-century shapes on the whole are markedly different. When the profile is simple, the lip is likely to be more sharply bent down than in earlier times (**C 62**, **E 119**, Figs. 101, 122). But in general the profile tends to be more elaborate; some of the deeply indented lips probably show the influence of metal work (**C 66** and **67**, **E 123**, Fig. 122). In common with other types of vessel of this age the basins show a slackening in their profiles: their lips tend to flare more, even to sag (**D 67**, **E 123**, Fig. 122) and to lose the crispness which had characterized them at the beginning.

Closely related to the large basins in shape and fabric are the household mortars represented by **E 124** (Fig. 102). It is surprising that our groups should contain but a single specimen in tolerable preservation. Its lip profile is essentially similar to those of the contemporary basins and the whole vessel is far removed from its predecessors of the fourth century. At that time the side-wall and lip were much heavier and the hand grips on the rim were often elaborately and pleasingly modelled.<sup>1</sup>

#### BLISTER WARE

##### **A 68, C 78**

The amphoriskos **A 68** and the fragment from the base of a small pitcher **C 78** are of a distinctive fabric of which occasional pieces have been found in the excavations both of the Agora and of the Pnyx. The small, flat-bottomed pitcher would seem to be the commonest shape, but in addition to the pitchers and the amphoriskos I have noticed also a lamp, from the filling of the great double stoa along the south side of the Agora, of the form of Broneer's Type IX. The clay is fine in texture and distinctive in color. Occasionally it is ash-gray through and through. Again, it may be gray save for the inner or the outer surface, one or other or both of which may have fired to a dull orange color. Of another fragment I have noticed that the core and both surfaces fired red, the space between, gray. The name has been suggested by the common occurrence on the surface of blister-like protuberances caused probably during the firing by the explosion of particles of water lodged in the clay. That the effect was deliberately sought is proven by a fragment from the Stoa of Attalos in which similar protuberances were produced on the outside by pressing on the wall from the inside. The potter left his finger prints.

<sup>1</sup> For fourth-century examples from Corinth cf. *A.J.A.* XXXVII, 1933, p. 147. A good many of the same century have been found on the Pnyx and will be published along with the other small finds from there.

The earliest datable specimens of the ware, to my knowledge, are the amphoriskos from the depths of the Well A and the lamp of Type IX mentioned above. These two pieces must be from the turn of the fourth and third centuries. The ware would seem to have continued in use, though never very popular, for some time. I have noted fragments of at least three vases from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos.

Whether the ware was made in Attica from some special clay bank or by some particular shop, or whether it was imported and if so from where, are questions which must await further evidence.

#### GRAY WARE

##### E 154-158

Cistern E yielded several fragments of a fabric marked by its fine, ash-gray clay and its hard, metallic-gray glaze. Its profile (Fig. 116) and the decoration on its floor (Fig. 115) mark off the best preserved plate (E 154) from the contemporary local pieces. Its comparatively flat floor and high rim remind one of Pergamene plates but the basering is quite different from anything in that ware. The hemispherical bowl (E 157) and the fragment from the mouth of a pitcher (E 158) are not distinctive enough in their profiles to assist one in placing the ware. The clay and glaze of the group are very close to those of the relief krater E 153 which we have found reason to assign with some assurance to a Pergamene school. In suggesting that attribution we had, indeed, to suppose that the fabric of the krater was, if not unparalleled, at any rate unusual among the products of that school. But in the case of the plates we should scarcely venture to fly in the face of irregularities both of fabric and profile. While not assigning the group to Pergamon we may perhaps be not wrong in supposing that it did come from the Asian coast. Lamps of a closely similar fabric are not uncommon in that region and there, too, bucchero ware, of which our gray ware is reminiscent, continued to be made down into Hellenistic times.<sup>1</sup>

#### PERGAMENE WARE

##### E 151, E 152

From the Cistern E come fragments of two plates which agree precisely in fabric and shape with others found earlier in the Agora excavations and already assigned by Wangé to Pergamon.<sup>2</sup> The clay shows the same yellowish-buff color and extremely fine texture and the plates have the same flat floor and high rim. The present fragments have a chronological interest, for they come from the earliest datable context so far to yield

<sup>1</sup> For Hellenistic bucchero in Samos cf. Technau, *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 48. Cf. also W. Lamb, *J.H.S.* LII, 1932, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 285-287. See also Wangé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, pp. 68 ff.

this fabric in the Agora. It does not yet appear in Pithos D. No specimens of it have so far been found in the Stoa of Attalos nor yet in the filling of the great double stoa across the south side of the market-place, a building probably contemporary with the Stoa of Attalos. The available evidence, therefore, suggests that this ware came into use in Athens in the second half of the second century B.C.

The two plates, combined with the relief krater E 153, have also an historical interest, adding as they do to our evidence for the relations between Pergamon and Athens in the second century. In the political, artistic and sentimental fields those relations are known to have been close. Our finds are witnesses to commercial intercourse.

#### FUSIFORM UNGUENTARIA<sup>1</sup>

**A 64, 65; B 6, 7, 44; C 76, 77; D 77, 78; E 137, 138**

This spindle-shaped vessel is one of the most ubiquitous and characteristic of Hellenistic vases, appearing commonly not only in tombs but almost invariably in house deposits of the period. Although specimens have been found in all parts of the Mediterranean region, the uniformity of fabric points to a single place of origin.

In the earlier specimens the walls are often astonishingly thin and fragile; the clay fine, dull red inside, dark gray, sometimes almost black on both surfaces, and fired hard. Later, the clay tends to be coarser and has frequently fired to a dirty ash-gray color throughout. The walls, too, become thicker. Ordinarily, the sole decoration consists of three narrow bands of white paint, around neck, shoulder and body, a tradition which persisted throughout the history of the type. The development can be traced most closely from the shape. The earlier specimens are almost always plump, showing a well rounded belly, and sometimes, especially on the smaller bottles, a well defined shoulder between side-wall and neck. At first, both lip and foot were carefully modelled on the wheel, the lip invariably showing a considerable projection and a bevelled edge, the foot a slight flare. As time went on, the body tended to become more and more slender, the neck to swell and to flare toward the top so that on many late examples the diameter of the lip is equal to or greater than that of the body (D 77 and 78). At the same time, the wheel work became more careless, so that, although the lip retained very much its old profile, the foot was often not set off from the stem by special moulding. Though stout specimens may occur late, with these other criteria in mind one need not be deceived in their date.

<sup>1</sup> It is needless to cite the great numbers of published specimens. So far as I am aware, no thorough-going study of the type has been made. Among the more useful notes the reader may consult the following: Dragenlörff, *Thera*, II, 1903, pp. 283 f. D. speaks of examples of this type as late as of the first century A.D. found in Germany and Tarentum; Zahn, *Prismen*, p. 428; Winkenberg, *Lindos*, I, *Les petits objets*, Berlin, 1931, p. 738, Nos. 3165-3169; Van Ingen, *C.V.A., U.S.A.* 3, *University of Michigan*, 1, 1934, p. 67.

Their presence in each of our five groups provides good evidence not only for their relative but also their absolute chronology. **B 6** and **7** were found in definite association with the late r. f. pelikai, **B 1** and **2**, and may without question be assigned to the end of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> **A 64** and **65** will be not much later. The specimens from the Cistern C (**C 76** and **77**) may be taken as typical of the early second century and those from D and E (**D 77** and **78**, **E 137** and **138**) of the latter part of that century. Numerous fragments from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos were closest in type to those of our Group C and I have seen none from the Stoa that need be as late as those from Group D. That those fragments from its filling, however, are considerably earlier than the Stoa is shown by comparison with the pieces of Group D and is confirmed by specimens from a tomb at Corinth that must shortly have antedated its destruction in 146 a.c. (unpublished, cf. p. 370). These Corinthian pieces are closely similar to those from the Pithos D.<sup>2</sup> How much longer the fusiform type continued before it was supplanted by the bulbous form common in Roman times, we cannot say. The old type probably died out in the first century a.c. In graves (unpublished) of the early Roman period in Corinth (the city was refounded in 44 a.c.) the bulbous type is found.

It was long supposed (on scriptural authority)<sup>3</sup> that these flasks were intended to receive the tears of the mourners and then to be placed in the grave,—hence the name "tear-bottle." It seems more probable that they were intended for the transport of unguents which might be used for daily needs but which would also find an appropriate place in the service of the dead. Unguents came from the east, and so presumably did their containers. From just what part these bottles came we cannot say with certainty. Myres suggested Syria.<sup>4</sup> They seem to have begun to reach the Greek world regularly in the closing years of the fourth century,—with but a single exception I know of none from contexts that need be dated earlier than the specimens discussed above. We may suppose that the producers of the unguents who put up their wares in such flasks established regular contact with the Greek world as an immediate result of Alexander's conquests and plied a profitable and continuous trade for some three centuries thereafter.

<sup>1</sup> This dating is confirmed by the finding of a specimen like **B 6** in shape in a tomb at Phalasarna in West Crete accompanied by r. f. pottery not much later than the middle of the fourth century (*Mon. Ant.* XI, 1901, cols. 377–378, fig. 66 k), and by the discovery of another example closely similar to our **B 7** along with a drachma of Alexander in a tomb at Pergamon that Jacobsthal would assign to the early years of the kingdom (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXIII, 1908, pp. 430, 436, pl. XXVI, 1). Another flask, similar to our **B 7**, was found in a tomb at Delphi dated by Perdrizet to ca. 400 a.c. (*Delphes*, V, pp. 12 and 163 ff., p. 166, Nos. 345–349, fig. 628). But there is a remarkable range in the objects found in the tomb and some, at least, are doubtless considerably later than 400 a.c.

<sup>2</sup> Other dated specimens of this period are those from the Aeginetan tomb, probably of 144–133 a.c. (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 274 ff., figs. 34 and 35).

<sup>3</sup> *Pl.* 56, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Handbook of the Cenola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York, 1914, p. 120, No. 994. But M. gives no evidence for this suggestion. He places the *floruit* of the flasks in the second and third centuries a.d.!

That those producers had already been using the same type of container for two centuries before they began to ship regularly to Greece is proved by the exception noted above. This is a very plump and archaic looking specimen, marked, however, by the unmistakable gray clay, and the shape, not only of body, neck and stem, but even of lip and foot. Around neck and shoulder there are many lines of dark paint and around the body, two. It was found in a Rhodian grave along with black-figure pottery (an oinochoe shows Andoclean influence).<sup>1</sup>

The early date of this piece excludes Alexandria as the home of the type and indeed Egypt in general is probably eliminated by the scarcity of such flasks in the cemetery at Chatby.<sup>2</sup> Syria, which Myres had already suggested, remains, and its case is strengthened by its proximity to the place of finding of that early, stray export.<sup>3</sup>

#### LOOM-WEIGHTS

**A 69; B 13, 14, 34, 45, 47; D 80**

The terracotta weights used by the ancients to hold taut the vertical threads in their upright looms have been found in quantity in the Agora as in all excavations on Greek sites.<sup>4</sup> Our groups have yielded specimens of the two types most commonly found in

<sup>1</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, IV, 1931, Burial CCXXIII, p. 379, fig. 427. There is a similar specimen in Würzburg, from Athens (Langlotz-Hahland, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, 1932, No. 672, pl. 254).

<sup>2</sup> Uniform unguentaria have, however, been found in graves in the Fayûn. Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, London, 1900, pl. X b 2, 6, 11, 12, 18, 24; from the cemetery of Harit, tombs of the "middle class," i.e. later Ptolemaic and early Roman (pp. 55 and 59).

<sup>3</sup> The shape is found also in silver: a handsome, engraved specimen from a South Russian grave (*Compte Rendu*, 1880, pl. IV, 9) and a plainer piece in the National Museum at Athens (No. 13,144, from the early second century Aetolian tomb, *Eph. Arch.* 1906, cols. 77 ff.). This must be one of the rare instances of the metal worker imitating the potter, for it is incredible that the original should have been of metal. Numerous other variations occur: a flask from a Hellenistic tomb at Sparta with lugs, and white, painted decoration on its shoulders (*B.S.A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 7 c); a plump flask from Chatby with geometric designs in white paint on its shoulder (*Scythi*, I, p. 48, No. 87, fig. 33); a specimen with two vertical, loop handles rising from its shoulder, yellow stripes bordered with purple around neck, shoulder, body and stem, and tall leaves in yellow paint around the lower part of the body (National Museum, No. 2311, from Megara); a black-glaze bottle with shoulder lugs (Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 503, fig. 107). The shape may ultimately be based on that of early glass bottles, likewise made in Syria (?).

<sup>4</sup> Miss Gladys Davidson is preparing an exhaustive study of loom-weights in connection with the impending publication of the small finds from Corinth. In the meantime, the reader may consult: A. Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce*, Paris, 1872, pp. 50 ff., pp. 408 ff., with discussion of the stamps ΓΑΥΚ and ΜΕΑ; on pp. 51, 408, 410 and pl. III B; Pottier et Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, Paris, 1887, pp. 246 ff., with notice of the stamps on p. 250; Perdrizet, *Delphe*, V, pp. 197 ff., Nos. 598-618 (disenid), 619-629 (conical, No. 621 stamped: ΜΕΑΙΣ; 624 (pyramidal); *Olynthus*, II, Chapter VI, "Loom Weights" by Lillian M. Wilson, with a discussion, but no adequate illustration, of the numerous real impressions found on the weights of that site and valuable notes on the method of use; Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1925, I, Nos. 2751-2760, pl. 113; pyramidal weights with swab, palmettes, a female head, a helmet, etc. painted on their faces. Pyramidal and conical weights similar to ours in shape were found together in quantities in the Alexandrian cemetery of Chatby, dating from the early years of the city. *Scythi*, I, p. 51, figs. 56 and 57. For ΜΕΑΙΣ and ΓΑΥΚ in the Asklepieion in Corinth, see *A.J.A.* XXXVII, 1933, p. 138.



Athens, viz. the truncated pyramid (**A 69, B 13**) and the cone (**B 14, 34, 45, 47; D 80**). That the pyramidal are the earlier is proven by their presence in two of our earliest contexts and by their absence in the later.

The pyramidal weight was apparently made by pressing the clay into a mould open at the larger end. The hole (or holes) for the attachment of the thread was pierced after the clay was removed from the mould: the finger prints of the piercer may sometimes be read where they were impressed in the soft clay. The clay used is invariably the fine, buff-colored Attic. Usually the weight was held by the bottom and dipped into a bowl of glaze so that only the upper part was covered. Seal impressions of various subjects and stamped palmettes are commonly found on weights of this type but they do not appear among ours.

At a certain time there was an abrupt change from the pyramidal to the conical shape. The change in shape was accompanied by a change in technique: the conical weight is ordinarily moulded by hand. Among the earlier examples of the type the clay is clean and fine, but with the later less care was taken (**D 80**). That the clay is invariably Attic is not at all certain. It is usually a dull buff in color but occasionally a greenish yellow tinge suggests Corinth. Our example **B 14** is one of the very rare specimens of the type that show any trace of glaze. On the conical weights, too, one frequently finds delicate seal impressions. The maker's double stamp which appears on **B 45** is also common and similar weights bearing that stamp have been found widely throughout Greece. The stamp ΜΕΛΙΣ (p. 393) is also found on not a few weights. It is clear from the contexts in which the weights with those stamps were found in our groups that they must occur on the earliest specimens of the conical type.

Our groups also provide a useful clue to the precise time when the change in types occurred. From the depths of Well A, i.e. from a context of the turn of the fourth and third centuries, the one weight was pyramidal (**A 69**). From the south chamber of the Cistern B, which was closed up probably in the early third century, there came one pyramidal and one conical weight (**B 13** and **14**). From the other groups there are none but conical. We may, then, date the change from the pyramidal to the conical type at the turn of the fourth and third centuries. Other closed groups from the Agora excavations confirm this date and go to prove that the conical weight of the kind represented here does not appear in Athens before the end of the fourth century and that the pyramidal type definitely went out of favor at that time.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a great mass of filling used in building up the latest auditorium on the Pnyx, several hundred loom-weights were found. Save for an occasional pocket yielding Roman pottery, the material from this filling (lamps, sherds, etc.) belonged to the last quarter of the fifth and the first three quarters of the fourth century. It produced not a single specimen of the conical type of weight under discussion. There were, indeed, a number of conical weights but these were wheel-made and were perfect cones in shape. Cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1931, p. 181.

Excavations elsewhere in the Agora and on the Pnyx have produced a few roughly hand-made weights, discoid in shape and doubly pierced. They are found together with weights of the conical sort described here, which they resemble in their clay and lack of glaze.

As for the earlier history of the loom-weight, the pyramidal type may be traced back to the seventh century. Specimens found with Proto-attic pottery show the same essential shape as those from our groups.<sup>1</sup> For the later history, our evidence is meagre. So far, we have few good closed deposits of the first century *a.c.* and of the first century *a.d.* But in fillings dating from the second century *a.d.* and later the loom-weight is conspicuous by its absence. In the interval it had probably been rendered unnecessary by the change from the vertical to the horizontal loom.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 599 ff., fig. 70.

<sup>2</sup> It must not be supposed that the same types or the same sequence of types are to be found on other Greek sites. At Olynthos, for instance, the conical was the most popular type in use in the last days of the city, before 348 *a.c.*

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HOMER A. THOMPSON

## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

# THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

## PREFACE

### A CHRONOLOGICAL COMMENTARY ON THE CONTEXTS

SUSAN I. ROTROFF

In the series of articles reprinted here, Dorothy Thompson presented groups of Hellenistic terracottas from closed archaeological contexts excavated at the ancient Agora of Athens from 1932 to 1957.<sup>1</sup> These studies were written over a period of some 15 years, the first appearing in 1952, the last in 1966. During that time, and since, our ideas of the chronology of Hellenistic Athens have evolved and even, in some cases, have been revolutionized by new excavations and continued research. The chronology of the 3rd century, in particular, has been radically altered by the results of excavations at Koroni on the east coast of Attica,<sup>2</sup> and by continued research into the chronology of Rhodian transport amphoras.<sup>3</sup> We are now in a better position to estimate the dates of coins, amphoras and amphora stamps, and other pottery than we were 20 years ago. The process, however, is an ongoing one, and the dates are still in flux. Re-examination of the material from Olynthos, in the light of recent suggestions about the continued habitation of that site in the second half of the 4th century, may further alter our dates for that period.<sup>4</sup> And in the 2nd century, advances in the dating of Hellenistic relief ware may also instigate revision of the chronology. All the Hellenistic deposits in the Agora are currently under review as part of the publication of the wheel-made pottery from the Agora Excavations. The revised dates offered here are therefore provisional, and it must be kept in mind that at least some of them will certainly be revised again in the future.

The chronology of Hellenistic deposits in Athens is based, for the most part, on coins and stamped amphora handles. The latter material has long been under study by Virginia Grace,<sup>5</sup> and all the dates quoted here originate with her. The bronze coinage of Athens,

<sup>1</sup> For special abbreviations in the following footnotes, see the bibliography, p. 194 below.

<sup>2</sup> Eugene Vanderpool, James R. McCredie, Arthur Steinberg, "Koroni, A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, pp. 26-61; Eugene Vanderpool, James R. McCredie, Arthur Steinberg, "Koroni, The Date of the Camp and the Pottery," *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pp. 69-75; James R. McCredie, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, Princeton 1966, pp. 1-16. For other bibliography see Rotroff, preface to "Two Centuries," pp. 7-8 above.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Virginia R. Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology," *AM* 89, 1974, pp. 193-200; Grace, "Middle Stoa."

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 10 below, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 4-5 above for a review of this work, especially in connection with the excavations at Koroni. During the years 1973-1975, while I was writing a dissertation on the Hellenistic moldmade bowls from the Agora, she spent long hours answering my questions and explaining her chronology. She later read the deposit summaries incorporated into the publication of that material (*Agora* XXII, pp. 96-106), correcting many errors which I had made. She has repeated that favor with the present manuscript; even so, mistakes will have crept in, and these, of course, are all of my own doing.



which forms the other branch of evidence and is particularly useful at the beginning and end of the series, has been studied by Fred Kleiner and John Kroll.<sup>6</sup> The following, then, represents a summary of the work of several scholars, augmented occasionally by evidence provided by the pottery from the deposits under discussion. The bulk of this information has already appeared, in abbreviated form, in *Agora* XXII, pp. 96–106; it is repeated and updated here for the convenience of the reader.

#### THE DEPOSITS

##### I A: COROPLAST'S DUMP (S 19:3)

The figurines in this dump came from a cistern (S 19:3) and a near-by pit (S 19:5), which were probably filled at the same time.<sup>7</sup> The date is dependent upon coins. The latest in the cistern were three double-bodied owl bronzes,<sup>8</sup> but from S 19:5 came a somewhat later issue, dating in the last quarter of the 4th century or slightly later.<sup>9</sup> The material from the fills can be placed with some confidence before ca. 300 B.C., but a more exact date must await the study of later 4th-century pottery deposits in the light of re-analysis of finds from Olynthos. Although the bulk of pottery from that site, which has long formed a crucial mooring in 4th-century chronology, no doubt dates before the destruction of the site by Philip II in 348, recent studies of the coins lend weight to the suggestion that there was a considerable population on the site until 316 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Until the pottery from Olynthos is re-examined in the light of this information, the chronology of ceramics of the second half of the 4th century must remain tentative.

##### I B and C: HEDGEHOG WELL (O 18:2) AND DEMETER CISTERN (F 16:1)

A similar situation exists with the Hedgehog Well and the Demeter Cistern.<sup>11</sup> Amphorae in the Hedgehog Well are consistent with a date in the third quarter of the 4th century, and the pottery appears to date well within the 4th century. The cup-kantharoi overlap with those from Olynthos, running little if at all later than the examples from the northern site. The one legible coin from the Demeter Cistern is a double-bodied owl,<sup>12</sup> dating in the

<sup>6</sup> See p. 4 above.

<sup>7</sup> These two deposits have usually been considered as a single fill; they are listed together under S 19:3 in *Agora* XII, p. 399. See discussion in Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems," p. 263.

<sup>8</sup> AA-838, AA-842, AA-843, cf. Svoronos, pl. 22: 35–45. John H. Kroll, "A Chronology of Early Athenian Bronze Coinage, ca. 350–250 B.C.," in *Greek Numismatics and History*, O. Mørkholm and N. Waggoner, edd., Wetteren, Belgium 1979, pp. 147–149, variety A, there dated ca. 350–330 B.C. Kroll now suggests that this date bracket should be lowered by about a decade (personal communication, February 10, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> AA-930, cf. Svoronos, pl. 24:51–57. Kroll (footnote 8 above), pp. 147–149, variety D (two owls in wreath), there dated 330–322. Kroll now favors a slightly later date: "in the vicinity of 322–319, more probably, ca. 300–294" (personal communication, February 10, 1986).

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to James Dugdale for sharing with me his thoughts about later activity at Olynthos and for sending me a copy of his unpublished paper "The Abandonment of Olynthos in 316 B.C.: A Solution to the Problems of Early Hellenistic Chronology, 350–260 B.C." Related to his work is that of Mark Rose, "A Reconsideration of the Coins Found at Olynthos," *AJA* 88, 1984, p. 258. Note the presence of at least one late kantharos (David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos*, XIII, *Vases Found in 1934 and 1935*, Baltimore 1950, no. 513A, p. 289, pl. 185 [= no. 510A, pl. 82]); the proportions of 513A suggest a date well after mid-century (see Susan I. Rotroff, "Spool Saltcellars in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 53, 1984 [pp. 343–354], p. 350, fig. 3). Discussions with Judith Binder on this topic have also been invaluable.

<sup>11</sup> See discussion in Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems," p. 263.

<sup>12</sup> ST-194. See footnote 8 above, p. 184.

second half of the 4th century. Most of the pottery is probably contemporary with it, but a few pieces<sup>13</sup> may have been made about 300 B.C. or slightly thereafter.

#### II A: GROUP B (H 16:3)

The pottery from this cistern was presented in full by Homer Thompson,<sup>14</sup> and the date of the deposit has since been discussed extensively by a number of scholars.<sup>15</sup> Revisions in the amphora chronology suggest that the Rhodian stamped amphora in the deposit belongs about 240 B.C.,<sup>16</sup> a date supported by the wear on the coins. The material therefore covers a considerable chronological range, from the later 4th century (when the red-figured pelikai B 1 and B 2<sup>17</sup> must have been manufactured) to the early third quarter of the 3rd century.

#### II B: ALTAR WELL (B 20:7)

The date of this deposit has been lowered since 1959 by the general revision of amphora dates in the 3rd century B.C.<sup>18</sup> Of the three fills in the well, it is only the upper one that contained substantial numbers of figurines and pottery. In that fill were found also seven stamped amphora handles, most of which date in or before the third quarter of the 3rd century; one Rhodian handle, however, names the eponym Xenostratos (SS 9663), placed by Grace around 217 B.C.<sup>19</sup> Production of hemispherical moldmade relief bowls (which may begin ca. 225 B.C.<sup>20</sup>) was well under way at the time the material was discarded, for among the debris were found fragments of about 20 bowls. Most, however, were made in fresh molds, suggesting that the industry had not been in operation for very long. The material in the deposit, then, seems to date in the second half of the 3rd century and is likely to have been discarded somewhat before 200 B.C.

#### II C: SATYR CISTERN (N 21:4)

At the time of publication of "Three Centuries", the fill of this cistern was thought to be homogeneous, except for an early Roman deposit in the mouth.<sup>21</sup> Further analysis of the material by G. Roger Edwards<sup>22</sup> has revealed that there were three stages of fill. All but one of the terracottas<sup>23</sup> were found in the lowest of these. The latest of the 13 amphora handles in that fill is dated to ca. 217 B.C. by the Rhodian eponym Xenostratos (SS 8934) and is paralleled by the piece in the Altar Well (see above). This lower deposit contained only two

<sup>13</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . , I, B and C," p. 264 [88] below, footnote 6, nos. 2 and 3, Pl. 15 [20]b, c.

<sup>14</sup> "Two Centuries," pp. 30–45 [330–345] above.

<sup>15</sup> Grace, *AM* 89, 1974 (footnote 3 above, p. 183), p. 194; John H. Kroll, "Numismatic Appendix," *AM* 89, 1974, pp. 202–203; *Agora* XXII, pp. 108–109; Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 36; Rotroff, preface to "Two Centuries," pp. 2–3 above.

<sup>16</sup> For a list of the amphoras in the deposit see Virginia R. Grace, "Notes on the Amphoras from the Koroni Peninsula," *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 325, note 13.

<sup>17</sup> "Two Centuries," pp. 33–34 [333–334] above, Figs. 14 a, 14 b.

<sup>18</sup> Grace, *AM* 89, 1974 (footnote 3 above, p. 183).

<sup>19</sup> *Agora* XXII, p. 97, representing Grace's opinion as of 1980.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9–13.

<sup>21</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . , II C. The Satyr Cistern," p. 332 [244] below.

<sup>22</sup> I am grateful to Roger Edwards for the extensive notes which he has made over the years in the *Agora* Deposit Files. For further discussion of the deposit see *Agora* XXII, p. 105; Grace (footnote 16 above, p. 185), pp. 325–326 (now, however, out of date).

<sup>23</sup> T 2037 = D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . , II C. The Satyr Cistern," p. 350 [262] below, no. 21, Pl. 33 [91].

fragments of moldmade relief bowls, however, suggesting that it may have been discarded a bit earlier than the deposit in the Altar Well. The middle fill, which lay directly over this material, contained only one terracotta; the numerous moldmade bowls, probably all from the Workshop of Bion,<sup>24</sup> suggest that it was discarded somewhat later, perhaps as late as the early 2nd century (see below under Komos Cistern).

### III A: KOMOS CISTERN (M 21:1) AND GROUP C

The material from the Komos Cistern is very similar to that from the middle fill of the Satyr Cistern, enough so to suggest that the two deposits were discarded at the same time. Thirty-two stamped amphora handles (one on a substantially preserved jar) and two stamped lagynoi were found in the Komos Cistern, most of them dating in the second half of the 3rd century. One, however, is later, naming the Rhodian eponym Kallikratidas II (SS 10286), whom Grace now places ca. 188–186 B.C.<sup>25</sup> The situation is further complicated by a group of Histiian tetrobols, which were found near the top of the fill. These appear to date later still, certainly within the second quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>26</sup> It is possible, however, that this hoard of coins was buried some time after the deposit of the bulk of the material, in which case we can place even the latest material in the Komos Cistern within the first quarter of the 2nd century. Interestingly enough, there is a concentration of several deposits<sup>27</sup> discarded at about this time in this general area, on the lower slopes of the Areopagus, suggesting some fairly extensive disaster or perhaps simply a planned rearrangement of the area in the course of the first quarter of the 2nd century.

Group C has been discussed at length elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> Although the coins and the amphora make possible a date as early as ca. 200 for the deposit of the material, the moldmade bowls and lamps appear to date within the second quarter of the 2nd century. This deposit, and those most closely analogous to it, contained no long-petal bowls; precisely when this type of decoration began to be applied to Athenian moldmade bowls has not been established, but it is possible that long-petal bowls were being made in Athens somewhat before 150.<sup>29</sup> If so, we may make an estimate of ca. 165 for the deposit of Group C.

<sup>24</sup> *Agora XXII*, pp. 26–27.

<sup>25</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 8–9.

<sup>26</sup> W. P. Wallace, "The Meeting-point of the Histiian and Macedonian Tetrobol," *NC*, ser. 7, 2, 1962, pp. 17–22.

<sup>27</sup> M 18:10, M 21:1, N 18:3, N 20:6, N 20:7, N 21:4, O 16:3, O 20:2; for locations see plan, *Agora XXII*, pl. 99.

<sup>28</sup> "Two Centuries," pp. 45–69 [345–369] above; *Agora XXII*, p. 109; Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems," pp. 276–278; Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 36; Rotroff, Preface to "Two Centuries," pp. 2–3 above.

<sup>29</sup> Long-petal bowls were probably being made in Asia Minor by at least ca. 165 B.C., for examples have been found within the foundation of the Great Altar of Pergamon (P. J. Callaghan, "On the Origin of the Long Petal Bowl," *BICS* 29, 1982, pp. 63–68; "On the Date of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon," *BICS* 28, 1981 [pp. 115–121], p. 117; Jörg Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon* [*Pergamonische Forschungen* II], Berlin 1968, p. 26, nos. Z 108, Z 126, Z 127, p. 154, fig. 19). A firm terminus ante quem for the Greek mainland is provided by Corinth, where the bowls were in production before 146 B.C. (G. Roger Edwards, *Corinth*, VII, iii, *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery*, Princeton 1975, pp. 176–177; Charles M. Edwards, "Corinth 1980: Molded Relief Bowls," *Hesperia* 50, 1981 [pp. 189–210], pp. 191–193). The evidence from Athens is ambiguous (*Agora XXII*, p. 35; Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems," p. 275, note 67) and is under review. It now seems clear that an early variety, with overlapping long petals and ribbed petals, was produced as early as the second quarter of the 2nd century; see *Agora XXII*, no. 344 and Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems," p. 274, pl. 62 for stylistic evidence of this date). Grace has recently argued that the canonical

### THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS: PREFACE

#### IV and V: BUILDING FILLS AND OTHER DEPOSITS

Because of the lack of a single deposit rich in terracottas which dated to the first three quarters of the 2nd century, figurines in these discussions were drawn from a variety of contexts then dated to that period.<sup>30</sup> Several of these are not closed deposits and cannot even now be dated with any security. In addition, we are still without closely dated contexts in the period ca. 175–125. In most cases our idea of the dates of these deposits has not changed radically, for the 2nd century has not been extensively affected by the revision in the Rhodian amphora chronology. Grace's recent publication of a new list of Knidian eponyms dated according to eight sequential periods is of great assistance in clarifying 2nd and 1st century dates.<sup>31</sup>

The three great Stoa of the Hellenistic Agora still await definitive publication. Until this task has been completed, statements about the date of the material in the building fills that lay under them can only be provisional. Grace's recent study of the date of the Middle Stoa, based on the amphora handles, is a goldmine of information, not only about that deposit but about a variety of contexts and other issues of Hellenistic chronology.<sup>32</sup> Helpful also is Kleiner's article on the coins from all three fills, as well as more general discussions of the buildings by Homer Thompson.<sup>33</sup>

*Middle Stoa Building Fill.* Virginia Grace has now presented in detail the evidence for her conclusion that the building fill of the Middle Stoa was closed ca. 183 B.C.<sup>34</sup> This date, though it has crept into the literature of late,<sup>35</sup> is revolutionary, as earlier publications placed the building in the mid-2nd century.<sup>36</sup> That date was based primarily on a long-petal bowl found to the south of the building, near its west end, but associated by the excavator with the last stages of its construction. Further examination of the context pottery has revealed a considerably amount of later material at the west end of the Stoa, suggesting that building operations in this area continued into the second quarter of the century. The bulk of the fill within the foundations, however, seems to date in the first quarter of the century, although it is full of later contaminations, from late Hellenistic to modern. There is also, in this and other building fills, a substantial proportion of much earlier material; 4th-century pottery, for example, is well represented.<sup>37</sup>

type of long-petal bowl was also made sporadically in the first quarter of the century (Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 21–24); her suggestion deserves attention, although one of the deposits she discusses in its support is certainly later than she maintains (see below under E 15:4).

<sup>30</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . , IV, The Second Century B.C.," p. 385 [317] below; "Three Centuries . . . , V The Mid-Second Century B.C., VI Late Second Century B.C. to 86 B.C.," p. 402 [50] below.

<sup>31</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 31–35.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Kleiner, 1975; Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 65–68, 103–108.

<sup>34</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 5–24.

<sup>35</sup> Thompson and Wycherley (footnote 33 above, p. 187), p. 66, note 179; *Agora XXII*, p. 102, under H-K 12–14; Kleiner, 1975, p. 303.

<sup>36</sup> Homer A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951," *Hesperia* 21, 1952 (pp. 83–113), p. 88; Richard H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals*, Princeton 1958, p. 241, under H–J 12–13; *Agora XII*, p. 393, under H–K 12–14; John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens*, London 1971, p. 233; R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, p. 80.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *Agora XII*, no. 947, p. 302, figs. 9 and 22.

*Stoa of Attalos Building Fill.* The building is dated by the inscription on the architrave, which attributes it to the reign of Attalos II (159–138 B.C.). Although the coins are of the same types as those found in the fill of the Middle Stoa,<sup>39</sup> the amphora handles are later; Grace now suggests a date of ca. 157 for the latest.<sup>40</sup> There were no long-petal bowls in the fill, although two fragments have been found in an early 2nd-century deposit (Q 8–9) which lay under the building fill, in areas where material from the later, Stoa fill may have been mixed with the earlier deposit.<sup>40</sup>

*South Stoa II Building Fill.* Long-petal bowls do appear in this fill (although no precise count of them has thus far been made), along with amphoras postdating the destruction of Corinth in 146 and coins of issues which are not represented in the fills of the Stoa of Attalos and the Middle Stoa.<sup>41</sup> We are safe, then, in proposing a date in the 3rd quarter of the century for the closing of the deposit. It is worth noting that in recent excavations of the southern foundation trench,<sup>42</sup> no long-petal bowls were found, suggesting that construction of the building bracketed the introduction of the new decorative scheme.

*Group D.* The date of Group D has been discussed in detail elsewhere;<sup>43</sup> the large number of long-petal bowls indicates a deposit date at least well on in the second quarter of the 2nd century. That few of these bowls were made in worn molds restricts the lower limit of the deposit to some time in the third quarter of the 2nd century, possibly as early as ca. 140 B.C. The deposit contained a stamped amphora handle perhaps dating after 146 B.C.<sup>44</sup>

*A-B 19–20:1.* This fill is referred to by Thompson as "Great Drain, Hellenistic Filling"<sup>45</sup> and "A-B 19–20".<sup>46</sup> It was perhaps introduced into the south branch of the Great

<sup>39</sup> Kleiner, 1975, deposits IV and V, pp. 313–318; Kleiner, 1976, pp. 29, 32.

<sup>40</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 14–15.

<sup>41</sup> One of these pieces (P 20204 = *Agora* XXII, no. 325, p. 83, pl. 59, from deposit Q 8–9) and the amphora handles found with it have been discussed by Grace ("Middle Stoa," p. 23, note 60) and marshaled as evidence of manufacture of "ordinary" long-petal bowls in the first quarter of the century. This piece is unusual in its rim pattern (running spiral and battlement design) and in its convex petals (rare but not unattested in demonstrably late-2nd-century examples; cf. *Agora* XXII, no. 340, p. 85, pl. 61). It was made in a fresh mold. A tiny fragment of another example, from the same mold or conceivably even from the same bowl, comes from a cistern on the north slope of the Areopagus (P 30432 from P 21:4). This context was primarily early 2nd-century in date but contained a fragment of Eastern Sigillata A ware and a late Hellenistic lamp; see T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42, 1973 (pp. 121–179), pp. 154–156. The pottery from deposit Q 8–9 is being studied by Rhys Townsend in connection with his publication of the Square Peristyle Building. In the course of this study, a second fragment of a long-petal bowl was identified in the context pottery in the summer of 1986. According to Townsend, both fragments come from areas where building fill of the Stoa of Attalos may have penetrated into the underlying Q 8–9.

<sup>42</sup> Kleiner, 1975, pp. 319–325; Kleiner, 1976, pp. 29, 32. See also *Agora* XXII, p. 104 under M–N 15:1.

<sup>43</sup> Lot T 682–688. I am grateful to T. Leslie Shear, Jr. for permission to mention this material.

<sup>44</sup> "Two Centuries," pp. 69–70 [369–370] above; *Agora* XXII, pp. 109–110; Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 37; Rotroff, Preface to "Two Centuries," p. 4 above.

<sup>45</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 37.

<sup>46</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . IV, The Second Century B.C.," p. 385 [317] below; context of no. 5, p. 383 [315] below, Pl. 42 [81].

<sup>47</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . VIII The Late First Century B.C.," p. 459 [267] below; context of no. 4, p. 458 [266] below, Pl. 63 [70].

### THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS: PREFACE

Drain after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.<sup>47</sup> The majority of the datable objects, including coins<sup>48</sup> and numerous stamped amphora handles, date before ca. 125; but two Knidian handles naming Sosiphron and Andromenes date in Grace's periods VI A and VI B respectively, i.e. ca. 107-98 and ca. 97-88 B.C.<sup>49</sup>

C 20:2. Although this fill has generally been described as debris from the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.,<sup>50</sup> almost all the independently datable objects may be placed before the middle of the 2nd century. There are no long-petal bowls, the Fulminating Zeus coins with star-and-crescent symbol typical of Sullan destruction debris are absent,<sup>51</sup> and none of the amphoras are later than ca. 146 B.C.<sup>52</sup> But later material is certainly present: a type 54A lamp (L 3861) of the 1st century B.C. or early 1st century after Christ and fragments of Eastern Sigillata A and gray ware perhaps contemporary with it. Not strictly a closed deposit, the material was used as fill during building operations of perhaps the early Roman era<sup>53</sup> and covers a very wide range in date.

D 12:2. This cistern formed part of a system which was filled during the 1st century B.C. The latest coin is post-Sullan, thought to date between ca. 77 and 70 B.C.<sup>54</sup> Many of the amphora handles come from jars made shortly before 88, naming the Knidian eponyms Hermon and Andromenes, which Grace places in her period VI B (ca. 97-88 B.C.).<sup>55</sup> A handle of period VII, naming Antipatros, is also included, which would bring the date of deposit into the later 1st century B.C.<sup>56</sup> It also contained a pottery type (the red-glazed reversible lid) which is not found in pre-Sullan contexts and is one of the few diagnostic shapes of the post-Sullan period.<sup>57</sup> The combination of objects which may be dated immediately before Sulla's attack on the city in 86 B.C. with objects made somewhat later suggests that the deposit is made up of debris from the Sullan sack that lay on the surface for a considerable time before being collected together with other material and dumped into the cistern. Many of our Sullan deposits, in fact, fall into this category, as clean-up from the disaster was sporadic and not in all cases immediate. Deposits similar in content to D 12:2 are N 20:4 (Mask Cistern) and E 14:3 (Kybele Cistern).

<sup>47</sup> Rodney S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 262-263; *Agora* XXII, p. 96.

<sup>48</sup> See Kleiner, 1976, pp. 15-19, for complete analysis of the 165 identifiable coins in the deposit.

<sup>49</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 31, 35.

<sup>50</sup> Young (footnote 47 above), p. 268; Howland (footnote 36 above, p. 188), p. 236; D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . V The Mid-Second Century B.C., VI Late Second Century B.C. to 86 B.C.," p. 402 [50] below.

<sup>51</sup> Price, "New-Style Coinage," p. 35, with note 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Délos* XXVII, p. 326 under no. E 60, p. 381.

<sup>53</sup> Young (footnote 47 above), p. 268.

<sup>54</sup> ΠΘ-207, Parthenos head/Owl on amphora, with bakchos; cf. Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 18-21. For date see John H. Kroll, "Two Hoards of First-Century B.C. Athenian Bronze Coins," *Δελτ* 27, 1972, A' [1974], p. 92. See also *Agora* XXII, p. 98.

<sup>55</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 31, 35.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 32; note the lowering of the date of period VII since *Délos* XXVII, p. 354, where a date before the middle of the century is suggested.

<sup>57</sup> P 10897. Cf. *Agora* V, F 16, F 17, p. 12, pls. 1, 63.

*D 17:5 (Papposilenos Cistern).*<sup>58</sup> Two terracotta figurines<sup>59</sup> were found in the upper fill of the cistern. With them were two stamped amphora handles dating early in the third quarter of the 2nd century (and fragments of long-petal bowls), suggesting a date of deposit somewhat after ca. 150, although one or two pieces of pottery may date near the end of the century (P 19916, P 19946).

*E 6:1-2 (Egyptian Cistern).* The material in the two chambers of this cistern system has received extensive comment elsewhere, and a selection of fine wares has been published.<sup>60</sup> The chambers were filled at the same time; none of the amphora handles in the abandonment fill date after the middle of the 2nd century, and many are substantially earlier, spanning the first half of the century. The other pottery apparently covers an even wider spread; a large percentage dates before ca. 150, but some pieces, notably plates which are remarkably similar to those in Group E,<sup>61</sup> were probably made in the second half of the century. A concentration of later objects in the upper part of one chamber (E 6:2) suggests a supplementary fill, probably immediately after the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C. This is indicated by three amphora handles immediately predating 88 B.C. and one approximately contemporary coin.<sup>62</sup> Various types of pottery typical of Sullan debris were also extracted from this part of the cistern: a semiglaized plate and bowls, a Pergamene plate, and a type 51C lamp.

*E 10:1.* The evidence of amphora handles suggests that the bulk of the material in this manhole of a cistern system dates to the years immediately preceding 86 B.C.<sup>63</sup>

*E 15:4.* This deposit has recently been discussed briefly by Grace in the context of the date of long-petal bowls.<sup>64</sup> She points out that the amphora handles are fairly early, the latest dating "probably still in the first quarter [of the 2nd century] and certainly before 166 B.C."<sup>65</sup> She has taken the occurrence of long-petal bowls here as evidence (but not the sole evidence)<sup>66</sup> that the type "began in the first quarter of the 2nd century but had at first a limited vogue, because in its first more elegant form it was difficult and fussy to engrave in the mold."<sup>67</sup> About a third of the identifiable moldmade-bowl fragments from E 15:4 have long-petal decoration, both plain and jeweled types being represented. These are clearly not examples of an early variety but rather are typical of the majority of Attic long-petal bowls, with flat or, rarely, concave petals; many were made in very worn molds. Although the dates of long-petal bowls are still under dispute, other pottery in the cistern certainly dates after the middle of the 2nd century. The fusiform unguentaria are remarkably long and thin and

<sup>58</sup> *Agora* XXII, p. 98.

<sup>59</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . V The Mid-Second Century B.C., VI Late Second Century B.C. to 86 B.C.," nos. 5, 7, pp. 399-400 [47-48] below, Pls. 45, 46 [13, 14].

<sup>60</sup> Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems," pp. 278-282.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295, no. 95, p. 269, fig. 6, pl. 60; cf. "Two Centuries," E 1, E 7, E 10, pp. 94-95 [394-395] above, Figs. 82, 116.

<sup>62</sup> Svoronos, pl. 107: 50-54; Kleiner, 1976, type 6, pp. 5, 37-38 (130-90 B.C.); for the amphoras see Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems," p. 281, note 92.

<sup>63</sup> *Délos* XXVII, p. 345, under no. E 158, p. 347, under no. E 167, p. 381; *Agora* XXII, p. 97.

<sup>64</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 23, note 61.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>66</sup> Two other contexts make her suggestion worthy of further consideration; see footnote 29 above, p. 187.

<sup>67</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 23.

find parallels in Group D and other contemporary deposits (P 20:2, H 12:1<sup>68</sup>). Also included in the deposit is a fragment of an imported moldmade bowl with *Nymphaea nelumbo* and acanthus decoration very similar to one in Group E.<sup>69</sup> It may be worth noting that this fragment physically joins another fragment which was found in a Sullan destruction debris.<sup>70</sup> There is thus sufficient evidence, independent of the long-petal bowls, to place the latest objects in this deposit in the second half of the 2nd century. Evidently the objects from the cistern cover a rather wide span, from the first to at least the third quarter of the 2nd century, possibly even later.

*K 18:2.* Most of the material from this cistern appears to date within the 3rd century. The 13 legible coins were all struck before 200, and the latest of the 11 stamped amphora handles, from a Rhodian jar naming Kratidas, dates around 199 B.C.<sup>71</sup>

*M 18:10.* The latest of the 14 stamped amphora handles names the Rhodian eponym Athanodotos, whom Grace now represents as the latest in the building fill of the Middle Stoa and dates around 183 B.C.<sup>72</sup> The moldmade bowls are analogous to those in the Komos Cistern, suggesting a date for the material in the first quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>73</sup>

*N 19:1 (Group F).*<sup>74</sup> Three superimposed deposits lay in this cistern. The lowest, which does not concern us here, indicated that the cistern had been used in the early 3rd century B.C. Three figurines from the middle fill were published by Thompson among terracottas of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries,<sup>75</sup> and two from the uppermost fill among late 1st-century figurines.<sup>76</sup> A selection of pottery from the uppermost fill was published as Group F by Henry Robinson, who suggested a date sometime before the end of the 1st century for its deposit.<sup>77</sup> The latest coins are Augustan in date,<sup>78</sup> but Arretine ware, imported to Athens starting in the last decade B.C., was not found among the debris. The latest of the transport amphoras dates in the later 1st century (Grace's Knidian period VII),<sup>79</sup> although others are pre-Sullan. Robinson included in his publication only those pieces which he felt to be post-Sullan; but the upper fill contained a number of late Hellenistic pieces dating in the early 1st or late 2nd century B.C.<sup>80</sup> These were contemporary with the

<sup>68</sup> For H 12:1 (Fill in west branch of Great Drain) see Homer A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, Baltimore 1940, pp. 119–121; Kleiner, 1976, pp. 11–15; *Agora* XXII, pp. 101–102. For P 20:2 see *Agora* XXII, p. 106.

<sup>69</sup> P 31140. Cf. "Two Centuries," E 79, pp. 106–109 [406–409] above, Figs. 96 a, 96 b.

<sup>70</sup> Deposit F 13:3. See *Agora* XXII, p. 100 and Virginia R. Grace, "The Canaanite Jar," in *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1956, p. 95.

<sup>71</sup> Grace (footnote 70 above), pp. 95, 107–108, nos. 1–6.

<sup>72</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 8–10.

<sup>73</sup> *Agora* XXII, p. 103; note the slight alteration in the date of the amphora handle naming Athanodotos (from 189 to 186).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>75</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . , V The Mid-Second Century B.C., VI Late Second Century B.C. to 86 B.C.," p. 423 [71] below, nos. 4–6, Pl. 54 [22].

<sup>76</sup> D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries . . . , VIII The Late First Century B.C.," pp. 458–459 [266–267] below, nos. 1, 8, Pls. 63, 64 [70, 71].

<sup>77</sup> *Agora* V, pp. 10–21.

<sup>78</sup> The dates (*ibid.*, p. 10, note 5) have been revised by Kroll.

<sup>79</sup> *Delos* XXVII, p. 381 (N 19:1, upper filling), p. 354 (N 19:1, top); for date see Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 31.

<sup>80</sup> *Agora* V, pp. 10–11.



middle fill of the cistern, in which a concentration of immediately pre-Sullan coins<sup>41</sup> and amphora handles<sup>42</sup> was found, suggesting that it represents debris from Sulla's sack of the city in 86 B.C.

O 17.5.<sup>43</sup> The contents of this cistern chamber are probably primarily Sullan debris. The two latest coins are the immediately pre-Sullan issues of the Fulminating Zeus type.<sup>44</sup> A Roman lamp is indicative of later disturbance.

O 17.7. Debris appears to have accumulated in this cistern over the course of the 2nd century. Amphora stamps in the lower part of the fill dated in the first quarter of the 2nd century, although moldmade-bowl fragments with them are probably later. In the upper part of the fill was found a Rhodian amphora handle of the second quarter of the century, along with a few fragments of long-petal bowls and a piece of Eastern Sigillata A.<sup>45</sup> The date of the introduction of Eastern Sigillata A into Athens is still under study but is unlikely to be before the middle of the century.<sup>46</sup> This suggests that the material covers a considerable span, from the first to the third quarter of the 2nd century.

#### VI A: GROUP E

Originally identified as Sullan destruction debris, the deposit is shown by amphora handles to have been discarded before about 110 B.C.<sup>47</sup> The pottery is very homogeneous, suggesting that the range in date is relatively limited.

#### VI B: HERAKLES DEPOSIT (C 18:3)

Although rich in terracottas, the Herakles deposit was poor in other material; nothing in it, however, appears to date after ca. 86 B.C.<sup>48</sup>

#### VI C: M 18:2

The dating of this fill rests on the amphora handles, all Knidian, of which 13 were recovered. Three date to the *duoviri* period, naming eponyms of Grace's period VI A (ca.

<sup>41</sup> Price, "New Style Coinage," deposit IIIA, pp. 32–33.

<sup>42</sup> *Delos XXVII*, p. 381 (N 19:1, abandonment filling), p. 331, under no. E 82; *Agora XXII*, p. 104, under N 19:1, middle fill. The handles name Alexandros, of Grace's period VI A (107–98 B.C.), and *duoviri* of the year of Euphragoras, of Grace's period VI B (97–88 B.C.); see Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 31 for dates.

<sup>43</sup> *Agora XXII*, p. 105.

<sup>44</sup> Kleiner, 1976, pp. 4, 38–39, type 2k; Price, "New Style Coinage," p. 34, note 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Agora XXII*, p. 105.

<sup>46</sup> F. O. Waagé, "Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of North Syria," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, i, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, F. O. Waagé, ed., Princeton 1948, pp. 25–26 ("Hellenistic Pergamene Ware"); Frances F. Jones, "The Pottery," in *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*, I, *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, H. Goldman, ed., Princeton 1950, p. 172 ("Hellenistic Pergamene Ware"); J. L. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebastia*, III, *The Objects from Samaria*, London 1957, pp. 284–288 (see also review by F. F. Jones, *AJA* 63, 1959, pp. 301–302); Jan Genneweg, Isadore Perlman, Joseph Yellin, *The Provenience, Typology and Chronology of Eastern Terra Sigillata (Qodem XVII)*, Jerusalem 1983 (not seen by this writer), review by S. Herbert, *AJA* 89, 1985, pp. 365–367; Leslie A. Cornell, Jr., *Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Red-Slipped Pottery from Tel Anafa, 1968–1973*, diss. University of Michigan, 1980, pp. 238–239. Hellenistic red wares from the Athenian Agora are being studied by H. S. Robinson and will be published in his forthcoming *Agora* volume on Roman pottery.

<sup>47</sup> Virginia R. Grace, "Stamped Wine-Jar Fragments," in *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, *Small Objects from the Pnyx II*, Princeton 1956, pp. 149–150, p. 156 under no. 145; *Delos XXVII*, p. 322. See also Rotroff, Preface to "Two Centuries," p. 4 above; *Agora XXII*, p. 110; Grace, "Middle Stoa," p. 37.

<sup>48</sup> *Agora V*, p. 124.

108–98 B.C. [Politas, SS 6989]) and VI B (ca. 97–88 B.C. [Dionysios, SS 6998]).<sup>89</sup> The material was probably deposited around the turn of the 2nd to 1st century B.C.

N 19:1. See above under IV and V.

#### VII A: KYBELE CISTERN (E 14:3)

Twenty amphora handles were found in the cistern, 19 of which may be dated between 108 and 88 B.C.<sup>90</sup> This suggests that the bulk of the material is Sullan debris. That it was not cleared up and discarded until somewhat later, however, is attested by 19 post-Sullan coins, thought to date between 86 and ca. 70 B.C.<sup>91</sup> A red-glazed reversible lid (P 6008) of a type not found in pure Sullan deposits and comparable to one from Deposit D 12:2 (see above) was also found in the fill.

#### VII B: MASK CISTERN (N 20:4)

Although four strata were noted during the excavation of this cistern, the material seemed to be contemporary throughout.<sup>92</sup> Here, as in the Kybele Cistern discussed above, immediately pre-Sullan amphoras were found with immediately post-Sullan coins, suggesting that the contents, while primarily debris from the devastation, were not cleared up until somewhat after the event. The latest of the 13 amphora stamps name Knidian eponyms thought by Grace to date close to 88.<sup>93</sup> Price identifies 12 instances of the star-and-crescent variety of the Fulminating Zeus coinage which was issued immediately before the Sullan attack;<sup>94</sup> two coins, however, are later, dating in the period 85–70.<sup>95</sup>

#### VIII E: E 15:3

This deposit is the latest of those considered in Thompson's terracotta articles. Many of the amphoras date after the Sullan destruction. The three latest coins belong to one of the last issues struck before the cessation of Athenian coinage in the 20's B.C.<sup>96</sup>

N 19:1. See under IV and V above.

<sup>89</sup> Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 31, 35.

<sup>90</sup> *Agora* XXII, p. 99; *Delos* XXVII, p. 381, especially discussion on p. 335, under no. E 103. The Knidian eponyms include Andromenes, Aristokrates, Hermon, and Pisinios, all dating in Grace's period VI B (97–88 B.C.): Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 31, 35).

<sup>91</sup> Price, "New Style Coinage," pp. 32–33, deposit II; see also Kroll (footnote 54 above, p. 189), p. 89, note 6.

<sup>92</sup> *Agora* XXII, p. 104.

<sup>93</sup> Hermon (Grace's period VI B: 97–88 B.C. [Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp. 31, 35]) occurs twice. See *Delos* XXVII, p. 336 under no. E 106, pp. 317–318, note 2.

<sup>94</sup> Price, "New Style Coinage," p. 32, deposit I; see Fred S. Kleiner, "The 1926 Piraeus Hoard and Athenian Bronze Coinage ca. 86 B.C.," *Δελτ* 28, 1973, A' (1975; pp. 169–186), pp. 183–186 for a complete catalogue of the coins.

<sup>95</sup> Ω-140, Ω-164; cf. Svoronos, pls. 79:1–7, 104:31–37.

<sup>96</sup> Γ-1149a, b, Γ-1200. Svoronos, pl. 80:37–40 (Parthenos head/Owl on prow). For date see Kroll (footnote 54 above, p. 189), pp. 96–97, 100–101. Note that the date given for the coins in *Agora* XXII, p. 99, is incorrect.

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## AFTERTHOUGHTS

DOROTHY B. THOMPSON

Since many of the articles that I wrote on Hellenistic terracottas in *Hesperia* from 1952 to 1966 are now out of print and somewhat antiquated, I welcome this opportunity to comment on the effect of Susan Rotroff's revision of the chronology of the contexts in which the terracottas were found. I shall also refer to certain errors or changes of opinion expressed in other articles of mine in addition to those included in this reprint of "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas." Serious studies on most other material will appear in my forthcoming book on Hellenistic figurines in the *Athenian Agora* series.

Because the chief preoccupation of Rotroff's preface is chronology, I shall focus chiefly on the changes of dating that have been necessitated by the new evidence from excavations outside the Agora, as fully described in her commentary.<sup>1</sup> It should always be kept in mind that a figurine has, essentially, two dates: first is the time of the creation of a type and second the time when a particular figurine was cast from a mold deriving from that creation. The process is clearly explained in a study by R. V. Nicholls.<sup>2</sup> A figurine can therefore seldom be dated closely on the basis of internal evidence alone.

Our earliest deposit, The Coroplast's Dump (S 19:3-5), has a very long range: from the late 5th century throughout the 4th century or even down into the early 3rd century. A number of figurines found in this deposit and included in the original publication have subsequently been ascribed to the 5th century by R. V. Nicholls who will discuss them in his forthcoming publication of the early terracottas in the *Athenian Agora* series.<sup>3</sup>

One identification of a figure in the Coroplast's Dump, no. 41 (T 1710), concerns a back mold that I originally misunderstood. Publication of other examples now indicates that the group represents not a nurse, as I had proposed, but a pedagogue and his charge as has been often treated,<sup>4</sup> and emphasis has been put on the warm relation between teacher and pupil.

<sup>1</sup> I am immensely grateful to Susan Rotroff for her very helpful revision of the chronology of the groups. She has drawn on much new evidence and has demonstrated here, as in her publications on Hellenistic pottery, her mastery of the period. I fully agree with most of her conclusions, and I appreciate her application of new ideas to my now often antiquated articles. I have added nothing when I had nothing to add.

<sup>2</sup> "Type, Group and Series: A Reconsideration of Some Coroplastic Fundamentals," *BSA* 47, 1952, pp. 217-226. For mold sequences see R. A. Higgins, "The Terracottas," chap. 3 in *Knossos, The Sanctuary of Demeter* (British School at Athens Supplementary Volume 9), [London] 1973, pl. 35, nos. 27-30; pl. 40, nos. 62, 63; pl. 52, nos. 142-144. For a closely dated mold as an exception, see T 153 in D. B. Thompson, "A Dove for Dione," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XX, *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson*, Princeton 1982, pp. 155-162; dating, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> The pieces from the Coroplast's Dump in his domain which were published in *Hesperia* 21, 1952 are as follows: no. 1 (T 1743), no. 2 (T 1747), no. 3 (T 2610), no. 4 b (T 1769), no. 25 (T 1736), no. 30 (T 1711), no. 41 (T 1710), no. 48 a (T 1665 + T 1689), no. 48 b (T 1701), no. 48 c (T 1740), no. 49 d (T 1664), no. 74 a (T 1686), no. 74 b (T 1759). To these will be added T 1739.

<sup>4</sup> F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürliche Terrakotten* II, Berlin and Stuttgart 1903, p. 403.

Examples in the Metropolitan<sup>5</sup> and British Museums<sup>6</sup> show groups that are similar, although vague in detail. In Leningrad,<sup>7</sup> however, the type is clearer. In the Hermitage the boy is strangely un-Greek. He is naked with a bloated stomach and spindly legs. His head is bald or close cropped except for a "Horus lock" behind the right ear. His mouth is grotesquely open, evidently struggling with a strange tongue. He is clearly a little Egyptian of whom there were many in Athens in the 4th century.<sup>8</sup> A Greek pedagogue has evidently been hired to train him to be a scribe, a useful profession highly respected by the Egyptians.

Two deposits contemporary with the Coroplast's Dump, the Hedgehog Well (O 18:2) and the Demeter Cistern (F 16:1), extend over the latter part of the 4th century and probably a bit later. They show the beginning of an interest in portraiture (HW 3 and HW 4). The Demeter Cistern is refreshingly realistic with its outright portrait of the old hetaira (DC 2, pl. 21), made at a time when Aristotle also was fascinated by realism. Group B (H 16:3) carries on the interest in realism in a fine portrait of a philosopher (possibly Sokrates) and gives us a lower date of 240 B.C. for the truly realistic style. This dating is supported by Menon's Cistern (F 16:8), published in a study by Stella Miller,<sup>9</sup> that carries the full bloom of the Hellenistic Tanagras down to ca. 280 B.C. The identification of the figurines of boys wearing Macedonian costume I now think explains their mass destruction in the struggles of Athens with Macedonia.

The Altar Well (B 20:7): Rotroff's redating to slightly before 200 B.C. suits the vivid dramatic mask (AW 30, pl. 29) both in fabric and in color. Another version of this mask (T 88) fits better, in its fabric, into the very early 2nd century. Webster considered it a "Hercules furens", but I still prefer my identification as a Great King, like others with the same profile.<sup>10</sup>

The Satyr Cistern (N 21:4): Revisions push down this deposit into the early 2nd century. This dating explains the very fresh condition of the Satyr, eponymous for a group that also contains much 3rd-century material. The wild locks contrast with the vapid face, as on classicizing marbles, especially several from Delos.<sup>11</sup>

Mid-2nd century: I pass over the large deposits from the construction fillings of Middle Hellenistic buildings listed by Rotroff since they were not previously published by me. The

<sup>5</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven 1970, p. 54, fig. 232, H. 0.104 m.

<sup>6</sup> Winter (footnote 4 above), p. 403, no. 10a.

<sup>7</sup> E. N. Hodza, *Antika Koroplastik* (Hermitage catalogue of figurines), Leningrad 1976, no. 120. I am most grateful to Dr. Hodza for sending me a copy of her book. See also K. Schefold, "Sokratische Wolkenwehler," *AntK* 2, 1959 (pp. 21-26), I, pl. 14.3.

<sup>8</sup> V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*, New York 1962, pp. 151, 169 and note 8.

<sup>9</sup> "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 194-245; cf. S. I. Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems on the Kolonos Agoraios," *Hesperia* 52, 1983 (pp. 257-297), p. 262.

<sup>10</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, 2nd ed., London 1967, pl. II:c, p. 40, AT 13 (from E 14:1) and T 88 (from H 16:9). It seems to me that this type is closer to a royal potentate as argued in "Three Centuries . . .," II B. The Altar Well, pp. 319-320 [141-142] above.

<sup>11</sup> A. Laumonier, *Exploration archéologique de Délos, XXIII, Les figurines de terre cuite*, Paris 1956, no. 335, pl. 36.

#### AFTERTHOUGHTS

Komos Cistern (M 21:1) is about contemporary with the Satyr Cistern, but I have no additional comments except that the "blond clay" previously called "Corinthian" is now thought to be Aeginetan;<sup>12</sup> this resolves a chronological puzzle concerning the presence of Corinthian clay in Athens at a time probably after the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C.

Group C (F 6:3 + G 6:2): The revised dating to the early 2nd century or as late as 150 B.C. suits better than my earlier dating of the two scraps, C 1 and C 2.

Group D (H 16:4): Although D 1, a childish face, is probably as early as the late 3rd century, surely the clumsy little head D 2 must now be brought down into the later 2nd century (*ca.* 140 B.C. being the final date).

C 20:2: I cannot regard this deposit as useful because, although much of the material is dated *ca.* 150 B.C., there are signs of disturbance in the early 1st century according to my independent analysis of the abundant material.

<sup>12</sup> Analyses of clay by D. Fillieres of Brookhaven National Laboratory will be given in Appendix I of my forthcoming book. The clay of this piece may well be Aeginetan.

## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

I, A

(PLATES 32-42)

WHEN "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery" was published in 1934, it was suggested that a similar treatment of the stamped amphora handles and of the terracottas found in closed deposits would be profitable.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter an immense amount of material accumulated from the excavations and it appeared unwise to attempt these studies until the bulk of excavation had been completed. It now seems desirable to begin to study the Hellenistic material. Virginia Grace is preparing the stamped amphora handles for final publication. G. Roger Edwards has worked through the pottery and is able to date most of the Hellenistic deposits. Richard Howland is classifying the lamps. The coins have been cleaned and identified. By reference to this varied and abundant material it should now be possible to attack that most obscure and confusing of subjects, the figurines. The present article is the first installment of such a study, which is to cover the Hellenistic period, from the beginnings of the "Tanagra style" to the appearance of Italian wares in Athens, that is, roughly from ca. 350 to 50 B.C. or from Alexander to Sulla.

The material will be presented in groups as it was found. These groups have been selected from a much larger number on the basis of the quantity and quality of the figurines alone. For those groups of which the associated pottery has been studied by G. Roger Edwards, the chronology will be accepted as established by him.<sup>2</sup> If he has not prepared the pottery from a particular group for publication, the dating has been at least discussed with him.

The terracottas from the Agora excavations, though abundant, are very frag-

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 311 ff.; see p. 313, note 1. The figurines in these groups were too scanty to warrant independent study. They will be treated in forthcoming articles in this series. This suggestion of my husband's and his constant inspiration and help have formed the basis of this attempt. I also owe much to the wide knowledge and interest in all Hellenistic problems which Dr. Berta Segall has generously shared with me. The photographs have profited by the skill of Alison Frantz and the text by the criticism of R. E. Wycherley.

<sup>2</sup> Since few of the best pottery groups contain good terracottas, it was considered inadvisable for me to present the figurines that were found in those groups selected on the standards applicable to pottery alone. Unfortunately many of the best figurines were found in contexts without evidence for dating. Figurines are usually found in cisterns, which Mr. Edwards considers unreliable sources of dated material, owing to their being much more subject to disturbance than deep wells. It should therefore be borne in mind that the dating of many of the groups studied here is not infallible. In all the chronological problems I have profited from Mr. Edwards' generosity and willingness to discuss his material with me. His publication of the Hellenistic pottery from the Agora is forthcoming.

mentary. Few complete figurines have been found. But even scraps can tell much, particularly as regards types and technique. Such a study must be fundamentally archaeological; it will not attempt to include the evaluation of artistic elements, but it will afford documentary basis for such evaluation.<sup>3</sup> This evidence from datable contexts will help gradually to build up our knowledge of this obscure field of ceramics and, when correlated with other material, it should throw light on the still confused story of Hellenistic art.

The material from each group is arranged according to types. It is described in catalogue form. The discussion is concentrated in an introductory commentary. The stylistic chronology and the general value of the deposit will be summarized at the end of each article.

We know very little at present of the origin of the Hellenistic style in terracottas. During the classical period clay had been the modest medium for inexpensive votives and humble grave-offerings. By Hellenistic times it had taken its place beside marble and bronze as a sensitive material for the creation of minor works of art. It is fascinating to watch the way in which, during this period, the coroplast comes into his own. The process is complex and difficult to follow, but its general course is now clear. The shift in emphasis seems to have begun during the third quarter of the fourth century. "At this time," as Hetty Goldman has indicated, "there was a change in terracotta styles, unaccompanied by pronounced ceramic developments, in anticipation of the flowering of the Tanagra period."<sup>4</sup> By the end of the century has come that phase described by Schefold, "Es ist die Zeit, in der überhaupt eine neue Freude an der kleinen Tonfiguren erwacht, die, einmal erfunden, rascht so beliebt wurden, wie es ihre reiche Zahl und stilistische Einheitlichkeit annehmen lässt."<sup>5</sup>

Our study of Hellenistic terracottas, then, should begin at the critical period. The present article offers the best group of that period from the Agora. Called for convenience the "Coroplast's Dump," it is one of the largest groups of figurines which were found, and luckily it can be assigned to a fairly limited period, ca. 350-320 B.C. Another group, from a cistern containing ritual terracottas, is a much smaller and less significant deposit, which carries the story down to the end of the fourth century; this will appear shortly in a second article, "The Demeter Cistern."

<sup>3</sup> B. Neutsch, *Studien zur vortanagraisch-attischen Koroplastik* (17 *Erganzungsheft zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*) was just announced as this article went to press. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult it. A recent study of Hellenistic terracottas, based on as much documentary material as was available at the time, will often be referred to in this article: G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren, Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Kunst und Geschichte*, 15tes *Erganzungsheft zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin, 1942 (hereafter abbreviated, Kleiner). An evaluation of the methods and results of this study will be found in a review, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 440 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 406.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bochlau and K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos*, III, 1942, p. 47.



Subsequent articles are planned to trace as closely as the evidence permits the development of the Athenian Hellenistic styles. For the first half of the third century material from the Hellenistic group already published as B and a fuller supplementary series from the "Altar Well,"\* will be treated. A study on the late third century will cover the "Komos Cistern," which has already been noted as an interesting deposit.<sup>7</sup>

For the second century, since the material is distressingly scanty, one article should suffice. A longer article should cover the material from the first century B.C. Luckily this little known period is clarified by a series of closely dated groups, which, though small, illuminate the trends during the late Hellenistic period.

Finally, it is hoped to present the last article in two parts. The first should summarize the general history and add any significant material which cannot be included in the group studies. The concluding article should attempt an integration of all this evidence, setting forth the history of technique, fashion, types, and styles of Hellenistic coroplastic art in the great centre of Athens.

## PART I: THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

### COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Since in this article and the following on the two groups of the late fourth century we shall frequently refer to other material of the same period, we had best first summarize and evaluate this evidence.

A few Agora groups were consulted that will be dealt with only in the final publication.<sup>8</sup> Olynthos gives us the common stock of the coroplasts of a small town of the mid fourth century.<sup>9</sup> Vital is the *terminus ante quem* of the destruction of Olynthos in 348 B.C. The graves of South Russia, as dated recently by Scheffold's study of the pottery, throw light on a few of the types and styles that we shall discuss.<sup>10</sup> Certain deposits from the excavations of Corinth are more useful.<sup>11</sup> The figurines from three deposits on the Pnyx form an excellent check, as they provide more closely related material.<sup>12</sup> Other comparable groups not only give but also receive

\* *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff. (Group B); *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 376 (Altar Well).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 376 f.

<sup>8</sup> In the meantime their excavation designations will be listed: Section NN, Brown Fill with marble chips, early fourth century; Section EE, Cistern at 31/K, mid fourth century; Section TT, Cistern at 38/M, mid fourth century; Section Ψ, Well at 37/KA, third quarter of the fourth century.

<sup>9</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, VII, XIV. The grave-groups listed in vol. VII, p. 110 and XI, p. 258 offer very little comparative material for our study.

<sup>10</sup> K. Scheffold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>11</sup> A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, Princeton, 1949 and ii (in press). G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII (in press), chap. II. I am indebted to both Mrs. Stillwell and Miss Davidson for letting me consult their manuscripts and for giving me the benefit of their expert knowledge on many matters.

<sup>12</sup> 1) From the filling of the third period of the Assembly Place, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 112 ff. Since this publication, the lower limit of this filling has been placed during the time

light on their chronology when they are compared with our deposit.<sup>13</sup> By far the most reliable and illuminating study of fourth century terracottas, however, is that made by Hetty Goldman and Frances Jones on the figurines from the necropolis of Halai in Lokris.<sup>14</sup> The grave-groups are made available for checking by the reader. Despite the fact that the pottery from this cemetery has not been studied in the light of present knowledge, the dating of the graves stands firm and checks closely with the results of recent excavations. But as Halai was a country town and as the number

of Lykourgos, that is, 338-326 B.C. Cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 300. Much of the contents of this filling, however, was made during the first half of the fourth century.

2) A more limited group of figurines found in the filling of the Compartment period of the City Wall, dating in the third quarter of the fourth century, namely Nos. 23, 24, and 80 in the above publication.

3) The deposit from the "Thesmophorion," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 170 ff. On the identification of the sanctuary, cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 250 ff. The dating, on p. 177, in the third century, is probably too late. The evidence adduced from Pagasai and Chatby is only general and that from the miniature vases (p. 180) not in the least close. Indeed, the whole "Thesmophorion" deposit so closely resembles the Coroplast's Dump, including examples from what appear to be the same moulds, that the two deposits must be placed close together. Further evidence for this earlier dating now comes from Corinth. The figure of a seated girl shown in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 171, fig. 18, e<sup>1</sup> and e<sup>2</sup> is practically identical with one which was found in the North Cemetery of Corinth, Grave 372, to be published in *Corinth*, XIII, T 2717 (P. H. 0.057 m.). This grave is probably to be dated late in the third quarter of the fourth century. I am indebted to Miss Hazel Palmer and to Mrs. Stillwell for giving me the date of the pottery in advance of publication. A good example of this type of seated girl is in the Acropolis Museum, D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acrop. Mus.*, p. 390, No. 1424 (P. H. 0.093 m.). I owe this reference to R. V. Nicholls. Another replica, of local manufacture, was found in a deposit in Larisa, which the excavators date before ca. 300 B.C., Schefold, *Larisa*, III, p. 47; on this dating see below note 13 b. The type was found at Tanagra, cf. F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (hereafter, *TK*), II, p. 123, 3, and at Chatby, E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (hereafter, *Breccia, Monuments*), II, i, 1930, pl. XIV, 6.

<sup>13</sup> (a) *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, 5, pp. 163 ff., pl. XXII. This grave was dated by its excavators ca. 400 B.C., but several archaeologists have suggested that it may be later. Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 473, note 1; H. Goldman, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 402; A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 102, note 117, where the evidence from the pottery and lamps is fully analysed and the grave dated close to 350 B.C.

(b) Schefold, *Larisa*, I, pp. 42 and 91. Schefold associates the deposit of figurines with the destruction by the Gauls in 279 B.C. The relation of the Stoa in question to the deposit does not seem perfectly clear, even to the excavators. The figurines as shown in III, pl. 9, pp. 40 ff. obviously belong to a long range of time and the dating does not have to fall very close to the time of destruction.

(c) Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, *Les petits objets*, Berlin, 1931, Petit Dépôt, p. 55, Nos. 2866 ff. Blinkenberg believes that most of this deposit comes from one shop and that it dates from after 300 B.C.; Kleiner, p. 93, agrees with Kinch that it must rather be assigned to the period before 300 B.C. Even this date as a lower limit seems conservative as all the figures are pre-Tanagra in character; note Blinkenberg's own remark, p. 715. It is yet to be determined how long styles lingered in provincial towns.

<sup>14</sup> "Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae," *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 365 ff.

and variety of its figurines were limited, even this series cannot be regarded as fully representative of its period.

Finally, for the lower limit of our deposit, we must consult the contents of the graves of the cemetery of Alexandria at Chatby.<sup>15</sup> It can have been established no earlier than the date of the founding of the city, ca. 320 B.C. But recently Kleiner has expressed a doubt that many of the graves containing terracottas actually come from the earliest days of the city. From the scanty and degenerate red-figure, from the poor quality of the Attic black-glaze, from the absence of grave-reliefs of the Eridanos type and particularly from the coins (of the twenty-two only one or two were from the life-time of Alexander), and on other grounds adduced by Adriani, Kleiner dates the terracottas from the cemetery as ranging in general from 300-200 B.C.<sup>16</sup> Actually we shall not find many close parallels between the material from Chatby and our own deposit. We may, then, safely regard these Chatby parallels as forming our lower limit.

### A. THE COROPLAST'S DUMP

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

In 1938 a pair of deep pits was excavated on the north slope of the Areopagus just west of the "Valerian Wall."<sup>17</sup> Although a little of the material that filled these pits may have strayed in from the hillside, most of it was obviously composed of waste dumped from a coroplast's shop. This is clear from the numerous figurines in the deposit, which contained a large number of moulds (twenty-five catalogued specimens), and from the repetition of types from single moulds. The shop must have catered to sanctuaries, to judge from the predominantly votive character of the figurines and also from the presence of miniature cups and kernoi. Lumps of red and white coloring matter were also discovered. Such dumps from shops have been found elsewhere in the region of the Agora. They serve to illustrate the vigorous activities of the small artisans who worked on the slopes of the Areopagus and of Kolonos Agoraios. Recently a group of their houses has been published.<sup>18</sup> In the humble shop of our coroplast no masterpieces were created, but the taste, though modest, is not

<sup>15</sup> E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pp. 107 ff. Most of these figurines are also reproduced with others from Alexandrian cemeteries in Breccia, *Monuments*, I and II. *La Necropoli di Sciatbi* will be referred to hereafter as *Sciatbi*.

<sup>16</sup> Kleiner, pp. 31 ff., note 7 on p. 276. From the more accurately dated material from the later cemetery of Moustafa Pacha, Adriani argues back to the date of Chatby. This is a treacherous method. It should be noted that many of the lamps and vases from Chatby are so similar to those from Olynthos that it is highly probable that many of the graves still date in the fourth century. Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 315. See further discussion below p. 157.

<sup>17</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 15. These pits were excavated by Rodney Young, to whom I owe many details. The pits bore the designation, Section AA, Cistern at 17-18/AA, Pit at 18-20/A-AT.

<sup>18</sup> R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135 ff.

bad; the variety of the styles and types is surprisingly extended. This deposit may be taken as typical of the stock-in-trade of an ordinary coroplast of the day when figurines were still following the old traditions and were intended primarily for dedicatory purposes. A new spirit, however, is noticeable in a few of the pieces, which, in the miniature character of their style presage those figurines generally known as "Tanagras." The deposit, then, comes from the critical period of transition from the old votives to the new works of art in clay. It should, therefore, form a suitable group with which to begin our study of Hellenistic terracottas.

#### CHRONOLOGY

##### Context:

Of the two pits under discussion the one to the north had been disturbed in Roman and Byzantine times, but so many of the figurines discovered in it resemble those from the undisturbed South Pit that they have been included here. Their provenience is noted in the Catalogue.<sup>29</sup>

The South Pit probably originated as a cistern. It had collapsed and then had been filled by a mass of rubbish deposited in two layers. The first layer to be thrown in, that is, the lower, contained considerable broken bedrock from the collapse of the sides, mixed with brownish earth that was full of sherds, figurines and moulds. It looks like the surface earth that lay in the backyard of the little shop. The upper filling, reddish in color, contained no figurines, but thirteen coins, dating from the late fourth to the early third century B.C.<sup>30</sup> It had evidently been thrown in after the first filling had settled and, being so sterile, would seem to have been brought from elsewhere. In the disturbed North Pit, but along with the figurines that are so closely related to those of the Cistern, three coins were found, of the same general period.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Catalogue numbers: 6, 20b, 40, 45c, 48b, 77.

<sup>30</sup> I owe the identification and dating of these coins to Margaret Thompson.

<sup>31</sup> Coins from the South Pit:

"Greek"		Coins from the North Pit:	
Athens (330-300 B.C. or later)	3	Athens (330-307 B.C.)	1
Athens (335-295 B.C.)	6	Athens (330-300 B.C.)	1
Athens (fourth to third cent.)	1	Athens (307-283 B.C.)	1
Unidentified	2		
	1		

It will be observed that these coins date generally later than the other contents of the pits. They came in the upper filling, which therefore has been assumed to be considerably later than the lower. In many Agora wells and cisterns the coins are later in date than the other material discarded with them. This fact indicates that much of the material survived some time before it was actually thrown away. It has also been noted by G. R. Edwards that coins, being made of metal, work their way down into earlier strata than that in which they must, on all other evidence, have first been dropped. The dates that we assign to objects in a deposit are naturally those of manufacture and not of dumping, which is the *terminus ante quem*.

The South Pit contained little but pottery and figurines. There were no stamped amphora handles. Of the ten loomweights, one was pyramidal, and nine conical, which proportions would indicate a date late in the fourth century B.C.<sup>22</sup> The lamps were of Broneer's type VII b, typical of the late fourth century. The pottery, to judge from its close resemblance to the wares prevalent at Olynthos at the time of its destruction, must date around the middle of the fourth century. Fragments of Panathenaic amphorae must be placed very close to 350 B.C.<sup>23</sup> The waste material, then, was mostly made and used around the middle of the century. The best evidence for the lower limit of the Coroplast's Dump is provided by sizeable fragments of a red-figured bell krater of a class well analysed and closely dated by Schefold.<sup>24</sup> Our pieces fit into the class of 330-320 B.C. This is also the date implied by the dates of the coins which were found in the deposit that was thrown into the cistern after the filling that contained the figurines.<sup>25</sup> The final filling, then, took place at some time from 320-300 B.C., a time when many other cisterns in this region were also filled.<sup>26</sup>

#### TECHNIQUE

The more one studies terracottas, the more it becomes apparent that the technique with which they are executed must be taken into account in any attempt to establish their chronology. Certain details, scarcely visible in a picture and of no significance to most observers, nevertheless reveal much to the expert eye. It seems desirable therefore to include here a full analysis of the significant peculiarities that can be used as criteria for dating.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 76.

<sup>23</sup> Lucy Talcott kindly sent me the following note on the Panathenaic fragments: "P 19530-1. Athena's drapery somewhat resembles that on the Alexandria amphora of the Asteios group (Asteios was archon in 373/2 B.C.; Beazley, 'Panathenaica,' *AJ.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 455) and shows but a slightly greater degree of archaistic exaggeration. The goddess, however, faces right, a change of pose which took place no earlier than the mid-century (between 359/8 and 348/7 B.C.; cf. Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 457). Our fragment is perhaps one of the earliest to show the new stance and might thus be dated close to 350 B.C." Cf. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, Berkeley, 1951, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>24</sup> P 12406 from the South Pit.

A. Arimasps and Griffin P. H. 0.235 m.

B. Three cloaked Youths P. H. 0.21 m.

Lucy Talcott and Barbara Philippaki have most kindly provided me with the following information: "For the shape compare another of the same subject and of the same general date, Schefold *Untersuchungen*, No. 129 (Langlotz, *Würzburg*, pl. 213, No. 635). For the dating see also Schefold, Nos. 516 and 375, pl. 23: two pelikai, both dated 330-320 B.C." H. A. Thompson suggests a comparison with the pelikai from Hellenistic Group B from the Agora, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 333 f. and 427 ff. which seem about a decade later.

<sup>25</sup> On the generally later date of coins, see note 21; cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 332.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Group A and probably Group B.; G. R. Edwards will note others. Cf. also *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 398.

Technically, the figurines from the Coroplast's Dump are consistent. The clay is typically Attic, fine in texture and varying in color from light red to yellow. The fabric is fairly friable, a condition which may have been produced by the damp condition of the cistern in which they lay. Variation in the hardness of the fabric and in the color of the clay can, however, be due to firing. In the case of one particular clay, the higher the temperature of firing, the harder the fabric and the lighter the color of the baked clay. In general, it can be observed that certain practices of firing were followed in all the ceramic fields alike during any one period. In the Agora material, fifth century lamps, plastic clay work, and pottery are usually of buff-colored clay, which is baked fairly hard. In the fourth century the color is generally buff to yellow, but it is also sometimes reddish and the clay is very friable. In the third century, however, the fabric becomes very hard and brittle and the surface color changes from yellow to light tan.<sup>17</sup> Color and texture have been noted in the Catalogue only where words can convey an idea of their significance. A fuller study of the history of technical details will be given in the final summary.<sup>18</sup>

The bases on which the figurines stood also vary with the period. Those from the Coroplast's Dump show several types. The simple plaque base, made in the same mould as the figure, is common (Nos. 18, 21, 82). They are, as is usual with this type, irregular in size and shape. In one case the front is stepped (No. 83). No high block base of the commonest early form appears in the deposit. Of the thin plaque base that was made separately and attached later to the figure, twelve separate examples survive. Their fresh condition suggests that these bases are among the latest in the deposit. (No. 79 and uncatalogued examples). Their size implies that our coroplast made larger figures than were found in the Dump. Two such bases were double (Nos. 80, 81), an arrangement which was used in Athens, so far as I know, only on plastic lekythoi.<sup>19</sup> These bases indicate that in the Coroplast's shop more figurines of the "Tanagra style" were manufactured than the other evidence would suggest.

The surviving figures in the round, except No. 16, have no vents; they are so small that the opening beneath sufficed. Many of these figures were solid with flat backs; the mould-made backs that survive are all unworked, except No. 15 and a few moulds.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kleiner, p. 89.

<sup>18</sup> Archaeologists have varied their policy in considering the color of the clay worth reporting. The evidence is of course valuable, but it cannot be put into words that convey a sharply-defined meaning to the reader. A full technical study of clays must soon be made that will put the matter on a scientific basis and make definite terms available. At the moment one simply has to take on trust the assignment of a clay to a site. Cf. S. Weinberg *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pp. 263 f.

<sup>19</sup> *TK* II, p. 224, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Nos. 36, 41, 59. The theory of Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 413 ff. that hand-modelled backs were a characteristically Athenian product meets with no support in this deposit. Cf. Kleiner's reasonable objections, p. 134 f.; cf. *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 443.

Owing to the conditions in the cistern, little color was preserved and rarely even the white slip.

The moulds show more differences among themselves than do the figurines. This is presumably due to the fact that the moulds are sturdier than figures and usually survive much longer. In only one possible case (No. 4 b) does a mould from this deposit fit a figurine found with it (No. 4 a). In general, the figurines made from the moulds would have been almost twice as high as the average height of the surviving figurines. On the assumption that the moulds were not thrown away until they were no longer useful, we might conclude that the small figurines were later than the larger. In general, this assumption is borne out by the evidence from other deposits. The miniature style was fashionable during the latter part of the fourth century and probably died out at least as early as the middle of the third century.<sup>81</sup>

The fabric of the moulds does not seem to follow exactly the same tendencies that we have noted in the finished ceramic products. Perhaps it was more difficult for the Coroplast to fire a thick mould as high as a thin figure, but this does not seem to have been true at Corinth, where archaic moulds were both heavier and harder than later ones.<sup>82</sup> The various classes of moulds found in the Coroplast's Dump may be summarized as follows:

- 1) The clay is reddish in color, very soft and friable. These moulds were made by pressing soft clay in thin layers against the model; the irregular exterior, still showing the finger marks, is left rough.<sup>83</sup>

Examples: Cat. Nos. 40, 42, 50, 55, 56.

- 2) The more common type of mould was made of harder, lighter-colored clay than the above. The exterior of the mould, after it had been pressed against the model, was completely finished. Sometimes it was wiped and rounded neatly with a damp cloth, which has left its impress on the back. Many of these moulds have been dipped in a thin clay slip. Short clay tabs were sometimes attached evidently to hold two moulds together while the figurine was setting.<sup>84</sup>

Examples: Fairly neat: 6, 7, 14, 41.

Perfectly finished: 11, 18, 35, 36, 58, 59, 61, 72, 73.

- 3) A few moulds were made of a much coarser clay, showing particles of tempering grit. They appear to have been used for sizeable plaques.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Kleiner, p. 60. This statement refers only to the average height of all types; the figures of children continue to be made small.

<sup>82</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 82.

<sup>83</sup> *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>84</sup> No. 41. In Corinth no form of tab appears to have been used at any period, but the moulds were tied together with string, a method also used at Athens. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>85</sup> *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 82.

Examples: 77 (the clay seems to be Corinthian) and an uncatalogued fragment of similar character.

In general, these technical differences among the moulds, both in the color of the clay and in the treatment of the exteriors, may be said to correspond with differences in date. Very carelessly finished exteriors are characteristic of the moulds from the Agora that date in the fifth century. Those of this class from the Coroplast's Dump are certainly much worn. They may be assigned to the early fourth century at the latest. This does not seem to hold for Nos. 42 and 50 (of which the fabric is that of the earliest class). On the Pnyx and in Corinth the exterior of the moulds from deposits of the third quarter of the fourth century are worked fairly smooth.<sup>44</sup> In general, then, the moulds may be arranged in order of degree of finish and thus show their chronological order. Certainly the best preserved and the crispest have the most perfectly finished backs. The exception, No. 50, has been pressed so carelessly against the model that it seems to have been taken as an impression for study purposes rather than intended for the manufacture of figurines, a practice well attested at Athens.<sup>45</sup>

One other technical point must always be taken into consideration for the dating of a figurine, that is, its condition. In a deposit of figurines, as in a hoard of coins, the relative condition of the pieces is of significance for the relative dating of the group. Since terracotta is very fragile, it is obvious that the most worn (not necessarily, of course, the most fragmentary), are presumably the oldest. On the other hand, pieces of which the surface is fresh, the color abundant, and the protrusions of wreaths, hair, or hanging drapery and extended limbs are crisp or the breaks sharp, are probably among the latest pieces in the deposit. Though it is always possible in one case that some freak of fortune has preserved an heirloom intact long beyond its normal life expectancy, all likelihood is against the frequent occurrence of such chances. The statistics seem to indicate that in a group the sequence of condition should be trusted to give in general the sequence of manufacture. Moulds, which are less fragile and do not have protrusions, are less susceptible to these rules, but even with moulds the general sequence seems to hold.

In the Coroplast's Dump, most pieces were fragmentary, but fairly well preserved in such a condition as one might expect from discards. A few, however, were extremely battered or preserved only in tiny scraps. These included the masks (52-54) and the small votive heads (24-26). Of the moulds, those for masks (55-56), the charioteer relief (78), and the seated woman (42) were much worn. Of all these only No. 42 appears to be of a late type.

The best preserved figures from the deposit, on the other hand, were some of the numerous limbs from dolls (1-3), the wing fragment (12), the figures of draped

<sup>44</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, Nos. 31, 32, 34; *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 83.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 285; Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 370.



women (15-16, 19-21), the small heads that belong with them (27-34), the actors with large-mouthed masks (45), the squatting negroes (48), the bust (51), and the thin plaque bases (79-81). These are all, in general, typologically of obviously later date than the preceding group. The freshest moulds were those of the Eros (11), the hermaphrodite (50), the dog (57), the ape (59), the shell (61), and the tripod (73). Again, there is no apparent contradiction on other grounds against the hypothesis that these moulds are the latest in the deposit.

We may venture, then, to consider that condition can safely be regarded as a criterion for relative age within a given group, but that it should not be relied upon exclusively for the dating of any one piece in that group.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

##### JOINTED FIGURES AND RELATED PIECES: NOS. 1-10

The jointed figures usually called "dolls," though evidently one of the most popular types in our coroplast's shop, are not sufficiently well preserved to furnish much evidence about this interesting subject. Some nineteen fragments of arms pierced for articulation and thirteen legs as well as other miscellaneous fragments were found in the deposit. They follow the usual types already familiar from other sites. A good example of the arm, which is thin, flattened inside and often, as here, bent sharply at the elbow, is No. 1. The hand in mitten form (No. 2) and the stiff, straight leg (No. 3) are typical of this class. It is interesting to note that these limbs are not always articulated, but sometimes the legs are shown in a sitting position, pressed closely together (No. 4).<sup>38</sup> This piece seems to be the only one in our deposit for which the mould was also found (No. 4 b). Though these "dolls" are usually female, pairs exist of similar male and female figures from Attica. It is interesting to find an example of the nude "doll" in this deposit (No. 6), as well as several others in the Agora.<sup>39</sup> This mould (No. 6) is also unusual in bearing an incised inscription on the back, probably a name.<sup>40</sup> The maker's signature, common in later days at

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Agora examples: T 290, 408, 470, 2055, 2098. Cf. Brooke, *Acrop. Cat.*, II, p. 428. Cf. E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, p. 422, pl. XXXVI, 1, 3. This type has usually been associated with the male companion of the Oriental Aphrodite or it might represent Aphroditos, a male god known on Cyprus. Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Hermaphroditos, cols. 2314 f. But considering the appearance of the male and female types in pairs, it would seem that they simply represented the simple fertility concepts of the peasants, who would perhaps not even give the figure specific names. Cf. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 471, fig. 22, A and B; N. Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas . . . in the Danish National Museum*, Copenhagen, 1941, pl. 28, Nos. 268-269.

<sup>40</sup> No trace of a letter can be detected before  $\omega\pi\omega\gamma$ . George Stamires does not think that the reading  $\alpha\omega\pi\omega\gamma$  is plausible and considers that it is probably all that is left of a long proper name. As it is scratched, rather than incised in the wet clay, it may be a later graffito.

Myrina, is not found on terracottas from the Greek mainland, although occasionally letters do occur.

More ambitious and unusual are the two large legs, No. 7 **a** and **b**. They must have belonged to a figure *ca.* 0.28 m. in height. The delicate modelling of the ankle-bones and toes places them in a class apart from that of the ordinary small "dolls." Yet the level position of the feet, which nevertheless have not borne the weight of the figure, indicates that they must come from a "doll" of the same type as handsome pieces attributed to Athens.<sup>41</sup> The sizeable hand (No. 8) may also have come from the same figure, as it is close to those of the Athenian parallels. The peaked coiffure of the Berlin example is exactly like that on a Corinthian votive head from the Asklepieion, which probably dates about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>42</sup> The hand holding a *phiale* (No. 9) also comes from a sizeable figure, probably of Demeter or Kybele, performing a ritual.<sup>43</sup> The hand from a negro figure (No. 10) must come from a plastic vase of the same sort that provided a similar hand from the Pnyx though of later style.<sup>44</sup>

#### MALE FIGURES: NOS. 11-14

The only nude male figure beside the doll is represented by a mould for a flying Eros (No. 11). The body, though not plump, is much more like that of a child than of a youth. Kleiner has traced in detail the history of the change from the youthful Eros of the fifth century to the child type which was a characteristic product of Hellenistic taste.<sup>45</sup> He shows that the ephebe was still the only type known at Olynthos, but by the time of the formation of the "Tanagra style," the youth had taken on a shorter and more boyish form.<sup>46</sup> On examples of the Tanagra period, the body is still rather slim and hard, but the face is round and boyish. On No. 11 the legs and arms are spread out in a bold attempt to suggest flight without any twisting of the body. This is a new departure from the conceptions of Olynthos where the figures were all kept compact and the limbs close to the torso.<sup>47</sup> Not dissimilar is an Eros from Halai, found in a grave dating in the period *ca.* 335-280 B.C.<sup>48</sup> All these

<sup>41</sup> Acrop. Mus. No. 1464. The limbs probably do not belong to this piece, but to a similar example. I owe the photograph to R. V. Nicholls. A. Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pl. 29.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3; cf. XV, i, pl. 35, No. 38.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Köster, *op. cit.*, pl. 80.

<sup>44</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, No. 117.

<sup>45</sup> Kleiner, pp. 172 ff. Cf. an analysis of the development of the Eros conception, T. Rosenmeyer, "Eros-Erotes," *Phoenix*, V, 1951, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Kleiner, pl. 37a. Slightly later, of true Tanagra type, is pl. 39a.

<sup>47</sup> *Olynthos*, VII, pls. 34-35; cf. also the figurines of the period from Corinth and even those from Tarsos, H. Goldman, *Tarsos*, I, p. 306. Extended limbs, being difficult to make, are actually not common except in the expert centres.

<sup>48</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, V-h-2, pl. XXII; cf. the Eros from Tanagra, Köster, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 78a.

examples cited must fall closely together in the third quarter of the century as even the earliest pieces of "Tanagra style" are a little plumper and the body more turned.<sup>40</sup>

In connection with this Eros, the little wing (No. 12, Pl. 40) is decidedly significant. It is too large for a figure taken from our mould and therefore implies another flying Eros of even larger size. The feathers are delicately modelled in the manner of bronze work.<sup>41</sup>

Five little male figures (Nos. 13, a, b, c, and two uncatalogued examples) are distinctive and unusual. They represent a man wearing a *pilos*, short chiton and chlamys, moving forward as though lunging with a javelin or possibly an axe. The implement, apparently made in bronze, was inserted in a pin-hole in the right hand; another hole, perhaps for a sword, pierced the left hand. As a terracotta type, this has, to my knowledge, no parallel. On jewelry, youths in similar dress are shown hunting animals.<sup>42</sup> The costume is also that of the Dioskouroi, who, however, as heroes are generally shown nude at this period. Since the Dioskouroi in Athens were identified as Anakes and since the Anakes were frequently themselves the Kabeiroi, it is possible that our figures can be related to the Kabeiroi.<sup>43</sup> It is impossible in our present state of knowledge to be sure of the identification of these little figures.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: STANDING, DRAPED: NOS. 15-23

The draped female figures all represent women and girls in simple poses of everyday life. They are clearly derived from the earlier types of votaries, who, dedicating themselves to the deity in the ritual, also dedicated their images in the temple. During the fourth century this kore type undergoes a change of emphasis. Still hieratic at the beginning of the century, the terracotta type follows that of the goddess or of the priestess or votary, performing a ritual, bringing a gift, or playing music for the procession. But by the middle of the century the emphasis is beginning to shift, so that the female figures appear less in the rôle of dedicant than of a simple human being as she is in daily life. These ladies no longer carry offerings or perform rituals; they stand empty-handed or they carry the frivolous fan or mirror. The religious intention behind the dedication is finally forgotten and the ladies of Tanagra emerge as women from the boudoir, intent only on pleasing men and mindful of no god but Eros.

In our deposit both the earlier and later types of female figures are found. The

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pl. 78b. A similar but more advanced example was also found in the Agora, T 2280, from the Altar Well, to be discussed in a subsequent article.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *TK II*, p. 324, 2 and the previously cited examples.

<sup>42</sup> F. H. Marshall, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Jewellery*, No. 2195c, pl. XLII, two little hunters (H. 0.032 m.).

<sup>43</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* Dioscures, p. 254. B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala, 1950, pp. 264 ff.

small simple votive figures are fragmentary or are represented by moulds. Larger, more ambitious draped types and their miniature variants also occur. We should examine these for the interesting stylistic sequence which they reveal.

The earlier phase of the more ambitious figures is well represented by No. 15. This would have approximated 0.18-0.20 m. in height and would presumably have stood on a plaque base. The woman wears a chiton over which the himation falls in a deep curve, a curve visible on a few terracottas of the late classical style.<sup>43</sup> The parallels also show a similar stance, in which the weight is almost evenly distributed between the feet, but the freer leg is thrust forward rather than sideways or backward, that is, the axis of movement is from back to front, in the old classical manner. Moreover, the way in which the chiton on No. 15 reveals both legs and falls in simple folds between and beside them is also traditional for terracottas, going back to the fifth century tradition, which apparently persisted far longer in figurines than in major sculpture.<sup>44</sup> All these characteristics are observable in many conservative fourth century deposits, for example, those of Eutresis and Lindos.<sup>45</sup> An incipient interest in texture and in folds is, however, visible across the front of the himation of No. 15 and also in the end of drapery that hangs down in an informal zigzag at the left side. The pattern of these folds is rudimentary, with both zigzags facing the same way. But this is certainly more advanced than the latest draped figure from Olynthos, which is formal in comparison.<sup>46</sup> The side fold is rather a precursor of the hanging ends that furnish the coroplasts of the third century with one of their most congenial opportunities for elaboration.

Nos. 16-18 also belong to this stage. Their bases, however, are made in the same mould with the figure, which is the more old-fashioned technique.<sup>47</sup>

Although we have no closely dated parallels for this style, which Kleiner calls pre-Tanagra,<sup>48</sup> it bears sufficiently close relations to that of the latest pieces from Olynthos to be datable fairly close to the middle of the century.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Kleiner, pp. 124 f., pl. 11a, a later development of the type of J. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Terrakotten*, Munich, 1916, pl. 44, which seems fairly close to ours; Kleiner (*loc. cit.*) also calls it, on the ground of its high base and undeveloped *contraposto*, "pre-Tanagraic." Cf. *Encyclopédie photographique du Louvre* (Editions Tel) II, p. 180A, a slightly more advanced example.

<sup>44</sup> Professor Rhys Carpenter, in a letter to me, has summarized the character and illuminated the origin of this style in sculpture: "Fifth century diaphanous drapery seems to have been an accidental corollary to the transitional period's perplexity about what to do between the ridges after archaic incised drapery had been reversed into protruding ridge drapery. If one did nothing at all with the cloth between the ridges, it naturally followed the anatomy of the figure and hence looked nude."

<sup>45</sup> H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, Cambridge, 1931, figs. 313, 316, 317, etc.; Lindos, I, pls. 140 ff.; note for the leg thrust forward pl. 142, No. 3048.

<sup>46</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 22, No. 181; cf. Kleiner, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> See above p. 123.

<sup>48</sup> Kleiner, p. 124, on the "vortanagraische Stufe."

<sup>49</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 21, No. 223; VII, pl. 22, No. 181.

Along with these conventional figures of draped women were found others of a different character (Nos. 19-23). They are all miniatures, of which the greatest complete height is 0.10 m. They all stood either without base or on separately made plaque bases. Their backs are flat and unworked; they have no vents. They are delicately modelled; their heads and faces as well as the drapery show that refinement which we associate with the "Tanagra style." Shall we call them "Tanagras"? Perhaps in this connection we should define that term for clarification and reference.

The term "Tanagra style" is, of course, derived from a class of figurines that was first found at Tanagra in Boeotia. Figurines of this style or local imitations thereof have been found all over the Greek world. The term has therefore become generic and as such it can be defined so that it has no implication of limited provenience.

Technically, "Tanagras" are sufficiently uniform to suggest that their origin at least was in one centre. They range from ca. 0.12 to 0.30 m. in height, seldom passing this range in either direction, except for the figures of children. They are normally made in several moulds and are retouched. The backs are shaped, often fully modelled. The bottoms are open, but when the figures are set on a base, they usually show a vent, commonly rectangular in shape. Other types of base, particularly the spool, which is sometimes seen in museums, is not, so far as I can tell, attested from excavations in Athens.

The repertory of "Tanagras" is surprisingly limited and is drawn exclusively from daily life. Draped women form the most popular subject, but boys and children do appear. Seated, dancing and flying figures also occur. Nude types and representations of deities, except Eros, are not found among them.

Although these criteria define a specific class, variations and echoes carry the range farther, especially at remote places and in later times. Kleiner has made a full study of the later development of the "Tanagra" type.<sup>22</sup> We are concerned here chiefly with their origin, with the inherent difference, which we can all feel, between them and contemporary or earlier terracottas which do not fall in their class. Fundamentally, the difference is subjective. "Tanagras" are, particularly at the beginning, tiny works of art, true pieces of miniature sculpture, not made for any dedicatory purpose, but created for delight. They imply a discriminating taste among the ordinary citizens, who could at that time apparently take pleasure in the infinite variations of a few simple themes. Seldom in the history of art has a craft produced such success without religious, dramatic, or even sentimental appeal. The exuberant or clumsy imitations from Italy, Egypt and Asia Minor show how rare was such taste, and how soon it faded, even among Greeks.

Most of these criteria outlined above are satisfied by our figures, Nos. 19-23, but their tiny size, frontality, and evident naïveté place them among the very earliest examples of their class.

<sup>22</sup> Kleiner, pp. 85 ff.

Let us consider their affiliations. The standing woman (No. 19) wearing her himation like a shawl about her shoulders is a simple version of a theme that continues all through the Hellenistic period. During its long history life and variety are imparted merely by swinging the stance or changing the head-type or proportions. Nothing else, fundamentally, differentiates this girl from her sisters of Myrina.<sup>41</sup> In one significant point, however, our piece differs from all these others: her free leg is not relaxed sideways, but is thrust forward as on our No. 15. The plan of this figure on its base, then, would appear as a triangle with its apex toward the front, whereas the plan of a normal "Tanagra" is an elongated oval.<sup>42</sup> Our Athenian piece, then, retains the traditional pose, but it is more maturely conceived and more delicately modelled than the pre-Tanagras. It should fall, therefore, among the very earliest figures that can rightly be assigned to the "Tanagra style," but that it belongs there seems clear from the direct line of descent which can be traced from it down even to the first century B.C.<sup>43</sup> Once conceived, the "Tanagra type" crystallized, continuing with amazing vitality as long as the coroplastic tradition held its own against that of bronze work and of major sculpture.

We must try to fix the date of this creation of "Tanagra" types and of this example in particular. As one of the best preserved of the pieces in the Coroplast's Dump, it must date after the middle of the century. But probably it was made very shortly thereafter. A parallel, not exact, though very similar, from a grave in Rhitsona in Boeotia, is dated by Ure about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>44</sup> This figurine, he notes, "appears to be of a different fabric from the rest (i.e. of those found in other graves at Rhitsona). It is so far the only figurine from Rhitsona that makes us think at all of Tanagra."<sup>45</sup> In size, in pose, in proportions, in type of head (and very probably also in coiffure), and in the fine drapery that differs markedly from the simpler traditional style visible on the other Rhitsona pieces, this figure is remarkably like our No. 19. The characteristically "Tanagra" versions of the type are, unfortunately, undated, but they must be slightly later than ours.<sup>46</sup> The early

<sup>41</sup> For the development of the type in later times, see Kleiner, p. 92, pl. 13d and e (from Myrina).

<sup>42</sup> Kleiner, p. 8, and pp. 141 f. analyses this movement in terms of balance as it is usually related to pre- and post-Lysippan schools. Such a fundamental change of pose would naturally derive from the concepts of major sculptors, not from the coroplasts themselves.

<sup>43</sup> Kleiner, p. 92; Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina*, pl. XXXIII, No. 90 of which the dating may be too late. In general, TK II, pp. 72 f.

<sup>44</sup> P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, London, 1913, pl. XIV, 6, p. 30 (on grave 56) (H. 0.12 m.). I am indebted to Mrs. Ure for the photograph reproduced on Pl. 34.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27. A similar piece was found in a grave of the mid fourth century at Halai, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 398, note 71 (Grave 63, dated by cross-reference with Graves 110-111), p. 406, V-j-3.

<sup>46</sup> Good parallels for ours, but somewhat more advanced, Breitenstein, *Cat. of Terracottas in Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 66, No. 544 (H. 0.188 m.) "From the excavations at Tanagra"; J. Schneider-



third century examples from Chatby, like one from Larisa, are elongated, high-waisted, and obviously in a further stage of typological development.<sup>67</sup>

Presumably by the same hand as No. 19 are two other pieces from our deposit, Nos. 20 a and b. In the imaginative cross-play of drapery, they belong to the true "Tanagra style." But actually, so far as I can find, of the other known examples of the type, none was found at Tanagra. In most of these examples the clay seems definitely Attic and most of them were bought in Athens.<sup>68</sup> Three other fragments were found in excavations on the Pnyx in a deposit very similar to the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>69</sup> Another comes from Aigina, and it certainly appears to be a local imitation of the Attic type;<sup>70</sup> one in the Nauplia Museum is of unknown provenience.<sup>71</sup> Finally, a most important example (T 1626) was found in the Agora in a cistern deposit that can be definitely dated down to the third quarter of the first century B.C.<sup>72</sup> We have, then, a series that should illuminate for us the general course that a type followed as it passed through the hands of various coroplasts down the years.

Let us study the stylistic development. The pieces from the excavations on the Pnyx and in the Agora are obviously the earliest. They are strictly frontal, including the heads. The faces, where preserved, are round, doubtless intended to be childish, but still retaining a stiff maturity, so that the figure looks like an adult on a small scale. All are of nearly identical size, but all do not seem to come from one mould. They appear to come from one shop, probably that of our coroplast. Certain details in the modelling of the area around the right hand show interesting affiliations with a scrap found on the Acropolis.<sup>73</sup> On this, as on our pieces, the edge of the himation is lifted by the slightly protruding right hand. This lower edge falls into two main and several subordinate cord-like folds, springing from a small triangle, itself nicked, which forms just below the last two fingers of the hand. These systems appear, though

Langyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Munich, 1936, pl. 75 (H. 0.268 m.) "Said to be from Lesbos"; *TK II*, p. 70, 5b lists a similar piece from within the precinct of the lion monument of Chaironeia (therefore post 338 B.C.), but unfortunately no picture is available. Kleiner, p. 126, calls it "more like a pre-Tanagra."

<sup>67</sup> Scheffold, *Larisa*, III, pl. 9, No. 11, p. 47; Kleiner, p. 92; *Sciatbi*, pl. XLII, 156, No. 367 (P. H. 0.17 m.); pl. LXV, Nos. 169, 171 (H. 0.15 m.). Kleiner, pp. 56 f.

<sup>68</sup> I owe the information on the Metropolitan figures to the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander, who allowed me to examine them. The same courtesy was given me by Mr. R. A. Higgins in the British Museum and by the authorities of the Bibliothèque nationale.

<sup>69</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, j<sup>1</sup> and j<sup>2</sup> and an unillustrated piece. P. H. of the largest fragment, 0.075 m. See above, p. 119.

<sup>70</sup> British Museum Cat. C 36. From Aigina, 1893.

<sup>71</sup> Φιλολογική, *Ἀντίδοτα μυθολογίας ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ Ναυπλίου*, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., IV, 1918, Πλατ. p. 5, fig. 5.

<sup>72</sup> T 1626, from Section Ω, cistern at 74 / H. P. H. 0.083 m. Oval vent. The evidence for the dating of this cistern will be presented by G. R. Edwards. He places the contents from the late second century into the second quarter of the first century B.C.

<sup>73</sup> Acropolis Inv. 1273. I owe my knowledge of this fragment to a photograph kindly given me by R. V. Nicholls and permission to reproduce it to Mr. Miliades.

worn and dull, on our 20a and even weaker on 20b and on the Pnyx pieces. But the Acropolis fragment does not actually derive from the same type as ours, because the right leg is advanced and the drapery is drawn tightly rather than loosely over the right breast. The type must rather have been very close to that of a figure in the Metropolitan Museum (06.1113, Pl. 34),<sup>79</sup> which shows all these details in a style very like that of our No. 19, if finer. The head of this Metropolitan piece is also similar to our No. 28. The drapery style is of the simplest "Tanagra" phase. The linear folds drop directly from waist to hem, keeping flat surfaces and maintaining an even flow like that on the drapery of the Mantinea Basis and of other reliefs of that period.<sup>80</sup> These two types, then, would seem to have been created in Athens.

Certain other Museum pieces indicate the further development.<sup>81</sup> Since this type is rare, distinguished, and definitely related to our shop, it might be profitable to trace the sequence so far as it is known, down to the latest datable example mentioned above (Agora T 1626).

To date Museum pieces, which have no context, is at best a treacherous undertaking. The arrangement that I suggest is based not only on stylistic analysis, but even more on technical analysis, which at the moment seems more reliable. By comparing these Museum pieces with dated fragments from the Agora, I have been able to place them in general periods; the detailed evidence for this analysis must await the publication of full evidence in my later articles.

It is of especial interest to note that the scale of all the child examples, from the earliest to the latest, is almost identical. There was, then, no unchanged series of moulds taken from figurines, but apparently, the repetition of the type, virtually unchanged, by coroplasts of succeeding generations, who, however unconsciously, did manage to infuse something of the spirit of their own age into each re-creation. It is for us to formulate and evaluate these changes.

Three fine and one poor version of this type are known to me in Museums. The finest of these from an artistic point of view, is the piece in the Metropolitan Museum (07.286.31, Pl. 35). It remains frontal, but the modelling is far more delicate than on ours, or indeed, on the somewhat similar Metropolitan piece mentioned above (06.1113). The simple linear folds of our No. 19 have been enriched by reworking

<sup>79</sup> Metropolitan Museum 06.1113. H. 0.148 m. No vent. *TK* II, p. 14, 2.

<sup>80</sup> Kleiner, pp. 127 ff. dates the Mantinea Basis ca. 330-320 B.C. which date seems to fit our evidence more reasonably than Süsserott's dating of shortly after 300 B.C., *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt, 1938, p. 124. C. Blümel, *Hermes eines Praxiteles*, Baden-Baden, 1948, pp. 46 ff. dates the Basis in the period ca. 340-320 B.C.

<sup>81</sup> Most are listed in *TK* II, p. 55, 8: a) British Museum C 308 (H. 0.10 m.), Pl. 35; b) Vienna (apparently not exactly the same type); c) Paris, Cabinet de médailles, now Bibliothèque nationale, No. 69 (H. 0.12 m.), oval vent, Pl. 35. Add d) Metropolitan Museum 07.286.31 (H. 0.115 m.), no vent, Pl. 35; and e) British Museum C 36 (H. 0.113 m.), rectangular vent, from Aigina, Pl. 36; f) Nauplia No. 358 (H. 0.27 m.).



into systems and by delicate variations of strength and of texture. The head, realistically childlike, wearing the hair in twisted rolls, a variant of the melon coiffure, is tilted at an engaging angle. It is a little masterpiece in the finest "Tanagra style." But the fabric, which is of deeper buff clay, harder and technically more advanced than that which characterizes the work of our coroplast, indicates that we should place this piece somewhere around the turn of the fourth into the third century. Probably at about the same time was made the adult version in Nauplia, which cannot lie far from Metropolitan Museum 06.1113.

Another example, in the British Museum (C 308, Pl. 35), despite a superficial resemblance, is really very different in spirit from the preceding pieces. The formulae for the folds are the same, but the mood has changed. The folds of the himation do not swing clearly across the body, as they do on the Metropolitan example, but they start, hesitate, and die in mid course. In the lower part of the figure, the rhythm is no longer gently repeated in vertical ruling, but the course of the folds is now vague, without clear systems, even without much definition of surface. The features of the head also betray the same impressionistic flavor; the squinting eyes are defined only by their upper lids. In the hair, this vagueness is somewhat redeemed by hasty touches of the graver, incisive rather than plastic. The fabric is dark, fairly hard, retaining considerable chalky white slip;<sup>16</sup> there is no vent. These details all point to a date in the late third or early second century for this version.

Somewhat out of the direct Athenian course of development is the figure of a little girl with a fan from Aigina, in the British Museum (C 36, Pl. 36). It deviates from the foregoing type in the following elements: the figure is thin and pinched; the himation is almost without folds; the chiton falls in systems of tubular folds that find parallels on many figures of the late third century; the left foot, protruding awkwardly, seems out of scale. All these details would fit well among figures of the later third century, as would also the type of face, the wreath, the coiffure, with a bunched knot low on the neck, the dark fabric, retaining its thick slip, and the fact that the figure has a rectangular vent. It seems to me that this piece is an interesting example of a local imitation of a good Attic type, possibly even earlier than British Museum C 308.

The evidence regarding a version in the Bibliothèque nationale (Pl. 35) is rather surprising. Superficially it too resembles the Metropolitan Museum No. 07.286.31. But it is more elongated, particularly below the waist. It is of hard, light yellow fabric and carries an oval vent. The feet protrude (the left foot is missing) with the toes pointed sharply outward. The neck is long. The head is somewhat like that of British Museum C 308, but is different in significant details. In the plump face

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 335; IV, 1935, p. 211 (on a piece of the second century B.C., a thick white chalky slip).

the features are small and casually set rather than growing as integral parts of the whole visage. The eyes are completely blurred. The mouth is set high under the lumpy nose and emphasized by two lines that run to the corners from the nostrils. The lips run parallel, without meeting at the corners. These features find close analogies in the heads from an Agora cistern of the first century B.C.<sup>17</sup> If this seems surprising, one has only to check the drapery with several fragments from the same cistern. The deep regular folds run with rounded ridges and deep furrows of almost exactly the same width and of a mechanical evenness, particularly over the shoulders. Occasionally the monotony of these flutings is relieved by a slight waver or nick, just as it occurs on the lower chiton of the figure in the Bibliothèque nationale. Moreover, the fabric not only is very close to that of the parallels indicated, but a careless tendency to leave the surface of the figure unwiped, with tiny bits of clay still adhering to it, apparent on the hat, face and drapery of the Paris example, is observable in many of the terracottas found in the later Hellenistic deposits of the Agora. Finally, the stylistic affinity between this figure and that from the Agora (T 1626) would indicate that they are not very far apart. As most of the figures mentioned above, though found in first century deposits, seem to have been made in the later second century, and since T 1626 is in fresher condition and more likely to be later, we might assume that the Paris example can still be dated in the late second century.

T 1626, found in a deposit of the third quarter of the first century B.C. is a suitable candidate for the last in our series. It is of coarse, dark, thick-walled fabric, covered with a chalky white slip; it carries an oval vent. The proportions are surely later than those of the preceding figure, for they are markedly elongated, with pinched shoulders. The protruding feet are very large and upset the balance by their sharp angles. Although the drapery follows the original model with surprising fidelity, plasticity and even the formula to which plasticity had been reduced in the second century have both died out, to be echoed in an incised linear style, clearly a further degeneration of the linear style of T 2628.

The relative sequence, then, seems clear. A glance at the succession indicates graphically how the tendency toward emphasis on the vertical makes for elongation and a loss of mass down the long Hellenistic age. Such a tendency is visible in all Hellenistic art, from architecture to sculpture; it is vividly exemplified in the development of this one type. Later, as we study the groups of other phases of the Hellenistic period, we shall be able to check our suggested dating and to indicate the full picture of which this glimpse gives us a foretaste. The Agora and Pnyx fall between 350-325 B.C. The latest of the series, T 1626, found as it was in fairly good con-

<sup>17</sup> Cistern in Section T, 95 / ΚΘ, called the Kybele Cistern, to be published later by both G. R. Edwards and myself. Mr. Edwards considers that the contents are Sullan debris, discarded in the third quarter of the first century B.C. One head (T 909) is shown on Pl. 35; also the drapery (T 2628).

dition in a deposit of the third quarter of the first century B.C., can scarcely be placed earlier than the very late second century. It is startling to realize the implications of this analysis. The type must have lived for some 250 years virtually unchanged. We can now begin to appreciate the difficulties involved in the dating of Hellenistic figurines. Type and style, even, tell us little over wide periods; the most variable element is the technique. We must therefore place as much emphasis as possible on technical minutiae during the course of our study of terracottas.

The relation of these figures to major sculpture is a study which can be profitable only after a great deal of material has been reviewed. Suffice to say here that the type of the round-faced girl, standing simply, lifting a corner of her drapery, appears in marble sculpture, both in relief and in the round, at about the time that it was most popular in terracotta, that is, ca. 325-275 B.C. Such, for example, are the girls on the grave reliefs of the end of the fourth century, presumably all before 317 B.C.<sup>18</sup> Others are statues, like those in the Glyptothek and in Delphi.<sup>19</sup> The general style is very like that of the Mantinea Basis, which is probably to be dated at this period.<sup>20</sup> As has frequently been noted, the Muses are essentially "Tanagras" undoubtedly of Attic inspiration.<sup>21</sup> Their folds hang in thin, clear-cut verticals in much the same spirit as the folds on our figurines. The other reliefs of this cycle show the same facial canon, the same proportions, the same gently furrowed verticals, uncomplicated by secondary movements.<sup>22</sup> These characteristics also occur on many other early "Tanagras."<sup>23</sup> We have therefore reason to relate the whole body of material to the mood of the period just at the end of the career of Alexander. The correlation between figurines and sculpture is new and presages the interrelation of the media that is to become so much exploited during the Hellenistic age.

Of the two draped fragments, Nos. 22-23, little can be said save that they increase the number of miniatures in our deposit. Even more insignificant fragments were left uncatalogued. In No. 22 the larger scale, higher waist, and closer-fitting chiton differ from those of No. 19, but these two cannot be very far apart in date. No. 21,

<sup>18</sup> A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1900, pls. CLVI, No. 815; CXLVII, No. 878; CCXXVI, No. 1100. Cf. also Agora T 1823, a figurine of a girl holding a bird, in much the same spirit, from 37 / KA, a context mostly of the third quarter of the fourth century, and also *Sciatibi*, pl. XX, 23 (a grave relief).

<sup>19</sup> Professor Bernard Ashmole kindly showed me an excellent example in a marble statuette presumably of the fourth century, recently acquired by the British Museum, Inv. 1951-8-1.1. The advanced leg is relaxed. This figure has much in common with the spirit of our figurines. Cf. for somewhat more ambitious works, A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 21, p. 17; M. Bieber, *Griechische Tracht*, Berlin, 1934, pl. 36. Note that on these the pose is similar and the relaxed leg is thrust forward.

<sup>20</sup> See above note 74.

<sup>21</sup> Kleiner, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Süsserott, *op. cit.*, pl. 25.

<sup>23</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 447 ff., figs. 14 ff.

although complete save for the head, adds nothing to our information, largely because it is a dull piece from a dull mould. In scale and in theme, it is comparable with types later than Nos. 19-20, but it is not easily duplicated. It seems most at home among the figurines of the same scale and fabric from the Thesmophorion on the Pnyx.<sup>88</sup> The undifferentiated detail and the base, cast in one mould with the body, suggest that it is still a product of the earliest "Tanagra" style.

#### FEMALE RITUAL FIGURES: NOS. 24-26

Three heads derive from types that belong to the old terracotta tradition. One is No. 24, a head carrying a well-shaped hydria. It comes from a common votive type that is present in many fourth century deposits.<sup>89</sup> No. 25 follows the ancient mourning type which appears in just this form even as early as the seventh century; the hands are laid flat on the head.<sup>90</sup> These two types died out during the Hellenistic period. But that of No. 26, the flute-player, continued.<sup>91</sup> This head, with the hair pulled into a peak over the forehead according to a fourth century fashion, probably dates around the middle of the century, like the one from Olynthos.<sup>92</sup> Both resemble the head of a piece said to come from Athens<sup>93</sup> of which the lower part of the figure is also like that of one of the actors from an Attic grave-group of the same date.<sup>94</sup>

#### FEMALE HEADS: NOS. 27-36

A number of heads, now detached from their bodies, belonged to simple draped female types. The large number implies a preponderant interest in that subject at the time of the dumping of material from our shop. These heads are all miniature, ranging from 0.019 m. to 0.029 m. in height. The figures, then, would have been ca. 0.11 m. to 0.20 m. high. They are homogeneous in fabric and in style. They are sufficiently well-preserved to be late products of our shop. Most of them belong to types of the earliest "Tanagras," such as Nos. 19 ff. Two wear the himation drawn up over the head, a very popular style at Tanagra (Nos. 27-28). The oval face with

<sup>88</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, fig. 19, especially h and m.

<sup>89</sup> *TK I*, p. 156, 4-6; K. A. Rhomaios, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 90 ff., figs. 24 f.; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 255 ff., figs. 315 ff., particularly fig. 316, 6; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 472, fig. 164, No. 52; Newton, *Discoveries*, pl. LX, fig. 10, p. 379; *Lindos*, I, pp. 705 ff., Nos. 3003-12, pl. 140; Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 159, fig. 140 may belong to the third century.

<sup>90</sup> Early examples: *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, p. 282, fig. 16. Breitenstein, *Terracottas in the Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 41, No. 340.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *Olynthos*, VII, pl. 37, No. 298 (H. 0.126 m.) *Lindos*, I, pl. 142, No. 3043 (P. H. 0.073 m.).

<sup>92</sup> *Olynthos*, VII, No. 298, pl. 37. (H. 0.126 m.).

<sup>93</sup> *TK II*, p. 140, 3 (H. 0.155 m.).

<sup>94</sup> See below p. 143, note 129.

small features, thin cheeks, and pointed chin, is often called "Praxitelean." No. 28 finds an interesting parallel in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>21</sup> The scale seems identical with ours; the small mouth and sharply defined eyelids seem to belong to the earliest phase of the "Tanagra style."<sup>22</sup>

Another facial type also occurs among these heads: the round childish shape with chubby cheeks and pursed features (Nos. 31-32). It comes in on the latest grave-reliefs from Athens. Judging by the earlier character of the modelling of the few children's faces at Olynthos,<sup>23</sup> we may suppose that the new attempt to differentiate the face of a child from that of an adult, like the attempt to show the boyish body, began just after the middle of the century. Our figure (No. 19) of which the head and body are both preserved, shows that no really childish form had been achieved at the time of the Coroplast's Dump. Both heads and bodies are still fairly mature.

The hair on several bare heads (Nos. 29-32) is arranged in a coiffure generally called "melonfrisur." A series of deep parallel waves or twists run back from the forehead to a large flat coil of plaits at the back of the head. This coiffure also occurs on the complete figure, No. 19. That gives a total of five examples in our deposit. It seems clear that they must all date at about the same time as the draped figure, that is, in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. These examples of a coiffure usually considered to have begun in Hellenistic times are decidedly interesting.<sup>24</sup> Variants, or prototypes, of this coiffure occur on a few grave-reliefs that must date before the decree of Demetrius in 317 B.C.<sup>25</sup> On these reliefs, the plaits are wound round the head rather than at the back of it. This seems to be an early stage of the true melon coiffure. The plaits appear wound in a coil around the back of the head not only on the heads from the Coroplast's Dump, but also on a contemporary head from the Agora that was found in a context probably to be associated with the building activities of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.).<sup>26</sup> A similar coiffure is more delicately

<sup>21</sup> See above p. 133 and Pl. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 434, fig. 23.

<sup>23</sup> E. g. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 42, No. 384; VII, pl. 36, No. 280, pl. 56, Nos. 397-8.

<sup>24</sup> Kleiner, p. 15, places the beginning of this coiffure in the last quarter of the fourth century. Cf. E. Schmidt, *Jahrb.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 284, who cites grave reliefs that do not seem to me so pertinent as those listed in the following note.

<sup>25</sup> Conze, *Att. Grabreliefs*, pl. CCXXXVIII, No. 1131 (dated by H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1931, p. 47 as of ca. 350 B.C.) and pl. LXXI, No. 297 (dated by Diepolder, *op. cit.*, p. 51, as of ca. 340-330 B.C.). Cf. Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik*, p. 124, pl. 25, four reliefs showing related coiffures, dated by Süsserott ca. 300 B.C., which, on our evidence, appears to be too late. Cf. A. Adriani, "Annotazioni su alcune Teste del IV secolo a. Cristo," *Arti Figurative*, II, 1946, pp. 218 ff., pls. LXXIV, f. Adriani dates this head ca. 400 B.C., but, as Dr. Segall has pointed out to me, the style is due to the restoration of the features in plaster, which should more properly be like those on pl. LXXVI.

<sup>26</sup> T 2983, from a cutting in the floor of the Square Building which preceded the Stoa of Attalos; for its character and date, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 322; XX, 1951, p. 53. (P. H. 0.045 m.).

rendered on the head of a fine figurine in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 36).<sup>97</sup> The features, with the crisp-lidded eyes, the long, straight nose, and the mouth set off by grooves running up to the nostrils are not unlike those of our small head No. 29. Another similar, much-battered head comes from an Agora well closely contemporary with the later Demeter Cistern terracottas, that is, belonging to the very end of the fourth century.<sup>98</sup> All this evidence indicates that this type of melon coiffure flourished during the latter part of the fourth century. The Metropolitan figure just cited also ties in with others of its type,<sup>99</sup> and with the way in which our No. 19 lifts the drapery with the left hand. Thus we find close interrelations between figures which wear the same type of melon coiffure. The single phases of the variants of coiffure do not seem to have had a very long life, probably not more than twenty or thirty years.

The second phase of the melon coiffure, in which the plaits at the back of the head have lost the nature of a coil and assumed that of a bun, is presumably to be dated early in the third century B.C., on the evidence of an example from Corinth and of others from Chatby.<sup>100</sup> The bun turns into a knot fairly early in the third century and becomes the best known form of melon coiffure, of which innumerable examples exist from all over the Greek world.<sup>101</sup> Its subsequent history will be treated in later articles.

The moulds for standing draped types of women from the Coroplast's Dump are mostly too fragmentary to be of interest. None shows a "Tanagra type." The moulds for female heads (Nos. 35-36) show that these heads were modelled in the same mould with the figure instead of separately as on more elaborate pieces. The curious "Directoire" curls projecting from the back of the head on No. 36 find parallels only on a group of ambitious figures of which the Girl with the Duck is the most famous.<sup>102</sup> It is perhaps significant of the close stylistic interrelations of these pieces with our mould and with Metropolitan Museum 07.286.31 (Pl. 35) that several also incline

<sup>97</sup> Metropolitan Museum Inv. 06. 1138 (H. 0.182 m.).

<sup>98</sup> T 1214 from Section Γ, Well I, dated by a kantharos and loomweight as close to the time of the Demeter Cistern, that is, at the very end of the fourth century B.C. I owe this dating to Lucy Talcott.

<sup>99</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 431, figs. 21-22; Kleiner, pl. 2, p. 52.

<sup>100</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 23, No. 268: the deposit was dated by three coins, ranging from 300-243 B.C.; *Sciatby*, pl. XXI, No. 26 (a stele), pl. XLII, 154 (No. 350), pl. LXXV, 167, 169 ff. (Nos. 155, 368) (figurines). Cf. above undated specimen, probably from Athens, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 431, figs. 21 f.

<sup>101</sup> E. g. Züchner, *Gr. Klappspiegel*, figs. 108-112; for others, see Kleiner, p. 15 and notes on p. 271.

<sup>102</sup> *TK II*, p. 7, 5 and 7. Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 72, which is related to Breitenstein, *Terracottas of the Danish Nat. Mus.*, pl. 75, No. 609 with full bibliography of the related group. Cf. Kleiner, p. 168, who dates the group in the mid third century, which appears to me too late; see *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 443 f.

the head markedly and wear the sleeve cords, which have a brief popularity at the very end of the fourth century.<sup>105</sup>

#### FEMALE FIGURES: SEATED, DRAPED: NOS. 37-42

The seated female figures in our deposit are all miniatures. Two (Nos. 37-38) are among the tiniest figures made, even smaller than others of this ancient type. Originally it represented a goddess or votary with her hand to her breast. A few of these degenerate miniatures of the old line continued to be made in the fourth century.<sup>106</sup> No. 39 is a descendant of an old type that Furtwängler identified on good grounds as mourning women, who are sometimes shown seated by grave stelai.<sup>107</sup> Our example represents an old woman, almost in caricature. The motive of the crossed legs, though it occurs earlier, became very popular in the latter part of the fourth century.<sup>108</sup>

The moulds for seated women lead us farther back in time. The earliest, and actually one of the oldest types in our deposit, is No. 40, which represents the head and upper part of a seated woman. Similar figures from Olynthos probably date early in the fourth century.<sup>109</sup> The rounded mass of wavy hair that surrounds the face is a coiffure that was popular early in the century at Corinth, Athens, Olynthos, and elsewhere.<sup>110</sup> The mould for the back of a seated woman and child (No. 41) is the prototype for more elaborate groups composed of a woman and child, often treated as Eros, in complicated positions.<sup>111</sup> The only mould for a miniature, No. 42, represents a seated lady wrapped in her himation, which is drawn up over her peaked hair and across the lower part of her face. It is extremely small and delicately modelled in the spirit that we have defined as "Tanagraic." The taut drapery across the arm, the deep folds between the legs, the careful rendering of the face are all in the best "Tanagra" manner. Yet there seem to be no parallels from Tanagra; only echoes

<sup>105</sup> I base much of my understanding of this group on an unpublished study by Mrs. Stillwell, which she generously shared with me.

<sup>106</sup> *TK I*, p. 86, 1-4 (early examples); cf. *II*, p. 108, 6; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXXXVI, E 21, from a Corinthian well of the period ca. 300 B.C. (H. 0.061 m.).

<sup>107</sup> *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pls. XV-XVII; cf. *TK II*, p. 108, 7; Heuzey, *Terres cuites de Louvre*, pl. 28, 4. These figures might possibly represent women fasting, sitting on the ground during the Thesmophoria, cf. Deubner, *Alt. Feste*, p. 56 and note 8.

<sup>108</sup> Züchner, *Gr. Klappspiegel*, p. 17, figs. 3-4, KS 18-19. Züchner remarks that crossed legs are a common motive by the end of the fourth century B.C. But it often occurs earlier, as, for example, on the Sarcophagus of Mourners and on certain figurines of actors, see below p. 142. Crossed legs are also common on reliefs of ca. 330-320 B.C. (Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik*, pl. 22) in a more relaxed form than on the figures mentioned above.

<sup>109</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 29, Nos. 229-236.

<sup>110</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 34, Nos. 36-39; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 142, fig. 57, No. 42; *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 48, Nos. 384-385.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. *TK II*, p. 200, 2 and 6, developing to those types shown on p. 201.

of the type exist.<sup>110</sup> This piece seems to derive from a tradition apart. The close muffling may indicate that the figure is an initiate.

This is the mould that we previously noted as of an earlier technique than most of its fellows.<sup>111</sup> It may possibly be explained by comparing the delicate scale and modelling with similar work on plastic reliefs and lekythoi, which seem much more closely related to metal work than do the small votive terracottas.<sup>112</sup> The possibility of a new relation springing up between the coroplast and the metal-worker of this period must be considered in another place.

An interesting descendant of this type of simple seated muffled figure has been found in an early second century deposit on the North Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>113</sup> Untouched by any feeling or delicacy such as distinguish our piece, this last representative of a long line comes from a dull mould, apparently derived from one like that we are considering. The history of the type, like that of the one we have just discussed, is the story of a slow degeneration of unchanging features over a period of about 200 years.

#### COMIC FIGURES: ACTORS: NOS. 43-47

Subjects drawn from the comic stage are prominent in the deposit. Two belong to types that are commonly associated with Old Comedy, but actually the terracottas are not popular until Old Comedy has died out. The first, No. 43, represents a slave dressed in travelling costume, wearing a *pilos* and carrying, slung round his neck, an oval basket and a flat-bodied canteen or *askos*. Others of this type also bear a huge roll slung behind their shoulders, of which an unattached example survives in the Coroplast's Dump (No. 71).<sup>114</sup> We can see the details of the accoutrement from clearer impressions, possibly from the same mould, in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale (Pl. 38).<sup>115</sup> Thus Xanthias must have looked as he carried the *stromata*, about which he was everlastingly groaning on his journey to the underworld.<sup>116</sup> No. 44 is of the same old tradition, of equal scale and dull impression. Both belong to the type of actor most popular at Olynthos.<sup>117</sup> Our second example shades

<sup>110</sup> TK II, p. 108 for the general type.

<sup>111</sup> See above p. 125.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 313 f.; F. Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>113</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 210, fig. 14c (H. ca. 0.05 m.).

<sup>114</sup> TK II, p. 414, 4; cf. 5 and p. 415.

<sup>115</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. C 238* (H. 0.086 m.). Bought in Athens in 1880. Solid. Clay brownish; might be Boeotian. The photograph is by the courtesy of R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, No. 157. H. (restored) ca. 0.09 m. Clay light yellow; could be Attic. Solid. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of M. Babelon and the Bibliothèque nationale.

<sup>116</sup> Aristophanes, *Ran.*, 165 and *passim*.

<sup>117</sup> *Olynthos*, VII, No. 297.



his eyes with his hand as he gazes into the distance.<sup>118</sup> This is the attitude taken by a performer in the *Skops*, the horned-owl dance mentioned by Aeschylus.<sup>119</sup> It has been variously described by the lexicographers, but by far the best elucidation of our type is given by Athenaeus: <sup>120</sup> "The *Skops* is a figure (of the dance) in which men look away with the tips of the fingers arched over the forehead." It is easy to imagine a scene in comedy, as in *Alice in the Looking-Glass*, in which a slave would look off stage and humorously describe the coming visitor in parody of tragedy.

These two pieces wear the costume that appears to be that of Old Comedy.<sup>121</sup> It consists of a short, close-fitting jerkin, showing a large *phallos*; the hair is left plain or a pointed cap, the *pilos*, is worn. The mask has a long, sharply-pointed beard (*σφηνηπύγων*) below a broad, grinning mouth, of which the opening is only a wide slit. The deep-set eyes are rather small.

In the following examples (Nos. 45, a-d), though the costume remains the same, the mask differs markedly. The hair rises around the face in a thick roll, known as the *σπείρα*; the brows are arched sharply above the popping eyes; the beard is rounded, forming the rim of a large, gaping mouth, which is shaped like a megaphone. All this is considered by Dr. Bieber as the costume of Middle Comedy.<sup>122</sup> It still shows the *phallos*, but in other respects it approaches the costume of New Comedy. We have in our deposit, therefore, an interesting combination of both early and later types, indicating that this is a period of transition.

Our four fragments from the same or very similar moulds (Nos. 45 a-d) are on a slightly larger scale than Nos. 43-44. Their type is that of the seated slave. The upper parts are certainly to be related to the lower parts (Nos. 46-47), none of which, unfortunately joins. Together they make up a type of which the British Museum possesses a well-preserved example (Pl. 38).<sup>123</sup> The slave has evidently fled to the household altar for refuge, to nurse his ear, which has just been boxed. The impudent

<sup>118</sup> TK II, p. 418, 1 and 2.

<sup>119</sup> Aeschylus, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* (Nauck, 2nd edition), 26.

<sup>120</sup> *Deipnosophists*, XIV, 629 f., ἢ δὲ ὁ σκῶψ τῶν ἀποσκοπούντων τι σχῆμα ἄρα τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου κεκρυμμένην. Cf. Pollux, IV, 103; Hesychius, s. v. ὑπόσκοπον χεῖρα. F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike*, Halle, 1926, p. 90.

<sup>121</sup> M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920 (hereafter *Theaterwesen*), p. 135, pl. 73, 4.

<sup>122</sup> M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, Princeton, 1939 (hereafter, *History*), p. 86; cf. T. B. L. Webster, "South Italian Vases and Attic Drama," *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, pp. 19 f. suggests that the shift to the more modest costume of New Comedy may be connected with the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron in 317 B.C.

<sup>123</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat. C 90. Bought in Athens; marked "Peiraeus, 1868;" H. 0.12 m. Orange-yellow clay; could be Attic, but unlike the fabric of the Coroplast's Dump. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum. The type is shown TK II, p. 418, 9. Examples have been found at Tanagra. Cf. A. Körte, "Archäologische Studien zur alten Komödie," *Jahrb. VIII*, 1893, p. 82, fig. 6, Nos. 59-62. H. Luschey, "Komödien-Masken," *Ganymed*, Heidelberger Beiträge zur antiken Kunst, Heidelberg, 1942, pp. 71 f.

slave, enjoying the immunity of the altar, was a very popular type even into Roman times; ours are among the earliest examples. The later developments are numerous and delightfully varied.<sup>124</sup>

Enough evidence is now at hand to indicate the typological development of actor statuettes through the fourth century. The technique and style of our earlier examples (Nos. 43-44) clearly belongs to an earlier stage than the other group. We can safely assume, then, since, as we pointed out, this is the type most common at Olynthos, that it is a creation of the first half of the fourth century. Just when did the new type come in?

In general, the Olynthos type of mask is transitional between the earliest and the intermediate types. The *speira* and the pop-eyes occur, but the beard is still pointed and the mouth is only partially open. An approximation of the megaphone type of beard appears on a bronze statuette, which, however, is not yet the fixed New Comedy type.<sup>125</sup> Evidently at the middle of the century, the mask was undergoing a change, which we find a little more advanced in our Coroplast's Dump.

A number of moulds for actors' heads were found in a deposit in Corinth which dates ca. 350-325 B.C.<sup>126</sup> These are predominantly of the earlier type, but one mould found among them for a figurine of an actor shows the megaphone type of beard.<sup>127</sup> Masks of a somewhat transitional character appear in a group at Halai that falls into the period ca. 390-350 B.C.<sup>128</sup> These are typologically earlier than the masks found on the Pnyx in the deposit of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>129</sup> This dating is confirmed by a group of actors in the Metropolitan Museum, said to come from a grave in Athens, of which the types show the wedged-shaped beards with grinning, but not gaping mouths and a modest *speira*. The group can be closely dated by a series of interlocking parallels close to the middle of the fourth century.<sup>130</sup>

All this evidence, then, indicates that our small early actors (Nos. 43-44) date in the early part of the fourth century, probably ca. 375 B.C., that the Metropolitan group and its affiliates must fall within the period 360-340 B.C., and that our Nos. 45 and others with the new type of mask must come slightly later, ca. 330 B.C.

This sequence is interesting in connection with the development of the drama

<sup>124</sup> TK II, pp. 418 f. Bieber, *History*, figs. 209, 210, 416, etc.

<sup>125</sup> *Olynthos*, X, pl. I, No. 1.

<sup>126</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, pls. 35-36, Nos. 43-47.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 50.

<sup>128</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXIII.

<sup>129</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 149, fig. 62, Nos. 71, 75.

<sup>130</sup> Bieber, *History*, pp. 85 ff., figs. 122-135. *Met. Mus. Bull.*, IX, 1914, p. 235. Webster, *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, pp. 20 f. Princeton Art Museum, *The Theatre in Ancient Art*, Princeton, 1951, Nos. 14-27. I had the privilege of examining this group, both at Princeton, when they were on loan there, and in the Metropolitan Museum, by the courtesy of the curators of both Museums, Miss Jones and Miss Alexander. The group presents a most interesting combination of stylistic unity and technical disparity; it should be studied in detail.

during this period.<sup>130</sup> Much of the ribald spirit of Old Comedy seems to have lingered on through the rather uninventive stage called Middle Comedy. Then just as New Comedy was beginning, ca. 330 B.C., new masks and types come in.<sup>131</sup> The change of mask type may also probably be associated with the enlargement of the auditorium of the theatre under Lykurgus.<sup>132</sup> For an audience numbering 14,000 or more, now seated in orderly and fairly roomy quarters upon built seats, a mask that threw the voice like a megaphone would obviously soon be developed. This type, once established in Athens, undoubtedly spread over the Greek world; an example dating ca. 325 B.C. from Corinth would be perfectly in order. It looks indeed, as though innovations and new styles now found an immediate response in contemporary crafts, which once had heeded only the voice of tradition.

Tradition, however, even at this time evidently still held firm the various forms at various stages. That is, at any one time, the mask type for young or old men and women, slaves, gods, etc., was clear-cut and consistently followed. The changes came slowly until the new megaphone mouth was invented. The beard slowly grows less sharp; the hair grows thicker; the characterization becomes more defined. But apparently the fourth century did not develop the individual characterization of the types as described by Pollux (*Onom.* IV, 143 f.). Evidently the Hellenistic repertory took old and new traditions and differentiated between the various types in order to characterize the different old men and slaves in the large casts. It seems at present to be impossible to assign a Hellenistic mask to any one period on the evidence of the type of face alone. A good example of this difficulty can be seen in the figure of an actor as a soldier or traveller, which wears the wedge-shaped beard and the *pilos* of Old Comedy, but which we know from its technique and from the signature of its coroplast, Nikostratos, was made no earlier than the end of the second century B.C.<sup>133</sup>

#### PROPHYLACTIC FIGURES: NOS. 48-50

A group of small, poorly made votives holds considerable interest. They are so bent and technically poor that they may be discarded (No. 48, a-d). This is a type

<sup>130</sup> Lushey, *Ganymed*, pp. 76 ff. traces the general development of the mask, without giving such specific dating as is now made possible by our evidence, but without glaring discrepancies with our conclusions. A different approach is made by T. B. L. Webster, "The Masks of Greek Comedy," *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, XXXII, 1948, pp. 97 ff., who attempts to identify the types mentioned by Pollux with extant vase-paintings and terracottas. He admits that the evidence before New Comedy is hazardous. It is certainly true that even in the fourth century examples, the types do vary, but so far as I can see, the variation seems to be temporal rather than for purposes of characterization, except in such clear-cut cases as the mask of Herakles, men and women, age and so on. There seems to me very little difference in the masks of the Metropolitan group mentioned above.

<sup>131</sup> Bieber, *History*, p. 86.

<sup>132</sup> A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysos in Athens*, Oxford, 1946, pp. 136 ff.

<sup>133</sup> D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina*, p. 6; Kleiner, p. 247.

now known from the finer specimen from the Pnyx.<sup>134</sup> The presence of the herm shows that the group had a Dionysiac connection.<sup>135</sup> Another fragment of this type has been found in the Agora<sup>136</sup> and an unpublished example is in the Chalkis Museum.<sup>137</sup> The type is descended from an archaic ancestor, with surprisingly few variations.<sup>138</sup> The parallels for our group, from Olynthos<sup>139</sup> and the Pnyx, show that the type was at the height of its popularity in the middle of the fourth century B.C. The small herms found with our groups presumably are to be closely connected with them (Nos. 49 a and b and an uncatalogued example).

A sizeable but carelessly made mould (No. 50) presents a subject which is unexpected at this period, an hermaphrodite *sese ostendens*. Perdrizet, in a full analysis of the hermaphrodite type, shows that it became a concept, artistic rather than realistic, during the fourth century.<sup>140</sup> The first artistic form seems to have been derived from that of Priapos; indeed, our mould might represent Priapos himself. But it is remarkably close to a type of hermaphrodite that was popular somewhat later in Alexandria.<sup>141</sup> The examples from Chatby and Hadra can scarcely be so early as our mould. The fertility cults naturally occupied themselves with such concepts; the cult of Kybele seems at Chatby to have been the centre of this particular conception.<sup>142</sup> Our piece, so far as I know, is a rare subject in clay on the Greek mainland;<sup>143</sup> later, many variants were developed all over the Mediterranean.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>134</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, No. 87, pp. 124 ff., fig. 65, with bibliography on the type. Add also an unpublished example in the Louvre.

<sup>135</sup> H. Goldman, "The Origin of the Greek Herm," *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 58 ff. For the polos on the heads of the herms, cf. those on Priapos in Egypt, Breccia, *Monuments*, II, pl. CIV, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>136</sup> T 621, P. H. 0.033 m. Soft buff clay; style and type exactly like those from the Coroplast's Dump. From a late Roman filling south of the Middle Stoa.

<sup>137</sup> Chalkis Museum Inv. 806, unpublished so far as I know.

<sup>138</sup> See above note 134.

<sup>139</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 58, No. 406, a plastic vase. The position of the legs on our examples, reducing the emphasis on the phallos, and the fact that the figure and the herm were moulded separately and set on a plaque base all point to a date slightly later than that of the Olynthos and Pnyx pieces.

<sup>140</sup> P. Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Paris, 1911, pp. 6 ff., pls. II-III. Cf. Kleiner, p. 53 and notes with bibliography. The first mention of the name Hermaphroditos, occurs in Theophrastos, *Characters*, XXVIII, 26 (Jebb), written ca. 325-320 B.C. For ithyphallic figures in general, B. Hemberg, *Die Kabeiroi*, Uppsala, 1950, pp. 266 ff.; for the Kabeiroi in particular, pp. 283 f.

<sup>141</sup> Breccia, *Sciabbi*, pl. 75, 239 (No. 490); *Monuments*, I, pl. XLVII, 15, (No. 153) from Hadra.

<sup>142</sup> The piece mentioned in the preceding note was found in a grave along with the figure of a musician in Phrygian costume, which suggests an association with the cult of Kybele.

<sup>143</sup> Another hermaphrodite was found in a late second to early first century B.C. context in the Agora, a crude piece, T 3002 (P. H. 0.065 m.).

<sup>144</sup> T. Schreiber, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, 2, pl. XLIII; Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, pl. XV, No. 86.

PROTOMES, MASKS ETC.: NOS. 51-56

Detached heads or busts, in the fourth as in the fifth century, are usually treated as plastic vases. Our No. 51 and fragments from similar pieces are peculiar in being, protomes like busts, finished off below the shoulders. This form, though rare, does occur during the fourth and third centuries.<sup>145</sup> Both plastic vases and busts usually represent a goddess of nature and fertility, Demeter, Kore, or Aphrodite.<sup>146</sup>

The closest parallels to our Agora examples are those from Olynthos.<sup>147</sup> They too show the same severe features, the hair brushed back from the face to hang in long curls on the shoulders and the rosettes on a cap or band around the face. These rosettes seem to take the place of the tendrils and floral ornaments which always surround the goddess in painting or relief. Over the forehead of No. 51 is a peculiar ornament, like a bud or fruit between two leaves, which resembles one from Olynthos and another from the distant sanctuary at Sele in South Italy.<sup>148</sup> Possibly this ornament is derived from the Egyptian lotos-bud or lotos-fruit, which became excessively popular later in Graeco-Roman Egypt.<sup>149</sup> It had long been regarded as the emblem of immortality. On the evidence of the Phrygian cap worn by an Olynthian specimen, Robinson suggests the identification of the goddess with Artemis Bendis.<sup>150</sup> But she might well also be Kybele. Other busts follow the same type without any definite indication of the deity intended.<sup>151</sup> The type shows such hieratic conservatism that it is difficult to date exactly.<sup>152</sup> The excellent condition of our piece, however, on which

<sup>145</sup> For the origin and variations of the bust type see P. Knoblauch, *Studien über archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei*, Nieft, Bleicherode am Harz, 1937, pp. 167 ff.; *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 354 f.

<sup>146</sup> General discussion: E. Jastrow, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 73 ff. For the lekythoi, which seem to represent Aphrodite, G. Treu, *35tes Berlin. Winckelmannsprog.* 1875, pl. I; C. R. 1870-1871, pl. I, 3 (dated ca. 380 B.C. by Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 71). Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 354, fig. 9. For similar heads, cf. Marshall, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Jewellery*, pl. XLII, Nos. 2169 ff.

<sup>147</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 18, Nos. 149 ff.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 18, No. 156. *Mon. Ant.*, VII, 1897, pp. 247 f. (Kore); *Not. Scavi*, XIII, 1937, p. 226, fig. 13 (Hera). I owe my acquaintance with the closest piece from Sele to Dr. Paola Zancani-Montuoro, who kindly sent me a drawing, as she was unable to photograph the figure on account of war conditions. One leaf and a sort of pyramidal bud remain, on the head of a nude seated female "doll."

<sup>149</sup> For a discussion of this symbol, Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, p. 28; *Bronzes Fouquet*, p. 30.

<sup>150</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>151</sup> Particularly in the later examples cited in the following note.

<sup>152</sup> A series may be indicated beginning with the humanized bust of the masks of the late fourth century from Ithaka, *B.S.A.*, XXXIX, 1938-1939, pl. 20, No. 58. Other examples: *Bulletin Vereenig.-ant. Beschaving*, IV, 1 1929, p. 17, fig. 9 (fourth century); A. Adriani, *Annuaire du musée gréco-romain*, 1939, pl. XLVIII, 1 (third century); Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, pl. IX, 2 (third to second century); *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX, 1914, p. 218, fig. 26 (dated by Pharmakowsky in the Roman period).

even the back and such fragile details as the rosettes are well preserved, certainly indicates that it must fall after the middle of the century, probably close to 330 B.C.

Other fragments from protomes and masks represent the goddess in a more common form (Nos. 52-54). An admirable series of these masks from Halai and Olynthos<sup>153</sup> show that they were losing their popularity by the middle of the century. No. 52, **a** and **b** come from a sizeable mask, wearing puffy waves of hair incised with small lines and a veil that hangs down on the shoulders. This follows a fifth century type well preserved at Halai and Olynthos.<sup>154</sup> A similar piece of veil comes from a Corinthian mask of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>155</sup> No. 54 wears a polos decorated with relief palmettes, as on examples from Olynthos.<sup>156</sup>

A mould fragment (No. 55) evidently was made for a large mask, of which the heavy-lidded eye, with its steep inner corner, belongs to fifth century canons. It is on a much bigger scale than the other masks from the deposit.<sup>157</sup> These facts, taken in conjunction with its worn condition, place it earlier in our group. Very possibly it even survives from the fifth century.

Another mould gives us a Gorgoneion (No. 56). It shows the modified type, not so horrific as the archaic. It still extends the tongue;<sup>158</sup> snakes appear to be tied under the chin as on a gold plate from harness in a South Russian tomb of "ca. 300 B.C."<sup>159</sup> But it is not so human as the tongueless plaster heads from sarcophagi of the third century from Russia and others from Alexandria.<sup>160</sup> Technically, the mould belongs to our earlier group in the cistern, but the humanized character of the type cannot be very early; we must probably date it around the middle of the century.

#### ANIMALS: Nos. 57-61.

Animal figures are rare in the deposit, nor do two examples of any one type occur. Fragments of a bovine creature (No. 57) are fairly well modelled, especially the head of a calf or heifer. Scraps of a similar subject from Olynthos are simpler in style.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>153</sup> For a recent discussion of protomes, H. R. W. Smith, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 353 ff. Halai: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 380 ff.; *Olynthus*, IV and VII, pls. 1 ff.

<sup>154</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XVI, type IV-a-10, p. 384; *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 12, No. 66; pl. 14, No. 93; pl. 22, No. 240, etc.

<sup>155</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 32, No. 28. Other masks from Corinth will be published shortly in *Corinth*, XV, ii.

<sup>156</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 27, Nos. 297-8.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. the early large masks, *Olynthus*, IV and VII, pls. 1 ff.

<sup>158</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Gorgonen, cols. 1718 ff., middle type, which Furtwängler dated mid fifth to fourth centuries.

<sup>159</sup> E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 168, fig. 59.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372, fig. 274; Breccia, *Sciatibi*, pl. LXXIX, 256 f.

<sup>161</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 41, Nos. 340, 344.

Closer is the rendering of a bull-calf on a gem,<sup>142</sup> which shows the same flat treatment of the eye and the muzzle set clearly off from the rest of the head; it is dated in the late fifth century B.C. The style and fabric of our piece tend to place it fairly early in our deposit.

A mould for a reclining dog (No. 58) is unusual. The animal lies extended with his head resting on his forepaws. His mane is so thick that his nose and eye are just barely visible in profile at the extreme left. Body hair and haunch are carefully modelled. The tail is very thick also and seems as large as the head, which is decidedly blunt. This type of dog—one can hardly call it a breed—seems too heavy for the house-dog most popular in antiquity, the Spitz, but it is more like that of the farm-dog, described by Columella as having a large head, shaggy mane, hairy body, and drooping rather than prick ears.<sup>143</sup>

A mould of the back of a seated ape (No. 59) is larger and more carefully modelled than the figures of squatting apes of earlier times.<sup>144</sup> This piece, on which the hair is indicated, most closely resembles the tailless baboon, which is often shown among Graeco-Egyptian terracottas.<sup>145</sup> It is an animal form of Thoth which is presented in this squatting position, sometimes even clothed.<sup>146</sup> I am aware of no comparable examples from Greece. After a full study of the ape in antiquity, McDermott came to the conclusion that the ape had no mythological implications for the Greeks, but was merely a comic subject without religious significance.<sup>147</sup> Apes were favorite pets at the time of Theophrastos.<sup>148</sup> The close resemblance of our mould to Egyptian types, however, may well point to a cult connection.

The little hand-made bird (No. 60) belongs to a class of which a number was found in the Agora in what seems to be a sanctuary deposit of the late fourth to third century B.C.<sup>149</sup> Better examples from Corinth date in the fifth century; one from Halai would seem to fall in about the same period as ours, though it is larger and more carefully modelled.<sup>150</sup>

The mould for a shell (No. 61) is approximately on the same scale as a terra-

<sup>142</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1930, pl. XXXIII, fig. 99, dated in the late fifth century.

<sup>143</sup> O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, I, pp. 115 ff., fig. 44; Columella, VII, 12.

<sup>144</sup> TK I, p. 225; W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 162 ff.; *Lindos*, I, pl. 113, Nos. 2391-2, the fifth century version with worked backs. Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 38, No. 314.

<sup>145</sup> Keller, *Ant. Tierwelt*, I, pp. 7 ff.; Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, p. 145, pl. LIII, Nos. 389-392; cf. pl. XXXIII, No. 92.

<sup>146</sup> Breccia, *Monuments*, I, pl. XLIX, 13 (No. 166).

<sup>147</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 156 f.

<sup>148</sup> Theophrastos, *Characters*, (Jebb), VII, 15, p. 64.

<sup>149</sup> Section X, 73 / M, T 1366-69.

<sup>150</sup> *Corinth*, XII, No. 66, pl. 5; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 475, No. 69.

cotta shell which was found in a late fifth century deposit in the Agora (Pl. 41).<sup>171</sup> Both represent a mollusk of the type that the Greeks called *κρείς* or *κρένον* from its resemblance to a comb.<sup>172</sup> The mollusk was considered a delicacy, as are scallops to-day. The attractive shell, both natural and imitated, was much used as a decorative and symbolic motive, signifying immortality.<sup>173</sup>

One of the most popular of shell designs in clay comes of the association of Aphrodite with the sea. According to well-known legends, she was born of the sea foam; later versions derive her from the shell itself.<sup>174</sup> The Agora examples were presumably made for figurines and lekythoi, which were used as perfume vessels during the fourth century, rendering the legend in the round for the delight of the ladies. On a base representing the sea waves, these lekythoi open the valves of a shell like a diptych, to reveal the charms of the goddess, Aphrodite.<sup>175</sup> The most elaborate example of this conceit, from the Taman peninsula, is dated by Schefold ca. 380 B.C.,<sup>176</sup> a dating that fits well enough with that of the pieces from the Agora.

The two Agora examples, however, are not exactly alike. The fifth century piece is a faithful copy of a genuine shell (very possibly from a mould made by pressing a shell directly into clay); whereas our example from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 61) shows a peculiarity, namely, that the plications do not fan out from the beak, but run almost parallel to each other. It is irregular in the grooves and summarily treated at the edges. As these details are not characteristic of natural formation, we must conclude that this mould was made free-hand by a coroplast whose knowledge of conchology was sketchy.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>171</sup> T 1529. P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 339, No. 120, pl. 99 (H. 0.098 m.). An Agora specimen from a context of the late second century is very crude and really large (T 2237; P. L. 0.22 m.; P. W. 0.23 m.).

<sup>172</sup> Athenaeus, III, 86 C gives a full account of the edibility of shell-fish. The modern classification, Pectinidae, retains the ancient analogy with a comb. Our examples are, however, not strictly of this class, according to Dr. Madeleine Fritz of the Royal Ontario Museum of Palaeontology in Toronto. Dr. Fritz kindly examined photographs of our terracottas and said that they resembled Pelecypods with non-plicated wings.

<sup>173</sup> C. Picard, *Rev. arch.* XIII, 1939, I, pp. 136 f., p. 267; II, p. 79; M. Bratschkova, "Die Mäuschel in der antiken Kunst," *Bull. de l'Institut arch. bulgare*, XII, 1938, pp. 1 ff. with full bibliography of the abundant earlier literature.

<sup>174</sup> Keller, *Ant. Tierwelt*, II, pp. 560 f.; W. Déonna, *Rev. arch.*, VI, 1917, pp. 393 ff.; *Olynthus*, XI, p. 199; Bratschkova, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>175</sup> Bratschkova, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff. for a full catalogue of vases and statuettes portraying this theme. *TK* II, pp. 202 ff.; *Olynthus*, V, pp. 123 f., No. 144, pl. LXXXIX. (Ca. 370 B.C.)

<sup>176</sup> C.R., 1870-71, pl. I; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 71.

<sup>177</sup> Although Dr. Fritz admitted the possibility that a shell unknown to her might be represented, the balance of probability is in favor of poor modelling on the part of the coroplast as the explanation of the peculiarity. I am indebted to Miss Barabara Philippaki for checking details in Athens for me.



## MISCELLANEOUS VOTIVES: Nos. 62-73

At a sanctuary numerous small votives were often dedicated, of which the significance remains obscure. In this deposit a surprisingly large number of miniature objects appeared, looking like children's toys rather than serious adult offerings.

The tiny pointed hat or *pilos* (No. 62) is clearly rendered with its steep back and longer front, just as it is shown on the vase-paintings.<sup>132</sup> This is the felt cap of the workman, the sign manual of the laboring classes, but worn also for convenience by hunters and travellers.<sup>133</sup> Thus it was popular with the Dioskouroi and came to be their symbol, often shown separately on coins.<sup>134</sup> So far as I am aware, the *pilos* is not a common dedication, although one has been found at Corinth.<sup>135</sup> Ours may be a dedicatory offering to the Dioskouroi, or intended to be put on a figurine.

Possibly also connected with the Dioskouroi are the knuckle-bones (No. 63 and unpublished examples), the favorite playthings of those typical Greek ephebes.<sup>136</sup> These *astragaloi* are usually the natural bones of sheep or goats, but they are sometimes imitated in bronze, glass, ivory, and even, like ours, in clay. That they were dedicated for good luck or even for foretelling the future would make the coroplast naturally include them in his stock.

Possibly the small clay disks (Nos. 64-65 and an unpublished example) are to be connected also with games of chance.<sup>137</sup> They are neat little counters; possibly they are differentiated from each other by the ridge across the centre in two, which does not appear on the third. We might identify them as *néoroi*.<sup>138</sup>

The tiny pestle (No. 66) is an attractive miniature of a common instrument. In type, with its pointed handle in the shape of a finger, it resembles one from Lindos, which was inscribed with the owner's name.<sup>139</sup> Similar clay votive pestles have been found in the Corinthian Kerameikos,<sup>140</sup> and the stone originals are numerous all over the Greek world.<sup>141</sup> Such small examples were probably used to grind herbs or paint.

<sup>132</sup> E. g. G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, New Haven, 1946, fig. 53.

<sup>133</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* *Pileus*, p. 480.

<sup>134</sup> Roscher, *Lexicon*, *s. v.* *Dioskuren*, cols. 1154 ff., particularly 1172.

<sup>135</sup> *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 52, No. XXXVII-65.

<sup>136</sup> Roscher, *loc. cit.*, col. 1174. For full bibliography, *Olynthus*, X, pp. 503 ff.; XI, pp. 197 ff.; a clay example, VII, pl. 47, No. 376. Cf. *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 332 f. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 340, No. 134, five fifth century examples from the Agora.

<sup>137</sup> Clay disks, also probably game counters, have been found in many periods; e.g. the Geometric and Proto-Attic examples from the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 603.

<sup>138</sup> These disks might represent sacrificial cakes, *néoroi*, cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 285. But the ridge on top is hardly suitable for a cake.

<sup>139</sup> *Lindos*, I, pl. 152, No. 3229.

<sup>140</sup> *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. XXXVII, Nos. 26-29.

<sup>141</sup> For full bibliography, *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 117 f., pl. XLVII, Nos. 347 ff. H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, p. 387, No. 4. Unpublished Agora examples: ST 347, ST 405, ST 462. None of these is of the fourth century, but all are later. L. varies from 0.08 m. to 0.14 m.

The lion's foot support (No. 67) may come from a miniature mortar to accompany the pestle. Its scheme is closest, however, to that of the foot-bath, *ποδαλίστηρ*.<sup>108</sup>

The footstools (Nos. 68 and an unpublished example T 1789) are of the type that are placed beneath thrones. They show the moulded animal feet and cross-bracings characteristic of footstools.<sup>109</sup> This type of stool was frequently used as a base for the veiled dancing figures which were very popular during the early fourth century.<sup>100</sup> Our pieces seem to belong to this category because they have clearly been made separately and never set under the feet of women seated on a throne. The breaks on our examples, suggest figures of the type of those in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on which veiled dancers are pirouetting.<sup>101</sup> No fragments from dancing figures of this type, however, have survived from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>102</sup>

The small columns (No. 69 and an unpublished example, T 1782) are presumably discards of unused supports for leaning figures, which were coming into favor at this time. It is noteworthy that the top fillet of the scotia is set back of the projection of the torus above, unlike the normal Greek form of Attic base in which the scotia projects beyond the upper torus. The form used here occurs regularly later in Italy, but only very rarely in Greece.<sup>103</sup>

It is interesting to note a fragment of stippled roll, probably representing a thick woolen fillet or wreath (No. 70) of the type that becomes immensely popular in Hellenistic times. A few examples occur at Olynthos.<sup>104</sup>

An amusing object (No. 71) appears to be a blanket roll, tied firmly around its centre for convenience in carrying. Such rolls appear slung over the shoulders of soldiers and travellers, the inevitable *stromata*, to which Aristophanes loves to allude.<sup>105</sup>

Of the miscellaneous moulds the only interesting examples are two: one for an almond (No. 72) and the other for a tripod (No. 73). The almond was a popular nut in antiquity. Since cosmetic oil was made from it, the shell formed a suitable shape for small lekythoi to contain perfumed oil.<sup>106</sup> Our piece is merely a tiny votive.

<sup>108</sup> M. J. Milne, *A.J.A.*, XLVIII, 1944, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>109</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 72 f., type b, figs. 41-43.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *TK* II, p. 145, 2 and 3; p. 146, 5 and 8, etc.

<sup>101</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 376, fig. 3.

<sup>102</sup> But compare the fragments from the contemporary deposit on the Pnyx; their condition suggests that they were old pieces at this time, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, fig. 55, Nos. 28-29.

<sup>103</sup> E. G. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Terrakotten*, II, pl. 66. L. T. Shoe has kindly provided the architectural comment.

<sup>104</sup> E. g. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 39, No. 36; pl. 46, No. 404; pl. 51, No. 410.

<sup>105</sup> Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, pl. 71 (early fourth century); pl. 73 c (later fourth century); pl. 72 c (by the coroplast, Nikostratos, second century B.C.), cf. pl. 83, pp. 134 f.

<sup>106</sup> A much better Agora mould, T 1297, shows the type. It too dates from the fourth century. Athenaeus, II, 67 B and 52 C ff. Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, p. 229, fig. 31. G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, I, Berlin, 1940, pl. 17, 1, p. 92. J. D. Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XLI, 1930, p. 14, note 2.

The mould for a tripod stand, also miniature, is not a common type. Votive tripods were frequently made in bronze, though clay examples do occur, even as early as the seventh century.<sup>197</sup> Tripods were dedicated to many gods, not exclusively to Apollo.<sup>198</sup>

#### PLAQUES: Nos. 74-78

The hang-hole on No. 74 b indicates that this type should be classified as a plaque although the back is very rough. The female figure wearing a polos and a long veil may represent a goddess or a votary; it is impossible to determine. The original mould would seem to have followed an old hieratic tradition, but no identical type is known to me.<sup>199</sup>

No. 75 is even more difficult to interpret. It shows two upright panels crossed by two (possibly three) horizontals (or vice versa). The lower cross-band, as shown in the photograph, is slightly wider than the other bands. The relief suggests the panelling of a door or throne, but I know of no parallels. Another possible explanation is that it represents the *δῶκανα* of the Dioskouroi, certain curious horizontal and vertical beams that symbolized, according to Plutarch, the close ties of their brotherhood.<sup>200</sup> Too little of our plaque is preserved to permit of certain identification.

A bit of curved relief showing two petals of a palmette (No. 76) comes from a mould similar to No. 77, although not from that mould itself. The type of circular mould covered with palmette designs is Corinthian.<sup>201</sup> Corinth manufactured and exported many; one bears a Medusa head in the centre.<sup>202</sup> They evidently served as cheap substitutes for *à jour* reliefs in bronze, apparently solely for decoration. This is an interesting instance of the importation by one centre of a mould for the peculiar local product of another centre. We shall note other instances of this practice. As Mrs. Stillwell has pointed out, the fragility of these thin openwork plaques made it more feasible to export the moulds than the finished product.<sup>203</sup> One mould even found its way as far as Olynthos.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>197</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 621, No. 329, with references.

<sup>198</sup> W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 385.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. *TK* I, p. 63, 2, etc.

<sup>200</sup> Plutarch, *de fraterno amore*, I, (478A). M. C. Waites, "The Meaning of the *Dokana*," *A.J.A.*, XXIII, 1919, pp. 1 ff. Tod and Wace, *Cat. of the Sparta Museum*, fig. 14, cf. No. 588, and pp. 114 ff. F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1935, pp. 4, 109. G. Demangel, "II," *Eph. Arch.*, 1937, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>201</sup> Mrs. Stillwell considers that the clay also is probably Corinthian,

<sup>202</sup> *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 139, 141; the date of this piece is not clear, but stylistically it appears to be later than ours. Cf. a similar example from Tarentum, *Rev. arch.*, XXXV, 1932, p. 58, No. 41, pl. II, 4. These both appear to date in the late fourth century. For earlier examples of openwork plaques, see *Corinth*, XV, i, No. 103 ff., pl. 46, with references; XV, ii, pl. 47; XII, No. 212-3, 215.

<sup>203</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 112.

<sup>204</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 45, No. 372.

The bent tips of the palmettes of our pieces and their general style compare best with early fourth century examples,<sup>300</sup> but in the deep dentation, in the shape of the petals, our mould, though probably of Corinthian clay, cannot at present be duplicated at Corinth. Actually it is far more like two other pieces that were found elsewhere in the Athenian Agora (Pl. 42).<sup>301</sup> One impression (T 2415), though not from the same part as our mould, is close enough to have come from another section of it. The other (T 123) is squatter, with a splayed central petal, which would seem to date in the third quarter of the fourth century.

An interesting connection with Olynthus can be seen in a mould of a relief of a charioteer and his horses (No. 78). It shows in reverse the same scene as a vase from Olynthus.<sup>302</sup> The compact composition of rearing horses is characteristic of early fourth century vase-painting and metal-work. Our piece seems to echo metal-work, although it is not a direct impression from metal.<sup>303</sup> Its condition suggests that it is one of the earliest pieces in the deposit, as is also indicated by its style.

Only a few other fragments of indeterminate character unworthy of publication have been omitted from this discussion.

#### MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY: Nos. 84-87

Miniature pottery was often associated with figurines among the dedicatory deposits of sanctuaries, especially those belonging to the Eleusinian and other deities related to fertility cults.<sup>304</sup> A summary of the types of this miniature pottery that was found in our deposit should be added here.

Technically, the miniatures are more like figurines than like vases. The clay is soft, lightly-baked; the vase is covered with a lime slip on which soft colors were applied. Glaze rarely occurs.

The shapes are few. One of the most popular is the *kernos* (No. 84), for which type a mould also survives (No. 85).<sup>305</sup> This was a miniature ritual vessel, in which offerings were made. Grain, as a token offering, was probably placed in these tiny vessels. Most prevalent in our deposit are the cups (No. 86) with ribbon handles, no doubt intended for the draughts of wine that accompanied the gifts of food. These

<sup>300</sup> For the palmette with spurred spiral at its base, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 596; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 292, fig. 43, p. 140, dated 365-350 B.C.

<sup>301</sup> T 2415, from the Agora Terracotta Factory, H. 0.067 m. T 123, from the foundation of the Stoa Annex, of the first century B.C., P. H. 0.073 m., P. W. 0.073 m.

<sup>302</sup> Olynthus, IV, pl. 39, No. 371.

<sup>303</sup> Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 584 (Melos Amphora); cf. Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, No. 172, pl. 167; Richter, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 362, fig. 5 (silver version).

<sup>304</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 128; V, 1936, pp. 179 f. (later): *C.V.A.*, Michigan, 1933, p. 68. Corinthian examples will appear in *Corinth*, XV, iii.

<sup>305</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 447 ff.

cups do not follow any contemporary type, but retain the shape that they originally derived from the Geometric kantharoi right down into Hellenistic times.<sup>211</sup> Rarer are the votive incense-burners, the *thymiateria*, of which a sizeable base is preserved (No. 87). All these miniatures were originally copies of ritual vessels used by the initiates, but ultimately they seem to have retained their character through religious conservatism so that they became divorced in shape and nature from the actual vessels and became a ritual series themselves of an independent votive character, for nominal offerings.

### CONCLUSION

Even a glance over this series of terracottas reveals the votive character of the contents. The tiny objects, the masks, the figures of animals, and especially the *kernoi* and miniature cups, are all suitable for dedication in a sanctuary. Can we determine the nature of the deities for whom they were intended?

It is notoriously difficult to argue from votives to deities. As early as the fourth century, apparently, people no longer had any feeling for strict propriety in this matter; indeed even in early days, there was no rigidity in types for definite deities. Dedicators bought what was available, offering what they wished to whatever god seemed likely to be helpful, just as to-day Greek peasants buy the same little silver votives for any saint in any church.<sup>212</sup> Certain types, however, became appropriate for certain deities, not exclusively, but usually given only to them. Leaving aside the common votives, such as belong to the stock-in-trade of any coroplast, let us review our deposit to see which pieces indicate a specific deity.

Jointed figures or "dolls" have indeed been found in children's graves, but they are also common dedications in the sanctuaries.<sup>213</sup> The ritual types, the masks, the bust, the footstools, the actors, the prophylactic figures, the plaques that may represent a goddess (No. 74), and the figures of women and girls are all suitable for the Eleusinian goddesses. In four cases, however, namely, the *pilos*, the little cloaked figures (No. 13), the *dokana* plaque, and the *astragaloi*, we have suggested a possible connection with the Dioskouroi, or possibly the Kabeiroi, who were often associated with Demeter.

The great mass of the votives, then, is to be associated with the Eleusinian cult. Referring to Pausanias' description of the region where our Coroplast's Dump was found, we note two precincts eminently suitable for the products of his shop. The Anakeion, or sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, was situated on the North Slope of the

<sup>211</sup> Many others will be published in G. Roger Edwards' study of Hellenistic pottery.

<sup>212</sup> For general discussions, Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 348 ff.; A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, ii, Chap. I.

<sup>213</sup> For a general discussion and bibliography, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 114-118. See also *Corinth*, XV, ii, Class XX, pl. 31.

Acropolis near the Aglaurion, whence Lucian describes the philosophers scrambling up to the Acropolis.<sup>214</sup> It lay, then, just above our cisterns, to the southeast and might well offer opportunities for an energetic tradesman. Much closer, however, indeed right across the Panathenaic Way from the deposit, lay the buildings which are now identified by the excavators as the Eleusinion complex.<sup>215</sup> All around them in pockets and holes in the rock, as well as in our cisterns, deposits of *kernoi* were found, which as characteristic Eleusinian votives, have helped to fix the location of this sanctuary. Other evidence is also at hand for this identification.<sup>216</sup> It is clear, then, that our coroplast, whether he set up his shop within the precinct or just outside, catered especially to the demands of the devotees of the Goddesses.<sup>217</sup> The variety of his offerings and their inexpensive nature form an interesting commentary on the vigor of the cult and on the class of pilgrims who visited the sanctuary. Since much finer figurines were actually being made in Athens at this time,<sup>218</sup> it is apparent that already a difference existed between sculpture in clay and mass-produced votives which were bought for a trifle by the pious, just as they are bought to-day in the August festival of the Virgin that crowds the "Theseion" market-place with the working-people of Athens.

Within a closed deposit like the Coroplast's Dump, it should be possible to trace some stylistic development. Unless a dump consists of one year's produce, which appears to be rare in archaeological discovery, the older types or pieces should be differentiated from the new. We have indicated this difference in our discussion of the techniques and types. In summary, we might note that the hieratic types, like the hydrophoroi or fluteplayer, the "dolls," certain actors and little warriors, the small votive miniatures, belong to the first half of the fourth century. Masks and protomes, which were popular at Olynthos, Rhodes, Corinth, and Halai during the late fifth and fourth centuries, were evidently on the wane in Athens before ca. 350 B.C.

On the other hand, on the basis of comparative evidence from other sites we may assign other types from the Dump to the third quarter of the fourth century. The

<sup>214</sup> *Pausanias*, I, 18, 1; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 164 ff. Lucian, *Piscator*, 42.

<sup>215</sup> E. Vanderpool, "The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 134 ff.; cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff., figs. 7 and 8.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.* and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447. On *kernoi*, E. Groline, "Die Koppel-Ring und Tüllengefäße," *Schrift der Brenner Wissenschaft. Gesell.*, Reihe D, Abhandl. und Vorträge, 1933, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>217</sup> Nos. 74 a and b might conceivably be figures of Artemis, as a much battered fragment of an archaic Artemis, also found in the Coroplast's Dump (uncatalogued, T 1779) seems to indicate. I owe this suggestion and interpretation to Miss Claireve Grandjouan.

<sup>218</sup> Several very small fragments of the most exquisite delicacy have been found in the excavations, but scarcely warrant publication before the final catalogue of figurines from the Agora. For other examples, cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8, and *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 112 ff., especially figs. 70, 73. The German excavations at the Kerameikos produced few, but some good fourth century pieces.

bust protome, the moulds of ape and dog, the hermaphrodite, and the flying figures are among the most significant of these later pieces. Even more important are the early "Tanagra types" and their related heads showing the melon coiffure. These seem to fit into the decade 340-330 B.C. when the "Tanagra style" was being formed.<sup>219</sup>

Correlations with comparable figurines from other sites, particularly Olynthos, Halai, Corinth, and the Pnyx, all indicate that the Athenian figurines as a whole are well ahead of their time. Since the pottery and lamps from our deposit all support our dating of the great majority of the terracottas before or around ca. 350 B.C., we must conclude that these few pieces of later style can scarcely fall later than the third quarter of the fourth century. We must assume, therefore, that the early "Tanagras," the hermaphrodite, and the flying Erotes, all Hellenistic types, came into being before 325 B.C.<sup>220</sup>

This early date may seem surprising to those who have carefully studied the terracottas of Olynthos, which in no way presage the Hellenistic styles.<sup>221</sup> But there is surely no reason to believe that the delicate sophistication of the Hellenistic style should have had its inception anywhere but in a great artistic centre. Its dissemination to the provincial towns would inevitably have taken a little time, particularly as many of them never made anything but traditional votive figurines.

The evidence from our deposit indicates that the elements of what is commonly called the "Tanagra style" were coming into existence in Athens during the course of the third quarter of the fourth century. The examples which have survived in the Coroplast's Dump cannot, unfortunately, be relied upon to tell us just how far and to what degree of excellence the style had actually gone by the last quarter of that century. It is illuminating, however, to compare the character of our deposit with that of the work found in the graves of the cemetery of Alexandria, Chatby. Even if the earliest material there dates as early as the end of the fourth century,<sup>222</sup> it still supports our dating for the Athenian material, because it is typologically definitely more advanced.

<sup>219</sup> This supports Kleiner's observations, pp. 134 ff., that no "Tanagra type" is preserved which certainly dates before the fall of Thebes (335 B.C.). He points out that considering this fact, the style could scarcely have originated in Boeotia, but "möglich, ja wahrscheinlich" it originated in Athens. In this connection, it is significant that a few Boeotian "Tanagras" show a very close relation to Athenian coroplastic work.

<sup>220</sup> Kleiner, pp. 139 ff. considers that the fundamental basis for the Hellenistic sculptural style was laid during the last two quarters of the fourth century. Our evidence suggests that the most creative period was the first rather than the second quarter, at least in Athens.

<sup>221</sup> This is true also of the unpublished figurines from Olynthos from the latest campaigns, of which Dr. Robinson kindly writes me, "Rest assured that there are *absolutely no* Tanagras among them."

<sup>222</sup> See above p. 120.

Let us compare the two groups. Although the small size of the figurines is characteristic of both regions, it is also common to the earlier "Tanagras" from Boeotia and must therefore be regarded as a chronological rather than a topographical criterion.<sup>222</sup> The technical differences between the figurines of Chatby and of the Coroplast's Dump are marked. Technically our pieces show the solidity, plain backs and lack of vents characteristic of early manufacture, whereas the Chatby figures are made in two moulds, and usually have vents. On the other hand, many Chatby figures stand on round or oval bases which are usually made in the same mould as the figure, which is an early type in Athens. Most seem never to have had a base at all. The separately made plaque base, which is typical of "Tanagras" is common in our coroplast's shop, but only one of the Chatby figures had a plaque base preserved.<sup>223</sup> These differences appear to be local and should be studied in relation to Kleiner's plausible suggestion that refugees from Thebes settled in Alexandria, bringing with them the Boeotian coroplastic tradition.<sup>224</sup>

Although the styles and types found at Chatby are not totally dissimilar to ours, they seem in general to be later developments of the Athenian prototypes. There is no exact duplication of pose. Only one head (but not necessarily its missing body) bears a really close similarity to one of ours (No. 28).<sup>225</sup> The variants of our standing draped girl type (No. 19) are more elongated and high-waisted; they actually seem as closely related to their descendants in Myrina as to their Athenian forebears. The simple figures and particularly the faces of the children from Chatby are more genuinely immature than any of ours. Flying Erotes do not occur at this cemetery. In general, then, the Chatby material, even those figures that Kleiner plausibly calls the earliest, bears no striking resemblance to the material from the Coroplast's Dump. In every way, on the contrary, the Alexandrian material, whether it dates from the third century, as is now argued, or earlier,<sup>226</sup> is still decidedly later than that which we are discussing.

It seems safe, then, to date the latest figurines from the Coroplast's Dump in the latter part of the third quarter of the fourth century along with the pottery and lamps with which they were found and to consider that the coins of the late fourth and early third centuries which were found above them mark the time of the final filling of the cisterns.

<sup>222</sup> Kleiner, p. 51, notes that these figurines average around 0.15 m. in height. Those from our Dump are of course smaller, not more than 0.10 m. high. In general, the smaller the figure (of adults), the earlier. Kleiner, p. 60, considers that the miniature style is well over in Alexandria by the middle of the third century. We shall examine the evidence for Athens in a later article.

<sup>223</sup> Kleiner, p. 282, note II A 5, No. 1.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>225</sup> See above p. 138.

<sup>226</sup> On the ground of the Athenian evidence, the Chatby figurines could well be brought back into the last quarter of the fourth century, as originally dated by Breccia, but they might be merely conservative.



These figurines illustrate an interesting period of transition in coroplastic conception. The old hieratic types of the votive style lie side by side with more imaginative creations that were clearly inspired by major works of sculpture. The beginnings of the "Tanagra style" may be observed as they come into the repertory of the humble coroplast. That Athens may well have been the centre where this style was created has, of course, long been argued by archaeologists.<sup>234</sup> Our evidence from this group tends to strengthen this hypothesis. Considerable additional material is also at hand to suggest that it was indeed Athens where the first shift in the interest and style of the coroplasts took place. A full analysis of the circumstances and tendencies that brought this shift about will be attempted at a later date.

#### CATALOGUE

This catalogue aims to present the material in as brief a form as possible. Unless otherwise noted, therefore, the clay shall be understood to be a pinkish buff, the fabric rather soft. Slight traces of the white slip that normally covered figurines will not be specifically noted, but any trace of color will be mentioned. The figurines are mould-made. The T number in parentheses is that of the Agora inventory. All objects come from the South Pit, unless the provenience is specifically mentioned. H. refers to Height; P. H. to Preserved Height; W. to width; L. to length. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the abbreviation C. D., for Coroplast's Dump.

#### Jointed Figures and Related Pieces

- 1 (T 1743) Articulated Arm. Pl. 32.  
H. 0.043 m., P. W. 0.042 m. Fingers and thumb missing.  
The left arm from a "doll," bent at elbow, with palm outstretched. Pierced at the shoulder, flat inside.
- 2 (T 1747) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.  
P. H. 0.054 m.  
Right arm and hand from the elbow; no fingers indicated.
- 3 (T 2610) Articulated Leg. Pl. 32.  
P. H. 0.062 m.  
Leg to ankle, pierced at the top.
- 4 Legs of a seated figure. Pl. 32.  
a (T 1768) P. H. 0.08 m. Toes missing. Traces of pink.  
b (T 1769) P. H. 0.068 m. Mould. Broken at the bottom.  
a the legs of a seated nude "doll," and b apparently the mould from which a was taken.
- 5 (T 2612) Mould: Side of a seated "Doll." Pl. 32.  
P. H. 0.027 m. Broken on side. Thin clean edge to bottom.  
Part of a mould for the left side of a seated nude "doll."

<sup>234</sup> R. Kekulé, *Gr. Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, Stuttgart, 1878, pp. 23 f. Furtwängler, *Samm. Sabouroff*, 1883-1887, II, pp. 7 f. Both these scholars suggest the Attic-Theban school of painting as the primary inspiration of the Tanagra conceptions. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 446 ff. offers the suggestion on slight grounds. Kleiner, pp. 46 and 127, summarizes previous views and contributes an illuminating historical account of the relations between Athens and Boeotia at this period. More can be done to illuminate the Athenian side of the picture when all the coroplastic evidence from the Agora has been studied.

- 6 (T 1849) Mould: Legs. Pls. 32, 33.

From the North Pit. P. H. 0.065 m. Right side only preserved.

Fragment of a mould for the upper legs of a seated nude male "doll." Incised on the back of the mould: YΠIOY.

- 7 Leg and Foot. Pl. 32.

a (T 1749) P. H. 0.089 m.

b (T 1750) P. H. 0.086 m.

a Left leg and foot from the knee down. Well modelled.

b Right leg and foot from the knee down. From the same type as a but on a slightly smaller scale. Toes less well modelled.

- 8 (T 1745) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.033 m. Traces of red.

A left hand with the fingers curved as though grasping a round object. A similar hand, T 1936, was also found in a fourth century context.

- 9 (T 1687) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.064 m.

A right arm and hand holding out a *phiale mesomphalos*.

- 10 (T 1917) Hand. Pl. 32.

From the upper filling. P. L. 0.018 m. Excellent black glaze.

Right hand, clenched around some object.

#### Male Figures.

- 11 (T 1688) Mould: Flying Figure. Pl. 32.

H. 0.088 m. Complete. Well rounded outside.

Mould for the front part of a flying nude male figure.

- 12 (T 1777) Wing. Pl. 40.

Max. dim. 0.04 m. Back smooth.

Fragment of a right wing, sharply modelled.

- 13 Warrior or Hunter. Pl. 32.

a (T 1773) P. H. 0.057 m. Feet missing. Solid.

b (T 1774) P. H. 0.043 m. Feet and top of head missing. Solid.

c (T 1775) P. H. 0.049 m. Left foot missing. Solid.

A male figure, wearing chlamys and *pilos*. Hands pierced in a and b. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 15.

- 14 (T 1797) Mould: Draped Male. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.059 m. Broken at top.

The mould for the base and lower part of a draped standing male figure.

#### Female Figures, Standing, Draped

- 15 (T 1753) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.10 m. Carefully worked back.

A standing female figure, wearing a chiton and himation wrapped closely around her and hanging in a curve in the front.

- 16 (T 1754) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.04 m. Trace of vent in the back.

Fragment from the lower part of a figure like the preceding.

- 17 (T 1761) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.083 m.

Fragment from the upper part of a standing draped female figure, wrapped tightly in an himation under which she holds out her left arm.

- 18 (T 1692) Mould: Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.11 m. Broken off above. Well rounded outside.

The mould for the front part of a standing draped female figure wearing a closely wrapped himation.

- 19 (T 1680) Standing Female. Pl. 34.

H. 0.097 m. Complete. Back unmodelled.

The figure wears a straight, high-girt chiton and an himation around her shoulders and drawn to the side by her left hand in which it

is wrapped. Her right hand rests on her hip. Her hair is dressed in the melon coiffure, with a coil of braids at the back. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 16.

**20** Standing female. Pl. 34.

**a** (T 1755) P. H. 0.085 m. Back flat. Head missing.

**b** (T 1861) P. H. 0.082 m. From the dump of the North Pit. Back flat. Head missing.

Two pieces from similar moulds showing a figure draped in a chiton and an himation that is drawn across the body to the left side.

**21** (T 1679) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.105 m. Head missing and chips at bottom.

Standing female, wrapped in an himation, under which her right arm is bent across her chest.

**22** (T 1758) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.057 m. Back rough.

The lower part of a standing female figure wearing a chiton and an himation to the knees.

**23** (T 1756) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.05 m. Back rough.

The upper torso of a female figure wearing a chiton.

*Female Ritual Figures*

**24** (T 1675) Head of an Hydrophoros. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.036 m.

The head of a female figure, wearing her himation over her head on which she holds an hydria.

**25** (T 1670) Head of a Mourner. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.04 m. Flat back.

The head of a female figure, and part of her right shoulder and arm, which is raised to the top of her head.

**26** (T 1736) Head of a Flautist. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.034 m.

The head of a female figure wearing her hair in a peaked coiffure over her forehead; she puffs out her cheeks in playing the double flutes.

*Female Heads*

**27** (T 1676) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.029 m.

The head of a woman, wrapped in her himation, leaving the face clear.

**28** (T 1681) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.024 m.

The head of a woman, wrapped tightly in her himation, which is drawn over the chin.

**29** (T 1693) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.028 m.

The head of a woman, wearing her hair in the melon coiffure with a coil of braids at the back of the head.

**30** (T 1667) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.023 m.

Similar to the preceding, except that the braid is broken off from the back of the head.

**31** (T 1682) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.019 m.

Similar to No. 30; the coil of braids is preserved at the back. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**32** (T 1737) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.02 m.

Similar to No. 30.

**33** (T 1668) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.19 m.

The head of a girl wearing a thick wreath.

**34** (T 1738) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.021 m.

The head of a female wearing her hair drawn up carelessly to a knot at the back of her head.

**35 (T 1803) Mould: Female Head. Pl. 33.**

P. H. 0.043 m. Broken on three sides. Well rounded outside.

Fragment of a mould for the back part of a female head and shoulders.

**36 (T 1711) Mould: Back of a Female Figure. Pl. 33.**

P. H. 0.10 m. Broken at bottom. Two tabs preserved. Well rounded outside.

The upper part of a mould for the back of a female figure, showing the hair in curls or tied in a kerchief of which two ends project. One shoulder is markedly raised.

*Female Figures: Seated, Draped***37 (T 1673) Seated Female. Pl. 33.**

P. H. 0.034 m. Solid.

A seated draped female figure, wrapped in an himation; her right arm is bent up under it, her left rests at her side.

**38 (T 1752) Seated Female. Pl. 33.**

P. H. 0.029 m. Solid.

Similar to the preceding.

**39 (T 1735) Seated Female. Pl. 33.**

H. 0.066 m. Part of the head missing. Traces of red paint. A seated woman, meditating, her head resting on her left hand, her elbow on her knee.

**40 (T 1709) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 37.**

P. H. 0.075 m. From the North Pit.

The upper part of a mould for a seated draped female figure, possibly holding a baby. The back of the throne shows behind.

**41 (T 1710) Mould: Seated Female and Child. Pl. 33.**

P. H. 0.088 m. Tabs outside.

The lower part of a mould for the back of a female figure seated on a plain seat, wearing a roll of drapery around her hips. The child, apparently nude, stands at her right.

**42 (T 1799) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 37.**

H. 0.07 m. Chipped.

Mould for a female figure wrapped tightly in an himation, which is drawn over the lower part of her face.

*Actors***43 (T 1685) Comic Actor. Pl. 38.**

P. H. 0.073 m. Solid. Back plain.

A comic actor, dressed as a soldier or traveller, wearing a short padded garment, chlamys, and *pilos* and pointed beard. He holds his right arm akimbo; with his left he holds a jug in front of a basket against his body. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**44 (T 1683) Comic Actor. Pl. 38.**

P. H. 0.075 m. Solid; back rough.

A comic actor, wearing a short padded garment, chlamys, and tights. He raises his right hand to his brow and looks off to his right; his left arm is bent under his drapery. His pointed beard hangs down to his waist. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**45 Comic Actor, Seated. Pl. 38.**

**a** (T 1742) P. H. 0.061 m.

**b** (T 1684) P. H. 0.06 m.

**c** (T 1651) P. H. 0.047 m. From the North Pit.

**d** (T 1672) P. H. 0.056 m. Solid.

Four examples from one mould. A comic actor, as a slave, seated, holding his right ear with his right hand. He wears a short garment and a mask with *speira* and megaphone-type mouth. (See Nos. 46 and 47).

**46 (T 1770) Legs of a Seated Actor. Pl. 38.**

P. H. 0.05 m.

The legs of an actor of the preceding type, seated on a seat, probably an altar. Traces of a hand on the left knee.

**47 (T 1771) Legs of a Seated Actor. Pl. 38.**

P. H. 0.043 m. Trace of red.

The trousered legs of an actor of the type of No. 45.

*Prophylactic Figures*

- 48 Negro Boy squatting by a Herm. Pl. 39.

a (T 1665 + T 1689) H. 0.083 m., W. 0.026 m. Solid; back plain. Complete.

b (T 1701) P. H. 0.055 m. Solid. From the North Pit. Herm broken away.

c (T 1740) P. H. 0.062 m. Solid, bent in firing. Top broken away.

A negro boy, resting his head against his hands, which are clasped against his left cheek, squats by a herm, which wears a polos. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

- 49 Herm. Pl. 39.

a (T 1664) H. 0.082 m. Complete.

b (T 1666) P. H. 0.032 m. Head only.

Hermes of the type of the preceding. One uncatalogued example, T 1739, shows the same type.

- 50 (T 1808) Mould: Hermaphrodite. Pl. 37. P. H. 0.074 m. Broken all around.

Fragment of a mould for the abdomen and legs of a nude male figure holding up his drapery to reveal his genitals.

*Protomes, Masks, etc.*

- 51 (T 1763) Female Protome. Pl. 39.

H. 0.186 m. Hole for suspension on top. Dark red paint on face and hair. Ornaments attached separately. Back moulded.

The protome of a female head, wearing her hair in waves back from the face and hanging in long curls down the shoulders. On her hair, a wreath, with bud and leaf ornament in the centre and disk rosettes on the sides. Fragments of similar protomes were also found (T 1764-65).

- 52 (T 1767) Mask Fragment. Pl. 39.

a P. H. 0.08 m. b P. H. 0.055 m.

Fragment from a female mask, showing the hair arranged in deep waves beneath a *stephane* decorated with a beaded ring at its base. Frag-

ment from the lower part shows a trace of wavy veil hanging down the side.

- 53 (T 1794) Protome Fragment. Pl. 39.

Max. dim. 0.067 m.

Fragment showing a part of a wavy veil, hanging down the side of a protome.

- 54 (T 1766) Protome Fragment. Pl. 39.

P. H. 0.068 m. Suspension hole at the top of the hair.

Fragment from the upper left corner of a protome, showing wavy hair beneath a *stephane* on which are traces of palmette decoration in relief.

- 55 (T 1805) Mould: Mask. Pl. 40.

Maximum dimension 0.074 m.

The mould for a mask of a face with a large eye, probably a Gorgoneion.

- 56 (T 1690) Mould: Mask, Gorgoneion. Pl. 40.

Diameter 0.11 m. Complete except for chips.

Circular mould with a thickened edge for a Gorgoneion with extended tongue and snakes under her chin.

*Animals*

- 57 (T 1780) Calf. Pl. 40.

Three non-joining pieces: a) Max. dim. 0.075 m. b) Max. dim. 0.08 m. c) Max. dim. 0.055 m.

a) The head and neck of a calf, b) its base and feet, c) its rump and the upper part of the hind legs. The area between the legs is filled in solid.

- 58 (T 1694) Mould: Dog. Pl. 39.

L. 0.125 m., H. 0.049 m. Well rounded outside.

The complete mould for the left side of a reclining dog, with its base.

- 59 (T 1691) Mould: Ape. Pl. 40.

H. 0.087 m. Well rounded outside.

The complete mould for the back and base of a squatting ape.

60 (T 1778) Bird. Pl. 40.

P. L. 0.039 m. Hand made. Suspension hole through the centre. The body of a flying bird; all the extremities are missing.

61 (T 1650) Mould: Mollusk Shell. Pl. 41.

P. H. 0.074 m. Broken at top. Splotches of red glaze outside; well rounded outside.

The mould for a mollusk shell, with sharp-ridged plications.

*Miscellaneous Votives*

62 (T 1785) *Pilos*. Pl. 39.

H. 0.013 m.

A pointed cap, or *pilos*, modelled completely in the round.

63 (T 1671) *Astragalos*. Pl. 40.

H. 0.02 m., L. 0.032 m. Solid.

An astragal, fully modelled in the round. Another uncatalogued example, T 1741, was also found.

64 (T 2609) Disk. Pl. 40.

Diam. 0.02 m. Solid, flat.

A plain disk.

65 (MC 494) Disk. Pl. 40.

Diam. 0.022 m. Solid, flat.

A disk with a ridge across the centre. A similar uncatalogued example, MC 472, was also found.

66 (T 1784) Pestle. Pl. 39.

P. H. 0.017 m. Solid.

A pestle modelled roughly in the shape of a bent finger.

67 (T 1788) Lion's Claw Foot. Pl. 40.

P. H. 0.033 m. Solid. Broken at the top.

The lion's claw foot of a piece of furniture or vessel, decorated at the top with a volute.

68 (T 1790) Footstool. Pl. 41.

P. H. 0.03 m. Solid. Broken off above.

A footstool with braces across the front. Another example, T 1789, was also found.

69 (T 1781) Column. Pl. 40.

P. H. 0.122 m. Solid. Top finished smooth.

A round shaft, with upward taper, stands on an Ionic base.

70 (T 1787) Wreath Fragment. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.03 m. Broken at each end.

The detached end of a thick wreath.

71 (T 1786) Traveller's Pack. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.025 m. Knob broken off one end. Solid.

A thick roll tied around the centre, ending in a knob at the end.

72 (T 1806) Mould: Almond. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.034 m. Broken at one end. Well rounded outside.

Part of the mould for half an almond.

73 (T 1678) Mould: Tripod Stand. Pl. 41.

H. 0.042 m. Well rounded outside.

The mould for the stand of a tripod, blunt at the top, with grooved sides and claw feet.

*Plaques*

74 Plaque Fragments. Pl. 42.

a (T 1686) P. H. 0.084 m. On the left upper corner, a suspension hole.

b (T 1759) P. H. 0.086 m.

A plaque showing a standing female figure in relief, with her right arm bent across her body; her left hangs down her side. She wears a low polos and a long veil hanging down behind her. Another similar uncatalogued piece was found.

75 (T 1795) Fragment of a Plaque. Pl. 39.

Max. dim. 0.052 m. Broken all around.

In relief on the surface of what appears to be a plaque, low vertical and horizontal bands cross each other.

**76 (T 1783) Plaque Fragment. Pl. 39.**

Diam. of plaque ca. 0.20 m. Max. dim. of the fragment 0.041 m. Broken on three sides; edge preserved. Part of a circular flat plaque with two leaves of a palmette in low relief.

**77 (T 1700) Mould: Plaque. Pl. 42.**

From the North Pit. Max. dim. 0.105 m. Outside edge preserved.

Mould for a plaque showing a dentated edge, with lotus and palmette band inside, in low relief.

**78 (T 1810) Mould: Relief. Pl. 41.**

Max. dim. 0.089 m. Broken all around; much disintegrated.

The mould for a relief scene of Nike in a chariot; the neck of the horse is very close to the right hand of the driver, which is extended.

*Bases*

**79 (T 1677) Plaque Base. Pl. 42.**

P. L. 0.046 m., W. 0.05 m., T. 0.007 m.

A rectangular plaque base. Smear of yellow paint on top. Similar uncatalogued fragments were found.

**80 (T 1791) Base. Pl. 42.**

H. 0.034 m., W. 0.063 m., L. 0.114 m. Fragments missing. Traces of pale blue paint.

A shallow rectangular double base, open at the back. Traces of the figure that stood on top.

**81 (T 2615) Base. Pl. 42.**

L. 0.11 m., W. 0.058 m., T. 0.018 m. Traces

of red paint. The lower element of a double base like the preceding.

**82 (T 2613) Base. Pl. 42.**

P. H. 0.039 m.

Fragment of a flat base made in one with the figure and open beneath it.

**83 (T 2611) Base. Pl. 42.**

P. H. 0.024 m., W. 0.026 m. Flat back. Solid.

A stepped base, on which are preserved two flat feet.

**84 (P 12481) Kernos. Pl. 42.**

H. 0.046 m., diam. 0.046 m. Considerable remains of white. Chipped.

Small kernos on flaring base, flat beneath. Narrow flange with two sharply projecting ribbon handles, the loop providing a piercing. Very slightly flaring lip. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**85 (P 13106) Mould: Kernos. Pl. 42.**

H. 0.028 m., L. 0.055 m., W. 0.044 m. Complete.

Mould for the upper body, handles and flange of a very small kernos.

**86 (P 12998) Votive Cup. Pl. 42.**

H. to lip 0.024 m., diam. at lip 0.037 m. Complete.

Miniature kantharos, roughly made on the wheel. Band handles, rising from rim.

**87 (P 19535) Base of Thymiatieron. Pl. 42.**

P. H. 0.087 m., P. W. 0.064 m. Top missing.

A tall stand composed of three disks.

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## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

I, B AND C

(PLATES 18-24)

### PART I: THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

TO continue the study of Hellenistic terracottas from the Athenian Agora that was begun two years ago,<sup>1</sup> this article will deal with two small groups. The first, which we may call from its most striking object, the "Hedgehog Well," offers a varied collection of figurines roughly contemporary with those published in the Coroplast's Dump. The second, interesting chiefly for the ritual character of most of the figurines, will be called the "Demeter Cistern." It also produced several pieces that show the trends of taste in the last decades of the fourth century B.C.

#### B. THE HEDGEHOG WELL

##### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

On the north slope of the Areopagus, about fifty meters west of the cistern that yielded the Coroplast's Dump, a small stone-curbed well was excavated in 1938.<sup>2</sup> Its diameter, roughly 0.60 m. by 0.70 m. was smaller than that of the usual Athenian well, which approximates three Greek feet. It was also shallow, reaching a total depth of 6.25 m., of which the lowest 0.50 m., cut in bedrock, were uncurbed. No water-level was detected. It may therefore have proved a failure as a well and subsequently served only as a storage pit, which the presence of a complete wine jar and of fragments of others would suggest.

##### CHRONOLOGY

The complete wine jar, from Thasos, has been dated by Virginia Grace as little, if at all, after 350 B.C. and the two other stamped jar handles as not later than the last quarter of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 116 ff., Part I: A, The Coroplast's Dump. The photographs of the present article are by Alison Frantz except two, as noted in the text. I am under considerable obligation to Lucy Talcott and to my husband for checking many matters for me in Athens. I have also made a final check myself with the terracottas here discussed.

<sup>2</sup> Designated as Section ♣, well at 37/KA, on the new grid as O 18. It was excavated by Eugene Vanderpool. It was mentioned in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 118, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Miss Grace for giving me this information. The jar is inventoried P 13570;



The rest of the pottery and lamps for which no stratification could be detected is entirely consistent with that dating. A characteristic selection is presented to indicate the range of the most significant pieces\* (Pl. 24):

1. Kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 24, a.

Inv. P 13528. H. 0.085 m., D. 0.11 m.

Spur of one handle restored. A scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; grooved resting surface with a scraped line in the groove. Within, four impressed palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

The shape shows a definite advance over the latest examples from Olynthos (e.g. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos*, XIII, Baltimore, 1950, no. 513, pls. 184, 185), but is somewhat less developed than Kantharos no. 2 from the Demeter cistern (our Pl. 20, b). Third quarter of the fourth century a.c.

2. Kantharos. Pl. 24, b.

Inv. P 12698. H. 0.083 m., D. 0.083 m.

A scraped line at the top of the smaller moulding of the foot; grooved resting surface with a broad scraped line irregularly in and around the groove. Within, four impressed palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

No example of this type is known from Olynthos, but by comparison with the kantharoi with moulded rim, above, the vase should belong to the third quarter of the century.

3. Kantharos. Pl. 24, c.

Inv. P 12699. H. 0.076 m., D. 0.085 m.

Resting surface flat; the profile of the foot oblique on the inside. Glazed all over except for a roughened ridge around the outer edge of the resting surface, from which the glaze has chipped away. Glaze firm but dull.

Both shape and fabric are non-Attic. The vase is probably Boeotian, though superior in glaze and technique to the average Boeotian kantharos. Compare the examples from Rhitsona, e.g. P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery*, London, 1913, pl. IX, Grave 76, no. 21 and *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, London, 1927, pl. X, nos. 36.18, 114a.12, 34.37.

4. Skyphos, Corinthian type. Pl. 24, d.

Inv. P 12700. H. 0.095 m., D. 0.087 m.

Fragments of lip and foot restored. Above the foot, a reserved zone, cross-hatched. Underside reserved, with two unevenly drawn glazed circles.

About the same stage of development as an example from a pyre in the area west of the Areopagus (Inv. P 16602: *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 5) found with a cup-kantharos with moulded rim and the kantharoid cup-kotyle closely paralleling Nos. 6 and 7 here. Third quarter of the fourth century.

5. Skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 24, e.

Inv. P 22671. H. 0.097 m., D. 0.101 m.

Both handles restored, with parts of rim, wall and foot. Resting surface unevenly glazed; underside reserved, with two coarse glazed circles.

One of the latest vases from this well; compare Inv. P 1829 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 320, fig. 5.

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the handles, SS 8210-8211. These will appear in the final publication of the stamped amphoras from the Agora.

\*I owe the analysis of the pottery and the selection of the plate to Lucy Talcott and to Peter Corbett of the British Museum, who is studying the fourth century pottery from the Agora. He found that this group fell very close to that from the Coroplast's Dump and did not date later than the end of the third quarter of the fourth century.

A 26) and no. 3 from the Demeter Cistern (Pl. 20, c). End of the third quarter or beginning of the last quarter of the fourth century.

6. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 24, f.

Inv. P 12690. H. 0.085 m., D. at lip, 0.10 m.

A reserved line around the foot at the junction of the large and small mouldings; a shallow groove in the reserved resting surface. Within, a rouletted circle.

More advanced than the latest examples from Olynthus (e.g. *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 506, pls. 187, 189); a good parallel is Inv. P 16601 (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 4) noted above under No. 4 here.

7. Kantharoid cup-kotyle. Pl. 24, g.

Inv. P 13530. H. 0.063 m., D. 0.10 m.

Part of one handle restored. Rilled base; scraped line around wall just above foot; a groove in the unevenly glazed resting surface. Within, four palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

More advanced than *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 498, pls. 184, 187. Compare Inv. P 16600 (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 3) cited above under No. 4.

8. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, h.

Inv. P 13531. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.10 m.

Most of one handle restored, and fragments of rim and wall. Rilled foot similar to that of No. 7. A broad reserved line just above the foot; a groove in the reserved resting surface. Within, four palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

See No. 9.

9. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, i.

Inv. P 22670. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.089 m.

Parts of rim and wall restored. A scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; a groove in the reserved resting surface.

The development of this shape, which was never very popular, has not yet been established in detail, but the available evidence suggests that its history began near the middle of the fourth century and continued for perhaps fifty years.

The two examples shown here, Nos. 8 and 9, belong to the third quarter of the century, No. 9 being the later. A further stage is represented by a vase from the Demeter Cistern, No. 3 (Pl. 20, d), which is probably to be dated in the last quarter of the fourth century.

10. Cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, j.

Inv. P 13529. H. 0.087 m., D. 0.085 m.

Part of one handle and fragments of rim and body restored. Broad reserved line around the foot at the junction of the large and small mouldings; a light groove in the reserved resting surface.

Markedly more developed than *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 497, pls. 184, 185, hence well on in the third quarter of the century; but less advanced than examples from the last quarter, e.g. Inv. P 572 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 345, fig. 26, no. B 46).

This selection is characteristic for the pottery from this well, and includes the latest pieces noted. The group is thus a fairly compact one, with a lower limit close to the end of the third quarter of the fourth century, or perhaps in the opening years of the last quarter. For the reader's convenience in checking the chronology, on Plate 24 is added the pottery from the Coroplast's Dump discussed in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1952, p. 122, note 23: P 19530, P 19531, P 12406.

The lamps also date from this period.<sup>4</sup> There were seven pyramidal and six conical loom weights. No other significant material was found and not a single coin.

The pottery and the figurines appeared together from depths 3.10 m. to 6.25 m.

<sup>4</sup> These will appear in the publication of the Agora lamps by Richard Howland: L 3397, 3398, 3418, 3566-3568.

and must have been thrown in all at one time. The range of date for this well group, then, extends over about a quarter century, from ca. 350 to 320 B.C.

#### TECHNIQUE

This small group does not lend itself to such full analysis as was possible for the Coroplast's Dump. No moulds were found. In general, the fabric of the figurines is similar to that described in the preceding article. The backs of the figures are moulded but unmodelled, except that of No. 1. Three base fragments show the early block and stepped forms, as in the Coroplast's Dump. Nine other small scraps have been left unidentified and uncatalogued. The technique of the plastic vases, though not exactly that of the figurines, brings them in close enough relation to coroplastic art to warrant their inclusion in our discussion. Indeed, a full study of the interrelation of the two classes and techniques just at this period would be most illuminating and deserves much fuller treatment than is possible here.\*

The condition of the pieces from this well suggests that the "doll" fragment (No. 1), the bits of drapery (Nos. 5 and 6) and the heads (Nos. 7-9) are the oldest specimens. The fresher examples, such as the male torso (No. 2), the male head (No. 3), the girl (No. 4), the column (No. 12) and the plastic vase fragment (No. 14) could not have been long discarded before they reached their final resting-place. The mask (No. 10), the hedgehog (No. 11), and the almost complete plastic vase (No. 13) must have been in perfect condition when they were tossed out. These pieces are stylistically well advanced. We may therefore consider that the order of condition (as was also true in the Coroplast's Dump), follows roughly, at least, the order of manufacture.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

##### JOINTED FIGURE: No. 1

The battered torso of an articulated nude female "doll" (No. 1, Pl. 18) is characterized by small breasts, a lightly modelled stomach, and a very slight curve from the shoulders to the waist, such as appear on "dolls" from Olynthos of the less developed type.<sup>7</sup> Several more advanced pieces date from about the middle of the fourth century, e. g. from Olynthos, the Pnyx and Corinth,<sup>8</sup> thus indicating that this fragment was old when it found its way into our well. It is noteworthy that the back is fully modelled. These articulated figures must have been immensely popular during the fourth century, for a representative appears in almost every deposit. They also

\* For a beginning, see P. Knoblauch, *Arch. Ans.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 338 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 99, Nos. 296, 297, 300.

<sup>8</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 23, No. 257; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 5, 9, 10; Corinth, XI, i, pl. 41, No. 66. Cf. also below, p. 89, Demeter Cistern No. 1, Pl. 20, which is even flatter and more conservative than this.

turn up in cemeteries and in sanctuaries. Their significance has been discussed in a previous study.<sup>9</sup>

#### MALE FIGURES: NOS. 2-3

The fragment from the figure of a heavily bearded man is tantalizing (No. 2, Pl. 18). The loose, realistically rendered beard and moustache drooping over the thick lower lip show that it is not the figure of an actor. It is more like Silens, which are shown even in the form of plastic vases.<sup>10</sup> The closest parallel is the figure of an old man or paidagogue, said to come from Tanagra,<sup>11</sup> which appears to be richly modelled in the finest style so far as one can judge from the drawing. The folds of the cloak of our piece are rendered as long high ridges varied by indented pockets in a style visible also on a terracotta from Olynthos.<sup>12</sup> This style represents a conservative trend based on the more formal sculptural styles of the major arts. It forms an interesting contrast with No. 6, which echoes the contemporary more naturalistic style of the mid fourth century. Yet the two figurines could not have been made at very different dates.

A male head, wearing a tall hat (No. 3, Pl. 18), is an unusual piece. This conical hat is a truncated form of *pilos* with a rolled brim. Presumably it was made of felt like hats from Central Asia of the present day.<sup>13</sup> The physiognomy of our head is evidently not Greek but foreign. It is characterized by deep-set eyes, of which the right shows a marked squint, a thick nose, high cheekbones, and a drooping moustache over a shaved, rather fleshy chin. These features might be those of a Scythian, but most Scythians of this period are shown with long hair and straggling beards. The broad boney face, with moustache, however, appears frequently on representations of Celts and Gauls. Several close parallels to our head come from the Fayum. These Gauls often sit hunched up against their high shields that stand by their left sides in a position such as might have resulted in the angle of breakage of our Agora head.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *TK II*, p. 400, particularly No. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402,3. (H. 0.165 m.)

<sup>12</sup> *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 78, No. 244. A fragment from a plastic vase in the Agora (T 1054) is sufficiently similar to suggest that our piece may also derive from this class.

<sup>13</sup> Darenberg and Saglio, *s.v. Pileus* (P. Paris), pp. 479 ff., fig. 5669. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 22, No. 382. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 54, fig. 8 and p. 96, fig. 27. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 97, No. 290, a similar *pilos* is shown covered with rounded indentations to simulate leather. Cf. a contemporary representation on a red-figured sherd from the Pnyx (Inv. P 224), to be published shortly in *Hesperia*, Suppl. X.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. Bienkowski, *Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs gréco-romains*, Cracow, 1928, p. 137, fig. 205 (for the face); p. 138, figs. 207-208 (for the pose). These figures wear a hood which is somewhat more pointed than ours. Cf. A. J. Reinach, "Les Galates dans l'art alexandrin," *Mon. Piot*, XVIII, 1910, pl. VIII, p. 77, which Reinach calls a Gaul; cf. figs. 14, 17. I owe this reference to Professor Erik Sjöqvist. Breccia, *Mons. I.1*, pl. XXVI, 1, calls the same head a "European Scythian."

We should like to give our foreigner a name, but despite recent studies on the subject of foreigners in the Graeco-Roman world, we have not yet sufficient knowledge to identify any one of these ancient tribes with certainty. Among many, the one most like our head is that of a "Tokhara" or Indo-Scyth but the profile is straighter.<sup>18</sup> It is indeed possible, considering the movements of the Gauls and Scythians at this period, that one could have been brought to Athens as a slave.<sup>19</sup> In any case, the subject does not belong to the stock-in-trade of the shop, but is a fresh study of a barbarian face with a wicked squint, which caught the observant eye of the coroplast as they moved together among the crowds in the Athenian market-place.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: Nos. 4-6

The little figure of a girl holding a bird (probably a duck) in her left hand (No. 4, Pl. 18) has already been mentioned in connection with pieces of this class from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>17</sup> Despite the condition of the surface, it can be compared with the well known statue in Munich of the Girl with the Dove.<sup>18</sup> In the lower part it is treated with the boxpleat type of fold that appears on terracottas from the Pnyx of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>19</sup> That the type, which is a modernized version of the old votary carrying her offering, originated in that creative period seems clear from its absence from the rich variety of types at Olynthos. It soon develops into a wide repertory of scenes of children carrying fruit or birds, to the delight of their pet geese or dogs, which enjoyed great popularity, on stelai and in clay, from the latter part of the fourth well into the third century B.C.<sup>20</sup>

A scrap of which the hand escapes from the drapery (No. 5, Pl. 18) evidently comes from a seated figure of large scale. Presumably this is an example of the same monumental class as the following; it may actually belong to it, as the fabric is identical.

No. 6 (Pl. 18) derives from a sizable draped figure of a woman wrapped in her himation, standing so that her right leg is flexed. The delicate folds, not so formal as the folds on No. 2, belong to the new, naturalistic style of rendering drapery by

<sup>18</sup> Maud Gubiaud, "Les Caravaniers asiatiques et les riverains de l'océan indien vus par les coroplastes de la Smyrne romaine," *Artibus Asiae*, X, 1947, pp. 324 ff. and XI, 1948, pp. 123 ff. The head like ours is shown in XI, 1948, p. 129, No. 384, referring to fig. 10 on p. 331, of volume X, 1947. I owe this reference to Professor Harald Ingholt.

<sup>19</sup> Professor Wace makes the attractive suggestion that this might represent an Athenian policeman. For Gaulish mercenaries in Greece after 369 B.C. see *C.A.H.* VI, pp. 93, 130 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 136, note 78, where the context should read: Section Ψ, 37/KA, that is, our Hedgehog Well.

<sup>21</sup> Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 17, pl. 21.

<sup>22</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 138, fig. 54, No. 18 and fig. 55, No. 22.

<sup>23</sup> E. g. Early examples: Sieveking, *Samm. Loeb Terrakotten*, I, pl. 60; cf. an early stele from Chatby, Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. XX, No. 23.

the most varied and sensitive modulations of the surface. A piece, similar in type and in scale, but a little less ambitious, was found in the Pnyx deposit of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>31</sup> This is the beginning of the translation of the subtleties of bronze work into the cheaper medium of clay. By setting the Pnyx piece beside the obviously older rendering of the theme in a late figure from Olynthos,<sup>32</sup> as well as by looking ahead at a riper example from the Hellenistic group in the Agora that will be published among third century material,<sup>33</sup> we can place our fragment very near to 325 B.C.

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 7-9

A rubbed head (No. 7, Pl. 18) appears to belong to a traditional type of which good examples can be cited in large numbers.<sup>34</sup> The latest representatives were found in deposits close to ours in date, from the Pnyx and in Corinth.<sup>35</sup> It shows how long it took for the formal Kore of the fifth century to weaken its hold on the heart of the Athenian woman when she chose her dedications for the goddess.

No. 8 (Pl. 18) is also a votive piece, the head, presumably, of an articulated figure, but too large to fit our torso, No. 1. The peak of hair over the forehead, surmounted by a large erect knot of hair which is tied up stiffly behind it, is also traditional, a coiffure popular during the fourth century.<sup>36</sup> This particular form seems most at home on a "doll" which would also, as an entertainer, wear earrings. It probably dates no later than the mid fourth century.

Markedly unusual, on the other hand, is the coiffure of No. 9 (Pl. 18). The left side has unfortunately suffered too much for complete understanding, but it seems to show a broad fillet worn around the head and crossed at the back by a second rounded fillet, over which a wreath of fruit is set. The features of this head are those of a girl: round-faced with wide-open, sharp-lidded eyes and a smiling mouth. It is not possible to guess at the body of this curious piece; the head was turned sharply to the left.

#### MASK: No. 10

This little mask is perfectly preserved, retaining even a good deal of the white slip (No. 10, Pl. 19). The hang-holes indicate that it is a small votive, but it is

<sup>31</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 138, fig. 55, No. 24; cf. the smaller version, fig. 54, No. 20.

<sup>32</sup> *Olynthos*, VII, pl. 22, No. 181 — Kleiner, pl. 4, a and b.

<sup>33</sup> Group B in "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff., T 291.

<sup>34</sup> E. g. Breitenstein, *Cat. of Terracottas in the Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 29, Nos. 264-265; *Olynthos*, VII, pl. 19, No. 158.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 142, fig. 57, No. 42 (probably dated too early, as No. 41 seems to be the early fourth century type); *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, No. 259 (from a deposit of the late fourth century).

<sup>36</sup> For earlier versions, *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 33, No. 30; pl. 34, Nos. 31-34, all of the middle of the fourth century. Mrs. Stillwell suggests that Nos. 33-34 were for jointed "dolls." Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 9, No. 133 and Breitenstein, *Cat. Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 72, No. 591. Many other variants occur.

not a commonplace example. The coiffure is decidedly peculiar. A wreath of pointed leaves is crowned by two bunches of flowers over the forehead. Doubled across the base of these flowers are the ends of broad bands which apparently are drawn up from a turban-like swathing that covers the hair in a large mass. These ends hang from the temples in the way that a woollen fillet hangs from a wreath on a grotesque mask of about the same size that was found in the late fourth century filling of the Assembly Place of the Pnyx.<sup>27</sup>

The face of this mask is unusually well modelled. The shape of the face is a long oval, not unlike that of the Praxitelean canon. The eyes, which slant downward at the outer corners, are lightly modelled, with clear-cut, rounded lids. The classic nose maintains an even width and has rather narrow nostrils. The rather full lips are slightly parted; the upper is bowed. All these features find close analogies on a large terracotta head from Corinth<sup>28</sup> and to a lesser degree in certain head-vases from Olynthos.<sup>29</sup> Our mask should also be compared with a head (No. 9) from the Demeter Cistern, which shows the softening of the type. This "classic" type of face gradually softens even more and becomes smaller of feature, as is evident from a mask-like head from Corinth, presumably of the third century.<sup>30</sup> These examples indicate the trend of the facial canon throughout the fourth century.

#### ANIMAL: No. 11

The little figure of a hedgehog (No. 11, Pl. 19), which gave its name to this well group, is a vividly modelled little creature, decorated with curious knobs on top of his spines. The Greek name for a hedgehog was *ἐχῖνος*, or "prickly urchin." This species is the *erinaceus vulgaris* (or *europaeus*), the most common of the three varieties known in the Mediterranean region.<sup>31</sup> The prickly character of the hedgehog, though less dangerous than that of the more formidable porcupine, made him seem to the Greeks to be a creature of ill-omen suitable to show beside the scorpion as a warning of impending doom at the departure of Amphiaraios.<sup>32</sup> His cunning was early admired; Archilochos tartly praised his ability to roll into a ball and spike his enemies: *πολλὰ οἷδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἐν μέγα* (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.* frg. 103). That he is sharper than the fox is also pointed out in the Aesop's fable on the Fox and the Hedgehog, which relates how the hedgehog refused to remove the fox's fleas, lest he gather hungrier

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 149, fig. 62, No. 73.

<sup>28</sup> *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3.

<sup>29</sup> *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 122, No. 403; pl. 123, No. 404.

<sup>30</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, No. 290.

<sup>31</sup> The others are: *erinaceus auritus* (large-eared) and *erinaceus aethiopicus* (from the African desert), shown on Egyptian faïences. For full bibliography, see O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, pp. 17 ff. and *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, IV, s.v. *Igel*, cols. 668 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the Amphiaraios Krater, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 179.

successors.<sup>33</sup> The Aristotelean corpus adds to his accomplishments the ability to adjust the entrances of his burrow to the direction of the wind.<sup>34</sup> More clever even than this is the trick reported, so far as I know, first by Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXV, 155): *Praeparant hienii et irenacci cibos ac volutati supra iacentia poma adfixa spinis, unum amplius tenentes ore, portant in cavas arbores.* "The hedgehogs also prepare food for winter by rolling on windfall apples, which stick to their spines, and holding one more in their mouths, they carry them into hollow trees." A similar, but more detailed account of this undertaking is given by Plutarch (*Moralia*, 971F, ff.): "Even cleverer (than the trick of rolling up into a ball) is the hedgehog's providence for his cubs. In the late autumn, creeping under the vines and shaking with his feet the grapes from the clusters, to the ground, he rolls around on them and takes them up on his spines. To all of us who have seen him, he has often offered the appearance of a creeping or walking bunch of grapes. Thus filled up, he goes off, loaded with harvest. Then going down into his burrow, he turns it over to his cubs to take from him as stewards, for their use."

It is perfectly clear, then, that our little hedgehog has been loading himself with winter provender. What are the fruits affixed to his spines? The stem and the blossom end are alternately shown.<sup>35</sup> The lateral groove clearly indicates a definite fruit, which cannot be either the apple or the grape. The most likely fruit seems to be the fig, which is characterized by splitting into a marked lateral indentation.

Despite the mention in literature of this amusing habit of the hedgehog, no other representation, to my knowledge, exists from Greek times. Faience figures of hedgehogs are common in Egypt, particularly in the Saite period. These were imitated by Ionic and Corinthian potters, but they show only spines, no fruit.<sup>36</sup> Much later, among Graeco-Egyptian terracottas, appear figures of pig-like hedgehogs covered with irregular bumps, which probably represent spines, not fruit.<sup>37</sup>

This same pig-like species is presumably that shown in a series of Roman rattles. Our hedgehog also contains loose pellets of clay, which may have been introduced in antiquity. These Roman examples, however, all have rounded bodies, large ears, short snouts, and curly tails, like those of hogs; they are covered with irregular protruber-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. B. E. Perry, *Aesopica*, I, Urbana, 1952, p. 490, No. 427.

<sup>34</sup> Aristotle, *Anim.*, IX, 5.

<sup>35</sup> I owe this interpretation to Miss Christine Alexander.

<sup>36</sup> Miss Nora Scott of the Metropolitan Museum has kindly looked into the Egyptian evidence for me, but she has found none, either in art or literature, that implies the gathering of fruit on the spines. See in general for the early period O. Keller, *loc. cit.*; M. I. Maximova, *Les Vases plastiques dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1927, pp. 101 ff., pl. VII, No. 24; pl. XXXII, No. 121; pl. XXXIX, No. 147; pl. XL, No. 148; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 74, note 9; p. 176, fig. 79.

<sup>37</sup> P. Perdrizet, *Les Terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1921, p. 148, pl. CXX, Nos. 1,67(?) (Cat. Nos. 406-408). Perdrizet identifies the creatures as the long-eared species of hedgehog (*Erinaceus auritus*).



ances filled by bits of colored glass. A typical example is shown on our Plate 19.<sup>39</sup> This rare class of figure has been linked by Lullies, following Robert Zahn, to a class of early Roman pottery that imitates the precious *pocula gemmata* in its ornamentation with gems of glass paste, set *au cabuchon* in barbotine decoration. These small jewel-like cups all come from Italy.<sup>40</sup> The only figurines known to me from this class are those of porcine creatures, which have previously been identified as hogs.<sup>41</sup> But comparison with the Graeco-Egyptian figures mentioned above and with a photograph of the animal itself, implies that a hedgehog might be intended.<sup>42</sup> Not only is there no plausible explanation for the presence on hogs of litter and fruit, which are easily understood on hedgehogs,<sup>43</sup> but the modelling of the head, though formal on all these examples, still shows one characteristic not proper to pigs, namely a sort of cornice over the eyes, beneath which the creature can draw in his head like a turtle, to retreat within the armor of his spines. This appears clearly on a Graeco-Egyptian example<sup>44</sup> and lightly even on our Agora specimen. The fact that the Roman examples and ours were probably rattles also forms a link between them.

Whether or not the Roman examples represent thieving hedgehogs, the story survived into mediaeval times. The earliest example known to me is in a ninth century manuscript of the *Physiologus*, where all manner of fabulous animal stories, some doubtless of ancient origin, are collected and illustrated.<sup>45</sup> A clearer drawing, surpris-

<sup>39</sup> Metropolitan Museum Inv. 17.194.1893. For the photograph and the permission to reproduce it, I am indebted to Miss Alexander and the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum. L. 0.089 m. Published Froehner, *Coll. Julien Gréau*, p. 229, No. 1770; Warren E. Cox, *Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 72.

<sup>40</sup> R. Lullies, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 465 ff. with bibliography. I owe this reference to Miss Alexander.

<sup>41</sup> E. g. Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Roman Pottery*, pp. 9 ff., K 63 (L. 0.102 m.) of red ware; with raised leaves modelled on its back and insertions of blue glass; K 64 (L. 0.089 m.) similar, with knobs, like flattened fruit, filled with blue and green glass; *Arch. Anz.*, XLII, 1929, col. 23, No. 66, fig. 24 (L. 0.085 m.), with modelled fruit and wheat on its back, filled with bits of glass.

<sup>42</sup> J. R. Crossland and J. M. Parrish, *Wild Life in Our World*, 1934, p. 182. The *Handwörterbuch des Aberglaubens* also mentions, IV, col. 669, a hog-nosed type of hedgehog, but I have not been able to obtain a picture of this species.

<sup>43</sup> A. C. Brehm, *Säugethiere*, II, Leipzig and Vienna, 1890, p. 367 specifically mentions that hedgehogs roll in straw, hay, and moss, which they use for their beds. I owe this reference to Dr. William Heckscher.

<sup>44</sup> Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, pl. CXX, 1' (No. 406) and p. 149.

<sup>45</sup> H. Woodruff, "The *Physiologus* of Bern," *Art Bulletin*, XII, 1930, p. 249, fig. 36. I owe this reference and much help to Miss Rosalie Green of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University. Cf. M. D. Anderson, *Animal Carvings in British Churches*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 38 f., fig. 15 (a hedgehog, covered with apples, at New College, Oxford). Dr. William Heckscher has also enlightened me on the subject of the appearance and symbolism of the hedgehog in the Middle Ages, referring in general to G. C. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, New York, 1928, pp. 270 ff. The figure on p. 271 shows two hedgehogs climbing on vines and rolling on grapes and apples. This reference was given him by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

ingly similar in appearance to our representation, comes from a psalter of the fourteenth century in the British Museum<sup>44</sup> (Pl. 19).

Naturalists have long argued about the accuracy of these accounts.<sup>45</sup> Just recently a study of the subject has been made by Dr. Maurice Burton in the *Illustrated London News*,<sup>46</sup> in which the number of apparently trustworthy accounts by eyewitnesses of today make him (and the reader) question scepticism. The only matter really in doubt is the intention of the animal in rolling on the fruit. That problem, however, does not concern us. What we find interesting is that this document from the fourth century B.C. shows a consciousness of zoological fable just at the time when Greek scientists were gathering vast corpora of natural phenomena that were to form the groundwork of later science. Consideration of the exactitude with which the mediaeval illustrations follow the descriptions by Pliny and Plutarch makes us sceptical of their origin in individual observation. We should probably regard the mediaeval pictures rather as evidence of the respect given classical literature at the time when the written word was revered above any single observation. Doubtless the texts were illustrated without a thought of verification.

Nevertheless, the story became part of common folk-lore, for it is interesting to note that the workmen who found our figure instantly identified it as a hedgehog that had rolled on grapes. That grapes were the usual fodder in Greece we can tell from two charming poems in the Greek Anthology. These poems refer to hedgehogs which have been caught in the vineyard and dedicated to placate Dionysos, whose anger no Greek would wish to arouse (*Anth. Pal.*, VI, 45, and 169). We might render the first into English:

Bristling with sharpest of spikes and with arrogant pride,  
This fruit-stealing hedgehog was caught, rolling grapes on his spines.  
Now, as befits such a thief, he hangs crucified,  
Komaulos' gift to great Bacchos, the lord of the vines.

#### MISCELLANEOUS PIECES (Nos. 12-14)

The lower part of a column shaft with its Ionic base (No. 12, Pl. 19) should be compared with the example from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 69). The curve of the torus is similar, though the whole is less well modelled. It may have been intended for a leaning figure or it may have been merely votive.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, 1912, pl. 155.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Brehm, *Säugethiere*, II, p. 367, asserts that the tale has often been doubted, but had been observed by Lenz.

<sup>46</sup> August 16, 1952, p. 264 and November 15, 1952, p. 821 with a picture taken from a tenth century manuscript showing hedgehogs rolling on fruit and carrying it into their burrows.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, p. 572, Nos. 392 ff. I owe this reference to Mrs. Stillwell.

Two, possibly three, examples of plastic lekythoi found in this deposit are particularly interesting as coming from a dated Athenian context. This class of vase seems to have been a peculiarly Attic product which was first produced in the late fifth century and continued in great favor all through the fourth century. In this class of vase the Athenian coroplast began to show originality in the creation of sculptural types in clay. Preliminary studies of the subject indicate that the field offers rich possibilities for further investigations into the relationship between the work of potter, metal-worker, and coroplast at this creative period.<sup>40</sup>

The technique of these vases combines, in an ingenious manner, the qualities of both vase and figurine. The back, lip, and handle are usually treated like pottery, decorated in black glaze. The base, however, adjusts itself to the figurine, often taking on a double form or a spool base. The figure or scene is so modelled against the vase as to lend its body to receive the liquid. This figure or group of figures, often sufficiently elaborate as to make up a scene, is treated as a figurine, often with the addition of so much hand modelling as to seem entirely hand-made rather than mould-made. Added flying drapery, background, or ornaments, like rosettes or fruit, besides many details, like hair or objects held in the hand, tend to make the coroplast overexuberant. Likewise, touching the figure parts in color often leads him to excess. Certain of these lekythoi are positively baroque in fussy detail and in the richness of color and of gilding. The best, however, bear a close relationship to metal-work in the precision and finish of their modelling. These stand far above the ordinary figurines of the period and may have played a vital rôle during the middle of the fourth century by developing a taste for miniature sculpture in clay, thus forming a transition between the plastic vases that merely copy metal and those that ingeniously invent a new style, from which the delicate "Tanagras" inevitably develop. More evidence for this development will be offered later.

One piece from the Hedgehog Well (No. 13, Pl. 19) is almost perfectly preserved. It is shaped like a cave, rendered in scallops, decorated fittingly by a grapevine from which clusters hang. Within this cave of the nymphs stands the child Dionysos. The type is fairly common, showing Dionysos, as a child or youth, carrying grapes, cornucopia, or jug, with the phiale.<sup>41</sup> These boys, or Dionysiac youths, are evidently about to pour a libation.<sup>42</sup> Our child, who is probably the godling himself,

<sup>40</sup> P. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 338 ff. has sketched the subject and given full earlier bibliography.

<sup>41</sup> E. g. *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 350, fig. 7; *TK II*, p. 245, 4, 5 (= Walters, *Cat. of Vases in the Brit. Mus.*, IV, p. 237, G5) and p. 272, 2 (= *Cat. of Brit. Mus. Vases*, IV, p. 237, G3); p. 198, 3; p. 246 (winged versions, but similar). *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 162, fig. 72, No. 125 and fragments p. 164, fig. 75, Nos. 134-135.

<sup>42</sup> For the type of the god offering a libation, see the recent study, B. Eckstein-Wolf, "Zur Darstellung spendender Götter," *Mitt. d. deut. arch. Instituts*, V, 1952, pp. 39 ff., particularly the list of the Dionysos type on vases, where, however, our child-god is not mentioned.

carries an oinochoe and a large phiale with eight petals in relief. The phiale is very large and seems peculiar in that the omphalos is low and that the eight large petals which decorate the bowl are shown convex rather than, as we should expect, concave. The same features, however, appear on phialai of the late fourth and early third centuries in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Eastern form of low omphalos prevailed. It also appears in a form like ours on the frieze of the Arsinoeion of Samothrace of the early third century.<sup>33</sup> That these are phialai not just rosettes Lushey considers to be proved by their frequent use in alternation with boukrania.<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to see how our little figure echoes the contemporary fashion.

This vase shows an interesting transition in styles. The child's body is slim and rather tall, rendered as that of an ephebe, as on terracottas of the early fourth century.<sup>35</sup> It is not so well proportioned as the examples in the British Museum, G3 and G4, which have almost achieved a childish chubbiness. Our piece attains its child-like effect chiefly by increasing the size of the head, which is rendered as very round-faced. This seems almost the very moment when the coroplast has faced the problem of rendering children in a more accurate manner than was prevalent in the early fourth century, but he has not yet mastered the proportions. This change must come very shortly after the fall of Olynthos, where none of the children is realistically rendered, but where the squatting children already have plump bodies.<sup>36</sup> Our coroplast has also shown a charming feeling for scale, in making the child small within his great cave, a sophisticated device to win our tenderness for the little god, the *κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον*, who appears to us as in the Homeric Hymn,

ὁ δ' ἄλγεο πατρὸς ἔκρηι  
ἄνθρωπον ἐν εὐώδει μεταρίθμιος ἀθανάτοισιν.

Another scrap of a plastic lekythos (No. 14, Pl. 19) is tantalizing. We should very much like to know the type, which seems to be that of a figure seated on a rock. Only the right side and arm are preserved, with drapery flying out behind the arm in an arc, a favorite device in this class of lekythos.<sup>37</sup> This particular fragment gives us a date for the type. Indeed, the third quarter of the fourth century seems to have been a period of great popularity for this class of plastic vase, for the Pnyx deposit of that date contained many examples.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> H. Lushey, *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode am Harz, 1939, pp. 68 ff. Conze-Hauser-Benndorf, *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Vienna, 1875, I, pl. LXI.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge, 1945, p. 210, note 1, a list of the early occurrence in architecture of the motive, seen also on grave reliefs, Möbius, *Ornamente griech. Grabstelen*, pl. 39a. J. D. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 36 and fig. p. 37, a frieze of phialai and boukrania on a vase of the fourth century.

<sup>35</sup> Not quite so slim as the Erotes of Olynthos, VII, pl. 34, but rendered on the same lines.

<sup>36</sup> E. g. Olynthos, VII, pl. 56, Nos. 397-398.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. TK II, p. 199, 2, 4, 6; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 163, fig. 74, No. 126 (Dionysos).

<sup>38</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 131 ff., Nos. 119 ff., figs. 72 ff.

## MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY

A number of miniature vases were also in the filling: two small, well made, black-glazed oinochoai and two similar palmette lekythoi,<sup>15</sup> and also unglazed miniatures: the base of what appears to be a thymiaterion like C.D. 87 (pl. 42) and two kantharoi, shown on our Plate 18.<sup>16</sup> They have slightly more flaring lips than those from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 86), and are a trifle squatter in proportions.

## CONCLUSION

Although the figurines from this well are limited in quantity, they provide a pleasant variation from the routine types that were predominant in the Coroplast's Dump. Only a few of the pieces from the well duplicate those from the Dump: the "doll," a draped female figure, and the column. One traditional type of head (No. 7) is similar to those found on the Pnyx.

Otherwise, the types are original. The piece of drapery (No. 6) shows a beginning interest in folds and texture. Novel head types occur: the foreigner, presumably a northerner (No. 3), and the mask with its strange turban (No. 10). The plastic vase (No. 13), a fine example of its class, dates for us the beginning of the interest in naturalistic representation of the child, its actual proportions and its relation to its environment, as well as in the mystic appeal of its purity, all interests that developed intensely in Hellenistic times. Finally, the hedgehog, unique for its period, attests to the humor and invention of a coroplast who went for inspiration not to the well-worn moulds of his teachers, but rather to the nursery tales or country sights of his youth. All these novelties in a field that hitherto had clung close to the old traditions show that new spirit of curiosity and zest for innovation that stimulated every alert Greek during the days of Alexander.

The only deity of whom the figurines give any indication is Dionysos. The plastic vases, the hedgehog (probably a toy), the Silen (? No. 2) and the mask (No. 10) may all have been intended for the Dionysiac cult. It is tempting to suggest that they may have come from a sanctuary of Dionysos in the neighborhood. But in view of the paucity of evidence for either the relation of figurines to cults or for a sanctuary in that region, we had best make no attempt to explain these peculiar pieces. Their chief value to us is their association with other pieces of the period and the light that they throw on the subjects and styles that were predominant among coroplasts during the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>15</sup> P 12727 and 13557; P 12725 and 12815.

<sup>16</sup> 15. (P 12726) H. 0.021 m., D. 0.043 m.

16. (P 13550) H. 0.03 m., D. 0.05 m.

Both are intact except for one handle. Fairly neatly made of reddish buff clay.

## CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows the form that was adopted for the publication of the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>60</sup> The clay, unless otherwise stated, is the usual Attic pinkish buff. The fabric is like that of the previous publication. White sizing originally covered all the figurines and is not specifically mentioned in the catalogue. Surviving color is noted where it is preserved. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the letters H.W., to denote the Hedgehog Well.

*Jointed Figure*

- 1 (T 1730) Nude Female "Doll." Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.059 m. From depth 6.00 m. Brownish buff clay. Made in two moulds. Back carefully modelled.

Most of the torso preserved, from the neck to the thighs. Pierced at the shoulders for articulated arms.

*Male Figures*

- 2 (T 1824) Fragment from a Male Draped Figure. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.063 m. From the dump. Left edge finished off. Inside roughly finished by fingers.

Fragment of the torso to the waist of a bearded man, wrapped in a cloak which covers his bent right arm.

- 3 (T 1821) Male Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.047 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds. Back flat. Tip of *pilos* broken away. Traces of pink paint on the face.

The head of a man with a squinting right eye and drooping moustache, wearing a cloak and a high hat with rolled brim.

*Female Figures*

- 4 (T 1823) Standing Female. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.083 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds. Back rounded.

The torso, from the neck to the knees, of a standing girl wearing a high-girt chiton with long overfold and holding a bird against her breast with her left hand.

- 5 (T 1868) Fragment: Seated Female. Pl. 18.

Max. dim. 0.048 m. Left side of mould-joint preserved.

A left hand emerges from under an himation, resting on the left draped knee of a seated female figure.

- 6 (T 1867) Fragment: Draped Thigh. Pl. 18.

Max. dim. 0.077 m. Right joint of mould preserved.

The draped right thigh to just below the knee of a female figure.

- 7 (T 1822) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.047 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds, then stuffed with clay.

The head of a woman wearing stephane and earrings. Her hair falls in long locks on her shoulders.

- 8 (T 1820) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.042 m. From the dump. Forehead chipped. Back of head unworked; solid. Traces of red paint on the hair knot.

The head of a woman wearing large earrings. Her hair is drawn up in a peak over the forehead behind which it is tied up in an erect knot of loose hair.

- 9 (T 1866) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.042 m. Front mould-made; back carelessly filled out by hand. Solid. Gashed on the left side of the face. Features badly rubbed.

The head of a girl wearing short hair and a wide fillet over her forehead, over which is bound a second fillet with knobs (fruits?).

*Mask*

- 10 (T 1819) Female Mask. Pl. 19.

H. 0.05 m. From the dump. Hollow. Face mould-made; top finished by hand. Two sus-

<sup>60</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 158 ff.

Pension holes in the top of the head. Chip off back. Traces of red paint on the mouth.

Mask of a female head, wearing its hair bound with broad fillets as in a turban, on top of which rests a wreath of flowers and triangular leaves with flowers over the forehead.

#### Animal

##### 11 (T 1731) Hedgehog. Pl. 19.

H. 0.042 m., L. 0.077 m., W. 0.045 m. From depth 6.00 m. Traces of thick white paste discolored to dull black on back and of yellow on some of the knobs. Feet and one of the knobs missing. Tail, which curled against the body, broken off. Vent hole beneath. Loose clay inside.

The figure of a hedgehog, his eyes and nostrils indicated. His spines indicated by low irregular ribbing. Over his body, also, in three rows were originally ten hemispherical knobs, representing fruit, alternately cut with a deep groove and pierced with a round hole. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 242, fig. 42; *Illustrated London News*, July 9, 1938, p. 59.

#### Miscellaneous

##### 12 (T 1869) Fragment of Column. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.052 m., Diam. of shaft 0.015 m. Solid.

Upper part broken away. Bottom finished off smooth.

Shaft and base of Ionic type column with large upper and smaller lower torus.

#### Plastic Vases

##### 13 (P 12822) Plastic Lekythos: Dionysos in a Cave. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.095 m., W. 0.062 m. From depth 6.00 m. Made in two moulds. Back rounded. Neck of vase broken away; bottom open; base detached. One bunch of mould-made grapes missing from right side. Back covered with dull black glaze much rubbed off.

The child Dionysos, wearing a high soft cap, a chlamys hanging down his back, and boots (?), and carrying a jug in his right hand and a phiale in his left, stands in a cave, around the face of which hang clusters of grapes. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 242 f., fig. 43.

##### 14 (P 13573) Fragment of Plastic Lekythos. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.072 m., P. W. 0.038 m., T. 0.045 m. Front and back both seem hand-made. Black glaze on the back.

A fragment from the right side of the vase, preserving the extended right arm of a figure seated on rock, with drapery behind it.

### C. THE DEMETER CISTERN

The second group to be considered in this article, from what we shall call the Demeter Cistern, contains only a few figurines, but these claim our attention by their peculiar character. Along with these, for their better elucidation, we shall include also several similar pieces that help to build up our understanding of the group in question.

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

In February and March, 1932, a small cistern was cleared at the northwest foot of the Areopagus, some 200 meters to the west of the Coroplasts's Dump, not very far from the Hedgehog Well.<sup>1</sup> It had evidently belonged to one of the small houses in that thickly populated residential district. That sculptors lived near by is attested

<sup>1</sup> Designated during excavation as Section XT, Cistern at 9/B; on the new city grid plan as F 16 I. It was excavated by the writer.

by the presence in the filling of two unfinished works roughly blocked out of re-used marble.<sup>3</sup>

The chamber, lined with the usual waterproof cement, was roughly rectangular at the bottom, measuring north side 1.25 m., east side 1.80 m., south side 2.06 m., west side 1.70 m., and reaching a maximum depth of 3.80 m. Except for a small intrusion of the third and fourth centuries after Christ, which filled the mouth, the contents of the cistern were homogeneous, consisting of household rubbish and 22 coins, of which only one was legible, dating *ca.* 294 B.C.<sup>4</sup>

#### CHRONOLOGY

The coin seems to set the lower limit on the material found within this cistern. The lamp fragments all belong to fourth century classes.<sup>5</sup> The pottery includes wares that are characteristic of the period just after the middle of the fourth century B.C. but probably not reaching down to the end of the century. As is so often the case, it antedated the coin found with it.<sup>6</sup> A selection of characteristic examples of the latest types of vases is shown on Plate 20.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> S 195, Mother of the Gods. See below, p. 105 and S 201 Relief Head.

<sup>4</sup> I owe the dating of this coin to Margaret Thompson.

<sup>5</sup> L 417 (Howland Type 25B), which is very close to L 4529 from the Coroplast's Dump; L 429 (Howland Type 25A); L 635 (Howland Type 26A). These references are to the types of lamps set up by Richard Howland, which are to appear soon in his volume on the Agora lamps.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 121, note 21.

<sup>7</sup> I owe this selection and the analysis of the pottery to the kindness of Lucy Talcott and of Peter E. Corbett, who is at present engaged in studying the fourth century pottery from the Agora. They supplied the following descriptions of our Plate 20, left to right.

1. Bowl, everted rim. Pl. 20, a.  
Inv. P 262. H. 0.035 m., D. at lip 0.088 m.  
Small piece missing from rim. Ring foot with groove in resting surface. Rouletted circle on floor. Glazed all over, mottled red to black and in part peeled.
2. Kantharos, moulded rim. Pl. 20, b.  
Inv. P 2552. H. 0.11 m., D. at lip 0.095 m.  
Part of rim and wall and of one handle restored. Scraped line at the junction of the two mouldings on the lower part of the foot, and the groove in the resting surface scraped. Black to red-brown glaze, in part peeled.  
By analogy with kantharoi with plain rims, this piece belongs to the last quarter of the fourth century, but probably before the very end.
3. Skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 20, c.  
Inv. P 318. H. 0.102 m., D. at lip 0.096 m.  
One handle restored. The resting surface reserved, and the space inside the ring foot, with two glaze circles at the centre. An X roughly scratched across this space. Glaze fired mostly red, with a pronounced stacking line; considerably peeled on inside and on upper part of outside.  
About the same stage of development as Inv. P 12480, from the Coroplast's Dump. Advanced third quarter of fourth century, or just possibly last quarter. Compare Inv. P 1829, perhaps a shade more developed, from Hellenistic Group A (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 319-320, fig. 5, A 26); probably not one of the very latest elements in the group.



## TECHNIQUE

In general, the technique of the figurines from this deposit is like that of the two preceding groups. Fewer votives and more unusual types, however, occur, suggesting that the coroplasts are beginning to shake off rigid traditions and are creating new types. Only one, much abraded, unidentified piece of a mould was found, of which the back is fairly smooth, with a tab. In addition, one other uncatalogued piece should be mentioned here: a ball of clay, entirely unworked, but crowned with a thick, stippled wreath (like C. D. 70). The outer layer, on which the face of this head was worked, has evidently been broken away.

For the chronology of style, this group offers no significant data. The depth at which the pieces were found seems to have no bearing on their relative dating. The variation in the condition of the fragments, on the other hand, does seem related to their original date of manufacture. The most worn, Nos. 1, 12, 4, 5 a and b, 7, 11, are just those for which we would argue an early date from both type and style. But the well-preserved figure of the boy (No. 10), the grotesque (No. 2) and the charming head (No. 6) are well advanced stylistically. Three other pieces (Nos. 3, 8, 9), which still have fairly fresh surfaces and retain traces of the white slip, are less easily classified, but they do not offer any contradictions. The more advanced pieces certainly do not seem out of key with the best from the Hedgehog Well. We have moved almost imperceptibly from the conservative mood of Olynthos to the more vigorous and imaginative spirit of the end of the fourth century. Although there are no exact duplicates with the preceding groups, the general effect is homogeneous. We can only express our amazement at the variety presented by these small cross-sections of the coroplast's line during this period.

The subjects in this group of figurines indicate that the source was connected with a sanctuary of which the nature will be discussed in the conclusion.

## TYPES AND SUBJECTS

## JOINTED FIGURES AND RELATED PIECES: Nos. 1-3

Three fragments belong to the class of "dolls" that were also numerous in the preceding groups. No. 1 is unlike No. 1 of the Hedgehog Well, in that it shows almost no curve from the shoulder to the waist and no modelling of the ribs or stomach. It is more like the older types<sup>1</sup> and probably was long-discarded before it found its way into the cistern.

4. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 20, d.

Inv. P 2550. H. 0.078 m., D. at rim 0.10 m.

Part of rim and wall restored; the handles missing. Scraped line at junction of two mouldings on foot; shallow groove in reserved resting surface. Mottled red glaze.

The shape of the base indicates a date in the late third quarter of the fourth century, or early in the last quarter.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. M. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 461, fig. 8; *Corinth*, XII, pl. 9, No. 130.

No. 2 (Pl. 21) is also a "doll," but of an unusual sort. It had articulated arms; the legs, on the other hand, are pressed tight together in standing position. It represents a grotesquely obese woman, whose head, to judge from the break at the neck, may have drooped forward on her chest, as in a similar example in the Louvre.\*

That these obese figures, like most other "dolls," represent hetairai seems highly probable.<sup>9</sup> Tattooing, the mark of the foreign slaves, is shown on the shoulders and chest of a well-preserved example in the British Museum<sup>10</sup> (Pl. 21). This figure also wears a necklace with pendants and huge earrings; a gay fillet ties her hair into the *lampadion* coiffure, which was popular during the earlier fourth century. These ornaments are supplemented by a smile and by the epideictic gesture with which she unbinds her breasts. Her action is explained by comparison with a fully preserved example from Thisbe, which shows an obese woman unbinding her breasts in the manner of Aphrodite and brides.<sup>11</sup> The band, variously called the *στροφίον*, *κεστός*, *ταυρία*, *ιμάς*, *ἀνδραγωγός*,<sup>12</sup> is usually described by scholars as shown being bound around the breasts, but the provocative way in which Myrrhina in the *Lysistrata*, 931, removes her *strophion* confirms the implications of the gesture of the British Museum example. The terracottas must caricature some more serious composition, presumably in bronze.<sup>13</sup> Other figures of obese women caricature other well known types of, for example, Aphrodite and Eros. Miss Haspels has pointed out this predilection for caricature in her publication of an amusing figure in Athens.<sup>14</sup> Two ribald caricatures of Eros may also be cited. One, from the Agora (T 1403; Pl. 21),<sup>15</sup> represents an

\* J. Schneider-Lengyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Munich, 1936, fig. 83 (H. 0.13 m.).

<sup>9</sup> I have discussed this subject fully in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 114 ff. Our piece from the Demeter Cistern is mentioned in note 131, where it is dated too early. For a graphic picture of an hetaira like ours returning from a party, see *J.H.S.*, LXVII, 1947, p. 14, fig. 2; note that she also wears pointed slippers with heels; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Terracottas*, C 243. "From Tanagra." (H. 0.19 m.). Gray clay with slip burned to a frit-like condition. The arms from the elbows down are restored, probably correctly. *TK II*, p. 456, 7. I am indebted to Mr. R. A. Higgins and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to examine this and other figurines and for the photograph, reproduced on Plate 21.

<sup>11</sup> *TK II*, p. 456, 6 — *Ἐφ. Ἀπρ.* 1895, p. 188. Cf. *Ibid.* pp. 187 f.; *TK II*, p. 215, 7 and 8; also Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, p. 246, pl. XXXIV, 2, a prostitute exhibiting herself.

<sup>12</sup> Pollux, *Onom.*, VII, 65 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pottier and Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, pp. 296 ff. show that this motive is confined, with sure feeling, to the minor arts.

<sup>14</sup> "Terracotta Figurine," *Bulletin van de Vereniging . . . antieke Beschaving*, Leiden, 1951, pp. 54 ff., a figurine of a fat woman in the pose of Aphrodite Anadyomene. Cf. a kneeling obese figure from South Italy in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which seems to caricature the Doidalsas type of crouching Aphrodite.

<sup>15</sup> From Section AA, in a modern filling. P. H. 0.065 m. The technique and style point to a well advanced Hellenistic date. For similar Erotes, cf. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. I; other Agora specimens will be published later.

enormously fat naked woman who wears only a scarf of drapery twisted around her hips and looped up at both sides exactly as it is worn by Eroses and Hermaphrodites of the Hellenistic period. The presence on a fat woman of this obviously male costume must have struck the Greeks as ridiculous. The same type of joke is shown in a figurine of a drunken obese woman in Boston, who wears her hair in a central plait, the usual coiffure of little girls and boys and of the child Eros (Mus. of Fine Arts Inv. 01.7895). It is a question whether these figures actually caricature well known works of art or whether they represent old hetairai, who entertained the guests by dancing burlesques on the solemn poses of famous statues and paintings.

Such later ribaldries are elaborations on the theme of obese figures; actually, our example from the Demeter Cistern must be among the earliest. Its rigid pose and unmodelled back place it among the technically earlier group, such as the actors, Nos. 43 and 44, of the Coroplast's Dump. Nor is the fabric much different from that of the same deposit. Neither is there a suggestion of flexibility or of sculptural manner in its style. We might easily regard this figure as the ribald invention of some imaginative coroplast. Actually, however, the creator of this appalling comment on Athenian womanhood was modelling from life and following, with amazing fidelity, the horrible truth. His work can now be diagnosed as a clinical specimen. We have only to compare the proportions, the contours, the folds of flesh of our fourth century figure with those on the photograph of a medical survey to concede, with astonishment, the mastery of the Greek coroplast (Pl. 21).<sup>14</sup> It is significant that this accurate observation of anatomical detail on the part of the coroplast is to be dated at the same time as the taking of plaster casts of the face in order to get life-like detail in portraiture<sup>15</sup> and as the Hippocratic corpus was being embellished with treatises full of observations.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> I owe the photograph to the kindness of Dr. J. L. Angel of the Daniel Baugh Institute of Anatomy of the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. Dr. Angel found these Greek obese examples most interesting in connection with his studies of modern obesity. He considers these figures not pregnant, but merely obese. Dr. Chauncey D. Leake of the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston also examined the photographs for me and added the following note: "None, in my opinion, indicate pregnancy. The Agora item (D.C. 2) suggests Fröhlich-Cushing syndrome, which is a pituitary disorder and which also seems to be suggested in the case of Dr. Angel's photograph (on Pl. 21). The pendulous breasts in this item, as well as in T 1403, suggest pathology. T 1403 indicates a smooth and large abdomen, suggesting ascites. It seems too much for pregnancy and too smooth and unfolded for simple obesity. Ascites usually results from cardiac or renal disease." He considers that the British Museum example, C 243, does represent simple obesity. For previous studies of obesity in antiquity, see A. Laumonier, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 315, pl. XIV, 3 with references.

<sup>15</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 153. Note also the realistic portrait study from the Hedgehog Well (No. 3).

<sup>16</sup> C. Singer, *The Legacy of Greece*, Oxford, 1942, p. 217 remarks that the treatise on anatomy was written "perhaps ca. 330 a.c." Edelstein, *R.E.*, s.v. Hippokrates, Suppl. to vol. VI, 1934-5, col. 1316, merely lists this treatise among the non-Hippocratic pieces.

A leg from a sizable "doll," No. 3 (Pl. 20) can profitably be compared with C.D. 7a and 7b. The foot from the Demeter Cistern, however, definitely droops in hanging position and the sole is unevenly finished. In size it is smaller; in style it shows more realistic modelling than those of the Coroplast's Dump. It is therefore to be dated slightly later. A fragmentary articulated leg of the straight type, exactly like C.D. 1 was found, but not catalogued.

#### DRAPED FEMALE FIGURES: Nos. 4-5

A small draped fragment (No. 4, Pl. 20) finds parallels in the draped female figures of the Coroplast's Dump, Nos. 19-20, and in the more advanced piece of the Girl with the Bird, No. 4, of the Hedgehog Well, which is not unlike it in the lower part. The dragging of the foot behind the body is a somewhat more advanced pose than that of the mid fourth century examples. It may well have belonged to one of our following heads.

No. 5, a and b, probably both come from one figure representing a seated goddess, presumably the Mother of the Gods, holding phiale and tympanon. Similar pieces have been found at Corinth and at Olynthos.<sup>19</sup> These hold lions in the lap, but no trace remains of a lion on these Agora fragments.<sup>20</sup> On both these pieces, the phiale shows a small omphalos surrounded by thin rays, presumably representing the *φάλη* *δακτυλωτός* which is mentioned in Attic and Delian inscriptions of the mid fourth century.<sup>21</sup>

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 6-7

No. 6 (Pl. 20), an extremely battered piece, gives an interesting cross-reference between the Demeter Cistern and the Coroplast's Dump. It shows the round face, fat cheeks, and snub nose of the girl type which is common in the Coroplast's Dump (e.g. Nos. 31-32). But whereas those seem to have been among the later pieces within their own context, this fragment looks to be among the earlier in this deposit. This overlap gives us a check on the relative dating of the two groups.

The most attractive piece from the Demeter Cistern is the sizable head of a young woman (No. 7, Pl. 20),<sup>22</sup> who wears her hair drawn up high above her forehead and parted down the center. At the back of the head are traces of an object, which had been supported by a crown of double plaits, of which a little remains. It may have been a votive object like those shown on Pl. 22. The scale of this head is large, imply-

<sup>19</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 35, No. 388 (described as of non-Corinthian dark red clay). *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 36, Nos. 355-356; XIV, pl. 59, No. 181. Cf. also larger fragment of a type identical to ours from a deposit of the second half of the fourth century (T 3105, P. H. 0.05 m.).

<sup>20</sup> But see below, p. 102, and Pl. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Lushey, *Phiale*, p. 26, fig. 32.

<sup>22</sup> The photograph of the front view is by Hermann Wagner.

ing a figure of ca. 0.28 m. in height. The carefully modelled features and richly retouched hair are unusually handsome for this period.

In style, the head is more monumental than the "Tanagras." The features bear comparison with those of major sculpture. The forehead is triangular. The eyes are wide-open, sloping downward to the outer corners; the upper lip is slightly bowed. The face may be compared with those on late fourth century reliefs.<sup>23</sup> The peaked, yet parted hair seems to derive from the simple peaked coiffure of the early and middle fourth century,<sup>24</sup> but the part is evidently more advanced and ultimately develops into the characteristic coiffure of the "Tanagras," in which the hair springs up, high but loose, on either side of the part.<sup>25</sup> It must be contemporary with the earliest melon coiffure in which the plaits are wound forward on the head.<sup>26</sup> The general head and face type finds a close parallel on a very large head that was found in an Agora deposit of ca. 300 B.C.<sup>27</sup> A large head from Corinth of about this same period, if a little earlier, shows the same eyes that slant downward at the outer corners, the same straight nose with wide nostrils, the same rather short mouth with equally thick lips and small rounded chin as those of our head from the Demeter Cistern.<sup>28</sup> Our head must be but slightly later than the mask No. 10 from the Hedgehog Well. The general head shape, with its extremely shallow crown, emphasizing the vertical, is also found on several heads of the latest period at Olynthos.<sup>29</sup> These are all evidently earlier than a bronze mirror relief dated ca. 300 B.C. by Züchner, in which all these characteristics have been softened.<sup>30</sup> These various parallels serve to fix the date of our head fairly closely to the earlier part of the last quarter of the fourth century. It is a representative of the large, rather monumental style of figurines that existed apart from the delicate "Tanagras" and seemingly belonged to another tradition.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>23</sup> E. g. *Encycl. phot. de l'art*, Louvre, III, p. 211.

<sup>24</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 101, on No. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, pl. V, No. 9, p. 438, No. 99 (from Elateia) and, later, Köster, pl. 45.

<sup>26</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 138.

<sup>27</sup> T 1213, Section F, Well i, late fourth century.

<sup>28</sup> *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3 (H. 0.243 m.).

<sup>29</sup> E. g. *Olynthos*, XIV, pl. 43, No. 126 A; pl. 45, No. 127 A.

<sup>30</sup> *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft XIV, 1942, p. 75, fig. 38, KS 108. Note how the eyes of this figure are narrowing toward a squint.

<sup>31</sup> This style has been noted by Kleiner, p. 133, where he cites as an example from the Agora the sizable figure of a seated woman with a mirror in her lap, provisionally published in *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8, (T 139), from an early third century context. It is with this class that Bernhard Neutsch, *Studien zur Vortanagräisch-attischen Koroplastik*, XVII Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft, Berlin, 1952, makes his attack on the vital problem of the rôle played by Athens in the creation of the "Tanagra style" and Hellenistic coroplastics in general. The number of such pieces from Athens still remains small. I hope at some time to summarize the evidence from the Agora excavations on this important subject. See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158; Kleiner, *Gnomon*, 1953, pp. 535 f.

## FEMALE RITUAL FIGURES: Nos. 8-9

The most interesting pieces from the Demeter Cistern are those that are connected with ritual activities. Since they can better be understood in connection with other examples of a similar kind, the class will be studied as a whole, but the extraneous pieces will be referred to only by their inventory numbers.

To begin with the two examples from the Demeter Cistern itself, the first is a small head (No. 8, Pl. 20).<sup>21</sup> It represents a woman wearing her himation drawn over her head and across her mouth, leaving only the nose and eyes visible. Such veiling is suitable for the bearer of sacred objects, although it was not apparently essentially a ritual costume.<sup>22</sup> On top of her head, this lady carries a strange object, like a large disk wrapped in a napkin from which a tall central protrusion has been broken away. I know of no exact parallel. A figure in the British Museum, from Kyrene, bears on her head a disk of relatively the same size and thickness, but the top is smooth, with only a slight boss in the center.<sup>23</sup> Another head from the Agora (T 1623, Pl. 22) carries a somewhat similar thick disk upon its plaits.<sup>24</sup> It was found very near the Eleusinion in a late Hellenistic deposit. Though this object is smaller, it is clearly related to that on our head from the Demeter Cistern and may indicate that the cult for which this object was carried was Eleusinian.

With our present knowledge, it seems impossible to identify the object on the head of our small piece. It might possibly be a ritual cake wrapped in a cloth, a cake of the type referred to on inscriptions as *πόπανον ὀρθόφυλλον* or in literature as *ὀρθοστάται*.<sup>25</sup> These cakes were commonly offered in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Our second head (No. 9, Pl. 22) carries on her head a tall object, for which there are many parallels. Miss Richter has convincingly identified it as a sacred basket, probably a *κανοῦν*, made of metal to hold ritual objects, very possibly the image of the

<sup>21</sup> The photograph of the front view of this head on Pl. 20 is by Hermann Wagner.

<sup>22</sup> For veiling, A. Heydemann, "Verhüllte Tänzerin," *IV Hallsches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1879, pp. 14 f.; G. Galt, "Veiled Ladies," *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 393.

<sup>23</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, C 812 = TK II, p. 77, 3 (H. 0.153 m.); see Plate 22. Walters calls this object a hat, but it is far thicker and wider than any hat known to me. The veil hanging over the back, as it hangs on ritual objects, is also unknown to me as an adjunct of a hat. It is interesting to compare the piece with our No. 4, which shows similar stance and the long overfold and which also may well come from a ritual figure. I owe this photograph to the kindness of Mr. R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>24</sup> From Section AA near the Circular Building. Ruddy brown clay. P. H. 0.048 m. A female head wearing her hair in melon coiffure with two plaits wound round the head to support a thick circular disk from which a stout central projection has been broken away. One other head from the Agora wears the hair in the same manner and has the back of the head broken away in such a way as to suggest that it too carried a votive object: T 2127, from a context of the third century A.C., unpublished.

<sup>25</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1367, lines 10, 13 etc., on Eleusinian ritual. Euripides, *Helena*, 547, *τίμβου 'νι κρητὶς ἑμάρπου ε' ὀρθοστάται*; *ὀρθοστάται* defined by Pollux as "*ἱερὰ ἄρτυρα εἶναι*."

deity.<sup>48</sup> It is also frequently shown in connection with weddings and with the worship of Aphrodite. It is also carried by Pan and by Nike.<sup>49</sup> It must therefore be considered a ritual vessel for general use, but chiefly employed at women's festivals.

A real *kanoun* must have been made of metal, very probably gilded. A few may have been made in gold. It had three high handles, separated by cross-bracings. On the vases it is usually shown empty or with a fruit or two on the bottom. On certain terracottas, including the Agora example, a figure in relief appears beneath the arch of the front handle. Other *kana* of this type come from eastern Greece. Two of these<sup>50</sup> show dancers, wrapped in flying draperies; another in Copenhagen may be of the same type, while a series from Lindos presents a standing figure, which Blinkenberg considers to be Athena Lindaia.<sup>51</sup> Ours is of still another type, the goddess with upraised arms, standing on a base. The base would certainly suggest a cult statue. The type with upraised arms is that of the earliest representations of deities and their votaries. It is perhaps not without significance that the most important Athenian representation of this type was found not far from the Demeter Cistern itself, a plaque of the seventh century B.C.<sup>52</sup> Not only is the gesture of the little figure on the *kanoun* similar to that of the figure on the early plaque, but even the outline, with its bell-shaped skirt, is strikingly alike. Possibly both these figures go back to the inspira-

<sup>48</sup> Furtwängler, *F.R.* on pl. 78.2, p. 100, called the object a brazier for burning incense, but his identification has not met acceptance. L. Deubner, "Hochzeit und Opferkorb," *Jahr.*, XL, 1925, pp. 215 ff. identified this object as a *kanoun* *epibolon*. G. M. A. Richter, *A.J.A.*, XI, 1907, pp. 422 ff. and XXX, 1926, pp. 422 ff. summarizes the earlier literature. In *Red Figured Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, 1936, p. 216 she concludes that these baskets contained sacred objects that were carried through the streets in processions. To Miss Richter's list of examples, I might add the following:

Athens, Nyx Excavations, No. 100, fragment of a pyxis lid showing a woman seated with a *kanoun* on her knees; a second woman advances, holding out a string of beads or branch with which to decorate it. It is to be published shortly in *Hesperia*, Supplement X, by Barbara Philippaki to whom I owe this information.

Athens, Vlastos Collection, Semni Karouzou, "Eine Choenkanne der Sammlung Vlastos," *Festschrift Rumpf*, 1952, pp. 119 ff., pl. XXIX. This is the unpublished example mentioned by Miss Richter, *Ath. R. F. Vases*, p. 215, note 5. I owe this reference to Mrs. Karouzou.

See recently, H. Metzger, *Les Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1951, pp. 350 ff.

Another example will appear shortly in a new *C.V.A.* volume of the National Museum, Athens, kindly shown me by Mrs. Karouzou.

<sup>49</sup> Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 212 lists the *kanon* *epibolon* mentioned on the inscriptions dealing with the temple treasures. Pan: *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 206 ff. Nike: *C.V.A.*, Palermo, Mus. Nat., I, III-1-c, pl. 28, No. 1.

<sup>50</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, A 388, pl. XIV; Heuzey, *Fig. ant. de terre cuite du Louvre*, pl. 16 bis, 3—TK I, 158, 3b.

<sup>51</sup> Breitenstein, *Cat. Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 7, No. 59. Lindos, I, *Petits objets*, pp. 706 ff., Nos. 3014-3016, pl. 140. C. Blinkenberg, "L'Image d'Athana Lindaia," *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filolog. Meddelelser*, I, 2, Copenhagen, 1917, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 604 ff., No. 277.

tion of an ancient image of the sort that Pausanias often mentions. If so, the proximity of their places of finding implies that the sanctuary that housed them originally was one and the same. We must leave this interesting speculation for our later discussion of the whole subject.<sup>41</sup>

That this little figure in relief is connected with the cult for which the *kana* were carried seems self-evident, but it is not so clear just how the relief on our terracottas is intended to be interpreted. Blinkenberg considered that it was a reproduction of a repoussé relief inserted in the gap under the handle of the metal vessel.<sup>42</sup> Excellent analogies are offered by the plaques that fill out the spaces between the legs of tripods.<sup>43</sup> Miss Richter, on the other hand, interpreted the figures not as reliefs under the handles, but as representations of the actual images of the deities intended to be thought of as carried inside and seen through the open metal work.<sup>44</sup> The shape of the *kanoun* is indeed highly suitable for carrying in a procession images which are to be seen by the crowd and yet protected from their fingers. We know that images were so carried and we know of no representation of this period of a more suitable vessel for their accommodation. No other use can be hypothecated for it, as it is usually shown empty, decorated with branches, on the vase-paintings. On two unpublished lekythoi in the Hermitage, Miss Richter noted the *kanoun* resting on the ground and beside it, a small statuette, which seemed intended to go in it, to be carried by a girl, who was preparing for the procession. It is unfortunate that at the moment we cannot cite more definite evidence, but what we have tends to support Miss Richter's theory that these *kana* were used to carry the images of deities in processions on their days of festival.

Related to these two heads from our Demeter Cistern (Nos. 8-9), several other pieces from the Agora should properly be discussed here. They should help to cast light on the confusing problems of the identification of the cults with which the whole group is to be connected. It must be borne in mind that these pieces come from different contexts and must not be included in the chronological aspect of the subject.

The first is a female head carrying a *λίκνον* or winnowing basket (T 431, Pl. 22).<sup>45</sup> It is to be dated somewhere around the end of the third century B.C. Two wreaths or stalks are curled in the bottom of the *liknon*; possibly they are intended to represent wheat. In the center rests a sizable bun with three divisions; it is probably a *πλακούς τριάβλωμος*.<sup>46</sup> The conical object beside it might be a *πυραμίσ*, often shown on

<sup>41</sup> See below, p. 105.

<sup>42</sup> "L'Image d'Athana Lindaia," p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> E. g. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. L.

<sup>44</sup> *Ath. R. F. Vases*, p. 216.

<sup>45</sup> From Section Θ, filling of the Middle Stoa, i. e., before ca. 150 B.C. P. H. 0.06 m. Traces of flesh color and of red and green on the fruits.

<sup>46</sup> For *πλακούς* cf. Suidas, s. v. *ἀνίστατοι*. The modifier *τριάβλωμος* is inferred on the analogy of *δωτάβλωμος*. Cf. Darenberg and Saglio, s. v. *Pistor*, fig. 5698, p. 496.



representations of cakes on offering trays.<sup>47</sup> These cakes were also probably those called *ναστιά*,<sup>48</sup> which were cone-shaped, made of raisins and almond paste. At the back of our *liknon*, lay two flat cakes, presumably *πλακοῦντες*, with their upper edges broken away.

The use of a *liknon* as an offering tray is well known in the cults of Demeter and Dionysos.<sup>49</sup> The winnowing-fan was inevitably associated from earliest times with agricultural ritual.<sup>50</sup> Later its symbolic use as a vessel of purging was employed in other cults and in marriage-ceremonies. It is recorded that the *liknon* used in the service of Demeter carried a *πλακοῦς* and salt.<sup>51</sup> Our girl is obviously performing the function of carrying the *liknon* for the cult of a goddess.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, since the deposit in which our head was found was brought in with a general filling, it gives no direct clue as to what cult is involved. The natural inference is that the cult was that of Demeter or of the closely associated Mother of the Gods or Oriental goddess.

One other *liknon* was found in the Agora, which seems to bear out that attribution. It comes from a cistern on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios, just south of the railway cut. This is the figure of a goddess (T 1547, Pl. 22) wearing a polos, seated on a high-backed throne, holding a phiale in her right hand and a *liknon* on her lap.<sup>53</sup> The *liknon* contained objects, only one of which, a small round cake, survives. This particular type of seated goddess is clearly a creation of the fifth century.<sup>54</sup> But the hair and the soft modelling of the drapery of our piece betray a later date. The Olynthian parallels tend to place its manufacture in the fourth century B.C. Even at that, its discovery in a context probably of the late third to early second century is interesting, for it seems to have survived an unusually long time before it was discarded.

The *liknon* was evidently added to this old type as an after-thought. That is, the type was established and frequently used in the shop before the coroplast thought to put on the *liknon*. He did not trouble to make a new model and new moulds, but

<sup>47</sup> G. R. Davidson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 109, No. 3.

<sup>48</sup> For *nastia*, see Pollux, VI, 75, but Athenaeus, III, 111, defines them otherwise.

<sup>49</sup> For its resemblance to an offering tray, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 156, No. 106, which contains the same offerings. Cf. *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 311, fig. 30 (from the sanctuary of the Mother at Troizen).

<sup>50</sup> H. G. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, Munich, 1905, pp. 29 ff. gives a summary of the subject, still useful, though much developed by Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 1908, pp. 517 ff. Cf. M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund, 1950, pp. 568 ff. where the Phrygian origin of the child Bacchos in the *liknon* is associated with the early Earth-Mother, Hipta.

<sup>51</sup> V. Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, Paris, 1938, p. 126.

<sup>52</sup> Hesychius defines the role: *σ. ν. λιανοστέφαι: λίανον στεφανούμενον θρησκείαι.*

<sup>53</sup> From Section ΔΑ, a cistern at 99/K. H. 0.19 m., W. at shoulders 0.063 m. Much weathered. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 352 f., fig. 38.

<sup>54</sup> Examples of the prototype: *TK* I, p. 74, particularly 6 and 7. Cf. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 44, Nos. 127 ff.

added the attribute by hand to an existing type. This would suggest that the use of the *liknon* on this type was something of an innovation. The addition of an attribute to give, as it were, a specific name to a generalized type, is in keeping with the trends of Hellenistic religion. We shall consider later the cults to which these figurines are to be related.<sup>44</sup>

One other piece from the Agora belongs to this group of ritual heads. It wears a polos (T 1004, Pl. 23).<sup>45</sup> That it is not the goddess herself is made clear by the twisted roll around the head, which is the sacred band or *στροφίον*. Nor is the face divine, but rather childish. Very possibly it is the face of Eros, to judge from a counterpart, said to come from Tanagra. This Eros is clashing cymbals; he wears the turreted crenellated polos of Kybele.<sup>46</sup>

The polos of the Agora head is a high somewhat flattened segment of a cylinder. In the front a relief shows on very small scale a goddess seated frontally, with a phiale in her extended right hand and a tympanon held high in her left. A lion sits frontally to the left of her throne; to the right an attendant stands holding a long torch. Despite the scale and the dullness of the impression, it is clear that the goddess herself wears a low polos; she seems to hold a tiny lion in her lap. This is the type well established by late Hellenistic times, the period to which this head belongs, for Kybele or the Mother of the Gods.<sup>47</sup>

In connection with these pieces we might note two minor fragments that were found in the Agora. One is a small polos (T 1962, Pl. 23)<sup>48</sup> probably intended for the head of a figure. The relief is illegible.

The other is a tiny plaque or relief showing the goddess seated extending a phiale in her right hand (T 892, Pl. 23).<sup>49</sup> A tympanon rested along her left side, its front edge broken. It is clear that she too wears a polos from which a veil hangs down her

<sup>44</sup> See below, p. 102.

<sup>45</sup> From Section IIΘ on the lower slopes of the south side of Kolonos Agoraios, cistern, at 42/Θ in a late Hellenistic to early Roman context. P. H. 0.064 m., H. of polos 0.027 m. The breaks indicate that the polos was draped at the top and sides by a veil. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 204, note 1.

<sup>46</sup> Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, fig. 97. (H. 0.012 m.). A number of unpublished female heads wearing poloi, veiled, decorated, or crenellated are in the National Museum, Athens.

<sup>47</sup> General earlier type: TK II, p. 174; develops into the later types of p. 175. One of the best is p. 175, 1 = Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, fig. 367; *Olympos*, XIV, pl. 59, No. 181, with bibliography. Cf. *Jahrb.*, Suppl. IX, 1911, pl. XI for examples found near Pergamon in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Mamurt-Kaleh; similar examples have recently been found at Gordion and Troy. For a list of the type as found in Greece, see H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1912, pp. 505 ff.

<sup>48</sup> From Section OA, on the north slope of the Acropolis, in a pit in bedrock. P. H. 0.033 m. Finished smooth beneath, broken on top. Traces beneath of a wreath. Low relief in front with traces of red paint; no trace of a veil at the sides.

<sup>49</sup> From Section B, Bouleuterion Plateia, near the Metroon from a context of the first century after Christ. P. H. 0.052 m., W. 0.031 m. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 204 f., note 1.

back. What was the function of this relief cannot be determined until we find a parallel.

Finally, in our study of this type, a much more important piece must be taken into consideration. This is a sizable votive polos (T 1546, Pl. 23).<sup>41</sup> It was found near the figure of a goddess holding a *liknon* (T 1547, Pl. 22). This large polos represents the same type as is shown on the head of the child (T 1004, Pl. 23).<sup>42</sup> The tall cylinder stands on a flaring base which is treated lightly like fluting or folds.<sup>43</sup> It is crowned by two wreaths, the lower one stippled, probably to represent flowers, the upper both stippled and bound by a broad *strophion*. From under these wreaths flows a veil wide enough to cover the face of the cylinder if drawn across it. The cylinder itself is fashioned at the top beneath the wreath in open-work turrets or crenellations, evidently intended to be those of the wall-crown of the Asiatic city-goddess.<sup>44</sup> The body of the cylinder is divided into three zones which decrease in size toward the bottom and are divided from each other by raised fillets. The upper zone shows a scene like that on our smaller polos. A female figure sits on a high-backed throne in three-quarter view to the right. Her right arm appears to rest in her lap; no phiale is discernible. In her left hand she holds an upright tympanon. On her head rests a polos itself apparently also wreathed, from which hangs down a veil. In front of the seated figure stands a female figure extending a torch in her right hand; behind the throne stands another woman, holding a round object, presumably a tympanon. The whole composition closely resembles that of the well known relief in Berlin<sup>45</sup> except that the phiale and the lion are absent. In the middle zone appear four figures, who are moving left, holding hands in a circular dance, toward another woman who holds a torch and faces toward the dancers. In the lowest zone, which is very sketchily modelled, five more figures are indicated, which appear, so far as one can make out, also to be dancers, tightly wrapped in drapery.<sup>46</sup>

This polos is, so far as I know, unique in terracotta. Figurines wearing even

<sup>41</sup> From Section AA on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios in a context of mixed material ranging from the late fourth to the second century B.C. H. 0.137 m., W. at the top 0.062 m. Pinkish clay with traces of blue color on the veil. Complete save for chips from the veil and one crenellation. Slightly concave with traces of attachment beneath. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 352 f., fig. 39.

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 98.

<sup>43</sup> Does this hem possibly represent drapery and should we consider the whole polos as an aniconic form of the goddess like the rudimentary Ephesian Artemis?

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the polos noted above, note 57. For the polos in general, V. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone*, Berlin, 1915; particularly for this type, pp. 46 ff. For veiled poloi on coins, F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, Vienna, 1901, II, pls. XII, XXVIII, etc. and G. Radet, *Cybbé*, Paris, 1909, pp. 68 ff., pls. II ff.

<sup>45</sup> F. Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 293, No. 2; A. Conze, "Hermes-Kadmos," *Arch. Zeit.* XXXVIII, 1880, pp. 1 ff., pl. 1. This article also presents many close variants of this type.

<sup>46</sup> The drawing of this polos, made by Piet de Jong, is necessarily somewhat interpretive; the photograph should be closely studied in comparison with it.

undecorated polos of this type are not common. This piece must represent a votive such as would be dedicated in a sanctuary. The original would have been metallic, ornamented with repoussé reliefs. Thin, gilded bronze, or even thin gold would be suitable for such an elaborate headdress. We may gather an idea of its probable appearance from a couple of crowns that were found in graves in South Russia. One, of gold, is of a *kalathos* shape, but not unlike our polos; the decoration shows an Arimasps attacking two griffins. It comes from a tomb, which, from its contents, has been identified as the grave of a priestess of Demeter.<sup>87</sup> Even closer to ours is a thin plate of gold from a headdress that was found in a barrow by the head of a young woman.<sup>88</sup> This plate was apparently cut down from a larger object, possibly more like our polos. It also was divided into three zones of relief. At the top, a single female figure is preserved; in the center, a chariot faces out; in the lowest zone, a magnificently dressed female figure sits frontally among five attendants. One offers her something on each side; two women stand behind. The side figures are obviously mutilated. What is especially interesting to us is the headdress of the central figure, which is a triangular polos, from which floats a long veil. Whether this lady is a queen or a goddess (I should prefer the latter identification), the parallel between this piece and ours is striking: they both represent a scene in which the polos figures on a polos. The polos must then be of decided importance in the cult.

It is impossible to limit the polos to one definite deity. Müller has shown that it can be worn by Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Hekate, Hera, Persephone, Nemesis and several others, chief of which is Kybele, or the Oriental Goddess, called by the Greeks the Mother of the Gods.<sup>89</sup> The latter usually wore the type of crenellated polos that developed late in Greek lands by a *contaminatio* of the Oriental polos, worn only by male gods, with the Hittite wall-crown, worn by the city-goddess. This is also worn by brides, who presumably took it from Kybele.<sup>90</sup>

The remaining reliefs on our polos can also be referred to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. The middle zone certainly shows a circular dance, probably around a leader with a torch. Frenzied dancing formed, as we well know, part of the ritual of the worship of Kybele. Our figures can be compared with those of dancers on the sides of a large terracotta relief showing Kybele seated on her throne caressing her lion.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 425, fig. 315.

<sup>88</sup> Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 218, fig. 120.

<sup>89</sup> *Der Polos*, pp. 56 ff. Cf. C. Robert, "Archäologische Miscellen: Polos," *Sitzber. der Bayer. Akad. phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1916, Abhand. 2, pp. 14 ff., who considers that Müller has not proved that the term is a *terminus technicus* and that therefore it should be dropped from archaeological terminology. But, like many other terms that we have made more precise than they ever were to the Greeks, the word is now accepted by archaeologists to refer to the object that we are discussing and its variants.

<sup>90</sup> Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f. and 87 f.

<sup>91</sup> Furtwängler, *Samm. Sabouroff*, II, pl. CXXXVII; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 48, fig. 11.

These dancers must be the devotees of the Goddess, the *θαλαμηπόλοι*, or the *κερνοφόροι* who performed the *κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα*, and the *τυμπανίστριαι* who took part in wild revelry in processions and in the sanctuaries of the Mother.<sup>72</sup> They sang the *θροισμούς μητρώους* of a sort that Pindar wrote for the sanctuary next his house, where the revelries kept him awake at night.<sup>73</sup>

Similar figures of three dancers holding hands in a ring, moving toward the left, appear on a fragment of a cornucopia of the Hellenistic period from the Agora (Pl. 23).<sup>74</sup> Such dancers are also shown on the polos worn by a kore which was found at Vouni.<sup>75</sup> They are lumpy little figures twisting in the dance, not unlike those on the lowest zone of the Agora polos. Gjerstad associates the cult of the Paphian Aphrodite, to whom this statue was probably dedicated, with Aphrodite Ourania, who was in Roman times identified with the Great Mother.<sup>76</sup>

One of the most important dances of the cult of the Mother was that which took place during initiation ceremonies. We are told that after undergoing teasing or hazing by the *mystai*, the initiate was enthroned and the initiators, the *τελοῦντες*, performed a dance around him.<sup>77</sup> Thus the initiate was identified with the god while the energy of the dance projected the divine force into him.<sup>78</sup>

Our polos, indeed, may show just such a scene of initiation, with the *mystes* seated on the throne and the dancers below. I suggest this interpretation rather than that the upper scene shows the goddess herself because of the unusual absence both of the lion and of the phiale. These attributes are almost fixed elements in the ikonography of the Mother during the later Hellenistic period, to which our polos belongs. The numerous small marble shrines found in Athens show her thus in the frontal

<sup>72</sup> For a summary of all that we know about the ritual of Kybele, see *R.E.*, s.v. Kybele, cols. 2259 ff. (Schwenn).

<sup>73</sup> E. Hiller, "Die Verzeichnisse der Pindarischen Dichtungen," *Hermes*, XXI, 1886, pp. 364 ff.

<sup>74</sup> T 550. From a road filling in Section Γ, 94-98/Κ-ΚΓ. P. H. 0.095 m. Broken off at top and bottom. The context was mostly Hellenistic, with a little Late Roman. The soft light buff clay, with traces of yellow paint, probably for sizing of gilding, seems to be late Hellenistic. At the top, imbrication, presumably to suggest leaves protruding from the cornucopia. Rings surround the horn, which was presumably held by a large figure. The dancers appear in relief in the upper zone of decoration.

<sup>75</sup> E. Gjerstad, *Die Antike*, IX, 1933, pl. 29 = G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I, Cambridge, 1940, p. 218, Frontispiece (limestone, of the early fifth century B.C.).

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75, note 4.

<sup>77</sup> Plato, *Euthydem.* 277 D: ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνωνι ποῦσι περὶ τοῦτον ὃν ἂν μέλλουσιν τελεῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἐστι καὶ παιδία . . . Dio Chrysostom, XII, 33: εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θροισμῷ καθίσταναι τοὺς μνησμένους οἱ τελοῦντες κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν.

<sup>78</sup> For full discussions of the initiation rites in the cult of Kybele and the related Korybantes, see Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 191 ff. and Graillet, *Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 182 ff. These authors do not differentiate sharply between the initiations into various cults, believing, probably correctly, that the fundamental processes of initiation did not differ greatly among them. For the psychology of initiation, see A. D. Nock, "A Cabiric Rite," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1914, pp. 577 ff. I owe this reference to Professor Nock.

pose, just as she appears on the small terracotta polos which we have discussed.<sup>29</sup> However, as the *mystes* identifies himself with the god, it is never possible to separate the two. At least, we are safe in associating our polos with the cult of the Oriental Goddess of Athens.

What name shall we give this goddess as she appears in Athens? There is reason to associate the terracotta *liknophoros* (T 431) with the goddess holding the *liknon* (T 1547) and that goddess, because of the proximity of provenience, with the polos-crowned head (T 1004) and the votive polos (T 1546). The *liknon* is obviously the possession of that goddess who used it in the harvest, namely, Demeter. The polos, on the other hand, though worn in a modest form by Demeter, is, in the form on these terracottas, much more closely related to its Oriental prototypes. The scenes in relief upon both these poloi evidently refer to the cult of Kybele or of the Mother of the Gods. This apparent inconsistency, however, is not inexplicable. In the Metroon at Athens, Demeter and Kybele seem from the earliest days down into late Roman times to have been closely associated, if not identified. Inscriptions dealing with the Eleusinian cult were set up in the precinct of the Mother; *kernoi*, originally the little harvest-vessels for offerings to Demeter, were carried by those who performed a ritual dance for Kybele.<sup>30</sup> Votive *kernoi* have been found in quantities around the Athenian Metroon.<sup>31</sup> Very possibly as time passed, the goddess divided her functions, the old fertility goddess concentrating her activities within the Eleusinion and the Thesmophorion and the Phrygian goddess, brought in directly from Anatolia in the fifth century, taking up her abode in the Metroon. This analysis explains why our earlier figurine of the seated goddess appears to be more like Demeter, though it was found so close to the polos of later date as to be probably from the same sanctuary, which evidently in Hellenistic times was devoted rather to the aspect of Anatolian inspiration.

We might note at this point that the place where the polos and the seated goddess with the *liknon* were found is too far from the Metroon, considering their excellent preservation, to have derived from that sanctuary. Nor is the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios near any known Demeter sanctuary. Pausanias offers an attractive candidate for their place of origin. He says (I, XIV, 6-7), "Above the Ceramicus and the Royal Colonnade is a temple of Hephaestus . . . Hard by (*παρσίαν*) is a sanctuary (*ιερόν*) of Heavenly Aphrodite (*Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας*)" (transl. Frazer). When the north slope of the hill above the modern railroad tracks was excavated in 1937-8, no clear indication of a sanctuary was found, but these two figurines were discovered in Hellenistic strata. We might tentatively suggest that they come from this sanctuary, which Pausanias and others associate with the Oriental goddess, who is the Greek

<sup>29</sup> Above, p. 98. Cf. a fragment found on the north slope of the Areopagus (T 2178, Pl. 23). P. H. 0.07 m., showing a variant type in clay.

<sup>30</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>31</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 206 ff.

Coroplast's Dump (Nos. 84 and 86, pl. 42). Fragments of a plump unguentarium of the type of Group B<sup>12</sup> with white bands on the shoulder was also discovered. One kantharos is shown for comparative purposes (No. 13; Pl. 18).<sup>13</sup>

# CONCLUSION

As in the case of the Coroplast's Dump, so also in this cistern, the subject matter of the figurines is largely religious. Can we identify the cult for which these little votives were intended?

The piece that most definitely points to a cult is No. 10, which represents a youthful initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries. Also Eleusinian in connotation, although not exclusively so, are the "dolls" (Nos. 1-3), especially the grotesque "doll," No. 2. No. 5, a seated figure holding a phiale and presumably also a tympanon, may show Demeter or the Mother of the Gods. In this connection, it is significant that an unfinished marble statuette of Demeter or the Mother of the Gods was also found in this cistern (S 195).<sup>14</sup> The head, No. 8, carrying a strange object, is identifiable at least as a devotee of a goddess. Likewise, No. 9, which carries a *kanoun*, must represent a girl in the service of a female deity, possibly Aphrodite or Artemis. Both these goddesses may have had sanctuaries on the slopes of the Acropolis.<sup>15</sup> It is also possible that such *kana* were used in the ritual of Demeter. The other pieces do not give us much evidence, but several may well also have been votives.

A fertility or Earth goddess, then, seems to be the deity with whom most of the figurines should be associated. Two sanctuaries are possible candidates: one, the Eleusinion, lying about two city blocks to the east of our cistern, the other, the precinct of Demeter Chloe, known chiefly from literary references to have lain close to the entrance to the Acropolis.<sup>16</sup> From either of these places, scraps of figurines could have made their way. Of the two, the Eleusinion seems the more likely, since it was a large sanctuary, presumably with a western entrance as well as that on the Panathenaic Way. The fact that a votive deposit of the seventh century was found very near this cistern, containing a plaque that must be referred to the Eleusinion, would strengthen this hypothesis.<sup>17</sup>

Though this is a small group, it gives us further evidence of the vigor of Athenian

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff., B 44, fig. 22.

<sup>13</sup> (P 22810). H. 0.028 m., D. 0.041 m. About half missing; restored in plaster.

<sup>14</sup> See above, pp. 88, 102.

<sup>15</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 124 and 245 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 246 ff. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 285 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff., particularly pp. 637 f. where the source was suggested but discarded in favor of the theory that the deposit came from the sanctuary of the Furies on the Areopagus. Since extensive subsequent digging on the Areopagus failed to reveal any sign of a sanctuary or any similar material, we now believe that the deposit is more probably to be associated with the Eleusinion. See also above, p. 95; cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447, note 5 for a useful summary of the evidence.

coroplastics just at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The taste for hieratic votives is yielding to a more aesthetic interest in sculptural quality that will blossom into a truly plastic creative movement during the third century B.C.

### CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows the form set up for that of the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>14</sup> The figurines are mould-made, unless otherwise noted. The clay is pinkish buff, rather soft, very like that of the two preceding groups. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the letters D.C., signifying Demeter Cistern.

#### *Jointed Figures*

- 1 (T 91) Fragment of Female "Doll." Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.051 m. Clay burned grayish, white slip blackened. Very smooth inside, strengthened with clay for arm-holes.

The front half of the torso, preserved from neck to waist, of a "doll" with articulated arms.

- 2 (T 97) Nude Female "Doll": Caricature. Pl. 21.

P. H. 0.104 m. Light red clay. Back rounded, hand-made.

Caricature of the nude "doll" type with articulated arms; very obese, with pendulous breasts. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, note 131 (where the date should be "late fourth century").

- 3 (T 105) Articulated Leg. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.046 m. Solid.

The right lower leg and foot of a "doll," preserved from the knee down; the foot droops, the sole is rough, showing that the figure originally hung.

#### *Draped Female Figures*

- 4 (T 101) Standing Draped Female Fragment. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.058 m. Surface much rubbed. Back missing.

The lower part of a small standing draped figure, resting the weight on the right leg, of which the foot protrudes beneath the folds. She

wears a chiton with overfold hanging to the knee. The left leg is drawn back.

- 5 Seated Female. Fragments. Pl. 20.

a) (T 102) P. H. 0.039 m. Very smooth inside. Broken all around.

b) (T 331) Greatest dimension 0.053 m. Back flat. Joint between front and back moulds preserved. Tympanon solid. Traces of red paint on tympanon.

Non-joining fragments from a) the right side of a seated female figure, holding a phiale resting on the right arm of her seat, b) a left hand holding up vertically a large tympanon.

#### *Heads*

- 6 (T 126) Head of a Girl. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.035 m. Solid. Back roughly hand-made. Much worn.

The head and part of the shoulders of a young girl. She wore her hair in melon coiffure with plaits at the back.

- 7 (T 109) Female Head. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.046 m. Solid. Traces of glaze, for attached object which has been broken away from the top of the head. Hair sharply re-touched with graver.

The head of a female figure, wearing earrings. Her hair is brushed into a high peak above her forehead and parted in the middle. The head is inclined slightly to the left.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158.



## 8 (T 98) Female Head. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.035 m. Solid. Broken on top and beneath.

A female head is covered by the himation, which is drawn up over the mouth. On top of the head rests a large circular object, from which a central peg is broken away; the edge of the rim is folded back in a series of eight scallops.

## 9 (T 104) Female Head. Pl. 22.

P. H. 0.051 m. Made in front mould; back of head filled roughly with clay as No. 6.

Female head, wearing her hair hanging down on her shoulders. She raises her hands to support a large *kanoun* that rests on her head. Beneath its arch a small draped figure is visible, holding its arms raised, and standing on a base.

*Male Figure*

## 10 (T 106) Youthful Male. Pl. 24.

P. H. 0.072 m. Solid. Made in two moulds. Back modelled carefully. Right arm is broken

away below the shoulder, leaving a trace of itself or of an object held against the drapery at the right side. Tip of *bakchos* broken away.

A plump boyish figure, wearing a cloak around his hips, stands holding a *bakchos* against his left arm. His hair hung down on his shoulders.

*Mask*

## 11 (T 103) Fragment of a Mask. Pl. 24.

P. H. 0.04 m. Hollow, made in two moulds. Bottom edge preserved at back. Much worn.

Fragment from the right side of a mask, showing the prominent eye and roll of hair, treated with striations.

*Animal*

## 12 (T 132) Head of a Mule. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.024 m. Solid.

Hand-made mule's head, retouched at mouth and nostrils by the graver.

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## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

### PART II: THE EARLY THIRD CENTURY B.C.

(PLATES 34-37)

IN my previous study of Hellenistic terracottas from the Athenian Agora, I have presented three deposits of the late fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> I shall now attempt to trace the development of the craft during its period of richest flowering in Athens, namely, the third century B.C.

The Agora excavations have produced numerous groups of pottery of this period, but, unfortunately, few of those which are the most reliable as regards chronology contained figurines. The one group which is presented in this article cannot be very closely dated, yet it offers sufficient material from which to develop an outline of coroplastic art during the earlier part of the third century. The reader is again warned that this study is only tentative and the results must be checked and corrected whenever additional evidence appears.

Since the Hellenistic pottery which was published in 1934<sup>2</sup> is accessible to the reader and since the chronology there proposed has been tested by later excavations, it seems desirable to include all figurines found with that pottery, even if they be few. The various groups of pottery will be referred to by the names given them in the original publication; that under present consideration is Group B. We shall also deal soon with another larger deposit of this period, the Altar Well. In a subsequent article, we shall discuss Group C, the Satyr Cistern and the Komos Cistern of the later third century.

#### II, A: GROUP B

##### CHRONOLOGY

The group of cisterns which produced the pottery called "Group B"<sup>3</sup> belonged to a house that stood between the south side of the Agora and the Areopagus. Near by a street led up past the Southwest Fountain House to the Areopagus.<sup>4</sup> The system included two "chambers connected with one another and with a cylindrical draw-shaft by means of tunnels." G. R. Edwards considers that most of the pottery from the filling after the abandonment of the cisterns does not date much later than ca. 300 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Cisterns were, however, easily susceptible of disturbance. At some time after

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 116-164; *ibid.*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 72-107.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 311-476.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 330-345. The deposit is now designated as H 16:3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 330 f.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. G. R. Edwards has rechecked all the groups since publication and has given me his opinion

these were filled, the main chamber suffered an intrusion. Several sherds of a plate of Pergamene ware and a lamp with a central rod (Type 27D of the forthcoming Catalogue of Agora Lamps by R. H. Howland, dated last years of the third century down to ca. 150 B.C.) made their way into the deposit.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, although most of the figurines belong to styles that were prevalent at the turn of the fourth into the third centuries B.C. (that is, just a shade later than those of the previously published Demeter Cistern), one or two decidedly later pieces also appear (Nos. 9 and 12).

#### TECHNIQUE

The fabric of the figurines from Group B varies considerably. Several (e.g. Nos. 7 and 15 and an uncatalogued piece) are of soft clay, light red in color, like other pieces of the earlier fourth century. The warm pinkish buff color and fairly soft surface of No. 6 is like that of Demeter Cistern 7.<sup>7</sup> No. 6 was found in the lowest deposit of Group B. The color of the clay of most pieces from the upper filling in the South chamber is buff, but not so golden in tone as that of the mass of terracottas from the Coroplast's Dump. Rather, it is more beige in hue, reaching in some cases to a light tan. This effect has probably been produced by a little smoke in the kiln;<sup>8</sup> a few examples are decidedly brownish on the surface (Nos. 4 and 14). The slip of No. 12 is well-preserved, hard and flaky, like that on a piece of early second century context from the North Slope of the Acropolis and another from the *Pyx*, of the last quarter of the third century.<sup>9</sup> It seems probable, therefore, that our piece, No. 12, came into the cistern along with the Pergamene sherds, in the second century B.C. Another fabric fired hard to a yellow surface mottled with bright red patches occurs on the figure of a boy (No. 2); this fabric is observable also in deposits of the late third century B.C.<sup>10</sup>

Few bases survive in this group; all are thin plaques (Nos. 7, 13, 14), the "Tanagra" type *par excellence*.

The neat hole left in the neck of No. 15 implies that the head was finished with a of the dating. All the Agora photographs are by Alison Frantz, except No. 17 (cast) by Hermann Wagner.

<sup>6</sup> Note also the close resemblance of the elongated fusiform unguentarium, B6, to C76, found in a context of the late third century B.C.

<sup>7</sup> Hereafter the Catalogue numbers of the Demeter Cistern, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 106 ff. will be preceded by the letters D.C.; those of the Hedgehog Well, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 86 ff. by H. W. and those of the Coroplast's Dump, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 158 ff. by C. D.

<sup>8</sup> I have learned much about these technical details from discussing the material with Dr. Frederick Matson of the Pennsylvania State University.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 123; *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, fig. 56, no. 30. Cf. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, 1942 (hereafter, Kleiner), p. 89 on the harder firing of late third century pieces.

<sup>10</sup> Agora T 880, 882 (from late third century contexts); T 2477, 2549, 2556 (probably of the third-second centuries B.C.). It should be noted here that these inventory numbers of unpublished terracottas are given with the thought that at some time after the final publication of the Agora terracottas, or, again, for the student in the Agora Museum, such references might be useful.

long conical tenon that fitted into the hole in the body. This technique was more frequently employed in Corinth<sup>11</sup> than in Athens.

Little evidence is preserved regarding the backs of figurines in this group. The dancer (No. 7) has only a thin hand-made back plastered in its upper part against the mould-made front. This back has been attached to a plaque base by a strip of clay. No. 15, on the other hand, was made in two moulds, neatly joined at the sides. The back is practically unworked. The back of the small solid figure of Eros (No. 4) has been roughly modelled by hand, though the limbs and wings were made separately in moulds and carefully attached. In general, it seems that by the early third century the flat back had disappeared. For the rest, we can safely assume, from the appearance of the interior, that the backs were usually mould-made.

The interiors are in general neatly smoothed, except for two cases. The inside of No. 12 is rather carelessly finished, a fact which suggests that it is the latest piece in the group. In No. 14 instead of patting the wet clay, as in No. 12, the fingers have pulled long sweeping grooves, a trick that characterizes late third to second century pieces. The tan color of this scrap also suggests a later date.

More white slip and color have been preserved here than in any of our previous groups. The female head (No. 16) shows abundant red in the hair, painted over white, but only in front of the circlet; on top the white was forgotten and the red applied directly to the clay. Exactly the same oxide red was painted on the seat over which the drapery falls in No. 14; thereafter the white wash,<sup>12</sup> needed beneath the paler colors of the drapery, was applied and splashed carelessly over the red. Traces of very pale blue bands survive on the drapery of No. 14, as also on No. 12, where the blue runs around the neck and down the right side. This color has faded to a gray, but tiny flecks suggest that it was originally a copper frit. On this piece, the slip is thick and crackled, shaded with yellow brush lines in the folds.<sup>13</sup> On No. 11, gray, which was perhaps originally blue, occurs over a large area of drapery. The blue is a clear sky-blue on No. 13.

In addition to the four moulds presented here, the cistern yielded fragments of at least five others (T 292, 305, 308, 338, 339), enough to suggest that this group contains waste from a shop. All are like those of class 2 from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Corinth*, XII, nos. 265, 286.

<sup>12</sup> For a recent analysis of the white slip used as a basis for color on figurines, see R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, London, 1954, p. viii, who concluded that it was white clay. Cf. J. H. and S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines From Kourion in Cyprus*, Philadelphia, 1955, p. 189, describe "the white ground as being a thin layer . . . of calcium carbonate." This discrepancy should be further studied.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. a similar treatment in D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina*, 1934 (hereafter, *Boston Myrinas*), pl. XXIX, no. 70; cf. the shadows painted in the folds of paintings in a Bulgarian tomb, V. Micoff, *Le Tombeau antique près de Kasanlak*, Sofia, 1954, pls. XXXIX ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 124.

which were perfectly finished behind by neat rounding. Mostly the fabric is hard, particularly dry in No. 17 and on some uncatalogued specimens. Tabs were used to fasten the moulds, presumably while they were setting around the patris, or model, not, as previously thought, around the figurine; for in the latter case, the clay tabs would never have been baked on as they are.<sup>18</sup> No. 17 is so fresh and sharp on the edges that it could never have been used.

Another experimental piece (No. 6) is one of the finest terracottas ever found in the Agora and indeed, in Athens. It is evidently a study for an ambitious work. The technique by which this head was made is clear. A lump of clay was roughly shaped by hand. Then the modeller kneaded and carelessly added small bits of clay, applying them as he wished to the core, until it acquired a skin one to four millimeters in thickness, which has in places peeled. Next he worked up the features with a graver, touching them with quick extremely skilful strokes, and then with a tiny point he incised details such as the eyeballs and hairlines in the moustache. Since these details would not have taken in a mould, let alone an impression of it, since the ear and back of the bald head are unworked, and particularly since the nose and mouth are so deeply undercut that they never could have been drawn from a mould, we must conclude that the piece is merely a sketch, preparatory to the creation of a model.

The number of unfinished pieces or discards in the group is large. Apart from those catalogued, there were a number of tiny scraps from the cistern. These have all been fired, though some to only a slight degree. R. V. Nicholls plausibly suggests that the scraps and discards were used for help in stacking good material in the kiln.<sup>19</sup>

The most significant of the trial pieces in this group, according to Nicholls, is the unfinished mould for a Corinthian capital (No. 19). The mould for one third is

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, cf. the "setting lines" used on Corinthian moulds: *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 83.

<sup>19</sup> I quote a letter, dated February 23, 1953, from Mr. Nicholls:

"Why were they fired? I have talked the matter over briefly with Mary Williamson (of the Wedgwood family) and, apart from my original suggestion about the use of waster and trial pieces in stacking (probably quite a factor, because the stacking of an entire kiln with terracottas must have been something of a problem), there emerges the important point that your trial pieces and wasters may have been used as "filling" in the stacking of the kiln. Apparently, in order to receive an even and economic firing, it is necessary to pack the kiln quite full and to achieve this it is modern practice to tuck the wasters into the awkward spaces. It seems to me to be conceivable that your trial pieces and wasters may often have found their way in this capacity to awkward positions at the outer edge of the kiln where actual finished terracottas would never be stacked and so have undergone a less complete firing than the rest of the material.

"Why were the wasters allowed to become leather-hard and so useless save for the above purposes? It has been my experience that Attic clay loses its plasticity very quickly in Attic summer shade once reduced to a layer a few millimeters high and exposed to the air on both sides. The clay of your unfinished mould for a capital, for example, was probably only a few minutes out from the clay-pat when the coroplast despaired of it, but it would already have dried out sufficiently to make it unwise to try and reuse it as it would no longer give a crack-free impression. Also I imagine that the volume of wasters at any one time would not be sufficient to warrant retreating of their clay."

preserved. Evidently the model had been made of a hard material, probably metal, possibly wood. It looks as though the leaves had existed on the patrix, but had come off blurred on the mould.<sup>11</sup> The coroplast had tried to correct errors by smoothing the bell in the wet mould, with the intention of trying a new impression. But he had then abandoned the project.

It is perhaps unwise to place much significance on the depths at which the figurines in this group were found. However, it is clear from the excavation that those from the blind chamber were deposited before the others. These are: the two heads (Nos. 6 and 16), the Dancer (No. 7), the mould for the dog (No. 17) and the two fragments of drapery (No. 10 and one not catalogued).

In the bottom of the cistern were found the "doll" (No. 1), scraps of mould fragments and two bits of drapery (Nos. 9 and 11). These may well be a little earlier than the pieces from depth 1.80-2.00 m., namely, the soldier (No. 5), the Eros (No. 4), and a fragment from a female figure (No. 15).

The latest must be those from depths 1.00-1.50 m. which were found with the Pergamene ware and lamp mentioned above, namely, the draped female (No. 12), drapery bits (Nos. 8, 13 and 14) and a patrix (No. 16).

From the very top came the childish figure (No. 2). The significance of this sequence will be studied in the conclusion.

The condition of the terracottas in this group tells us little about their age. In general, they are somewhat battered and fragmentary so that they probably were all discards of some years' standing when they found their way into the Cistern. Luckily for us, the sketch of the man's head (No. 6) is the freshest and must have been discarded just after firing, probably when it had served its purpose toward the creation of a model. The color is so well preserved on No. 12 that it would seem to be among the latest discarded.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

##### JOINTED FIGURE: No. 1

Only one fragment survives of the nude articulated figures that were very popular during the fourth century B.C. This example is male, like two from the Coroplast's Dump (Nos. 5, 6). Decidedly rare elsewhere in Greece, the male "doll" was not uncommon in Attica. Five were found on the Acropolis.<sup>12</sup> Among these only one (No. 1456) has anything like the exaggeratedly long chest of our fragment. Of those from the Agora,<sup>13</sup> only two (T 470 and to a lesser degree T 408, both from the Middle Stoa building filling) have this peculiarity. These two must date before ca. 150 B.C. and, to

<sup>11</sup> I owe this diagnosis and much other help to Miss Clairève Grandjourn.

<sup>12</sup> D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, nos. 1277, 1279, 1286, 1455, 1456, p. 428. For a fine example probably from Boeotia, cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 471, fig. 22 B.

<sup>13</sup> T 408, 470, 2055, 2098, 2133, 2201, 3024.

judge from fabric and form, most probably fall in the third century. This evidence suggests that a fancy for male "dolls" of this strangely long-chested variety had held for a limited time. The musculature on our No. 1 is not blurred, as in later Hellenistic figures, and the side is cut clean and straight, not rounded. This figure, then, is probably to be dated at the end of the fourth century B.C.

#### MALE FIGURES: NOS. 2-5

The little figure of a child (No. 2) presumably held in his right hand a cymbal or fruit, as do many children of the period.<sup>30</sup> Very possibly also a dog jumped up toward it to form one of those delightful genre groups that were very popular during the third century B.C. A nude well modelled male arm (No. 3) indicates the presence of another male figure, presumably gesticulating; it may have been a flying Eros.<sup>31</sup>

A more significant piece is the little Eros (No. 4) gaily poised on a stele, his arms outstretched, presumably toward a lady who stood beside him; possibly the fragment No. 11 actually comes from the group. That our piece was connected with another figure is indicated by the break and by a strip of clay on the right side of the stele. The group as a whole will be discussed under No. 11. The frisky Eros perching for a moment, ready to be off again in a flash according to his nature, is a favorite topic of Hellenistic art in all media. In terracotta, the type was widespread. Good parallels come from the Isthmia, Tarentum and Myrina.<sup>32</sup> This Agora piece is charmingly modelled with warm understanding of the childish forms. The plump stomach and thighs are those of a real baby, more naturalistically rendered than the boy Eros, C.D. 11. At the same time, it is less perfunctory than the rendering of the Eros from the Altar Well (No. 2).<sup>33</sup> The wings on these two pieces are almost identical, but the general spirit of modelling of No. 4, which suggests a work in bronze, would seem to be a trifle earlier than that of Altar Well No. 2. Both these are also more carefully rendered than the two from another third century deposit.<sup>34</sup> Shades of chronological difference, however, must not be labored. We are probably safe in placing the Eros from Group B in the first quarter of the third century B.C.

If this dating is correct (and it is supported by technical considerations), we face an inconsistency in the chronology of certain terracottas from Myrina which appear remarkably close in style. Two figurines in Boston, for instance, one of a boy carrying a jar and the other a flying Eros,<sup>35</sup> both show the delicate modelling in the

<sup>30</sup> For the general type, cf. *TK II*, p. 281, 8; 283, 1, 8, etc.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Boston Myrinas*, pls. XVI ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 139, no. 16, pl. 56b; *TK II*, p. 263, 10 and 3. Cf. P. Wullemier, *Tarente*, pl. XXXVI, 2, and A. Levi, *Le Terrecotte figurate del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, p. 52, fig. 52.

<sup>33</sup> I intend to discuss this in a subsequent article.

<sup>34</sup> T 880, 882 from Deposit E 14: 1, a cistern of the early third century B.C.

<sup>35</sup> *Boston Myrinas*, nos. 22 and 41, pls. X and XVI. Cf. for instance the legs of the fine Sleeping Eros: *Metropolitan Museum, Handbook*, 7th ed., p. 262.

spirit of a bronze-work, with a sensitive feeling for the chubby body and legs, just as in our piece. Technically, moreover, these two are so close to Boston Nos. 44 and 45 that it is hard to believe that they are not products of one shop. But No. 22 bears on its back the imprint of a coin which numismatists assure me must be dated *ca.* 200 B.C.<sup>28</sup> We have then a discrepancy of *ca.* 100 years. These problems must be restudied later. It is sufficient to draw attention to them here.<sup>29</sup>

An unusual piece is the figure of a fully armed hoplite, as presented by the original mould (No. 5). The inside of the mould has been well worn from frequent use; the rounded back is close to that of the finest from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>30</sup> The subject is unusual, for, despite the military preoccupations of the Greeks, after the earliest period they seldom made figurines of warriors. Only a few Hellenistic types were created: a playful child soldier,<sup>31</sup> the Gallic warrior, who naturally attracted attention as a new ethnic type when he entered Greece during the third century B.C., and this hoplite, standing at ease. Most of the other known examples come from Boeotia, though one has been bought in Smyrna. The fragment from Smyrna shows a cuirass modelled like the nude torso, with a narrow border above the hanging leather lappets, much like ours.<sup>32</sup> The Boeotian examples, of which many are now in the National Museum in Athens,<sup>33</sup> are even closer to ours; if all were illustrated, an exact parallel might be found. Basing our restoration on these figures, we can assume that the right hand was held out, probably supporting a spear. The left, not bent sharply up to the neck as is usual on the Boeotian specimens, is pressed close to the body and the hand is extended forward under the cloak. It seems not impossible, though unprecedented, that the left hand held a shield. The long cloak or chlamys is fastened on the right shoulder, hanging diagonally across the body.<sup>34</sup> The chiton beneath the cuirass is rendered carefully as a clinging material with many folds between the legs, in more detail than on the Boeotian versions.

This costume is, of course, well known from Attic grave-stones. The cuirasses on these reliefs vary slightly, particularly in the elaborate decoration of the bottom, but the best parallel for ours is provided by the Aristonantes figure which differs from

<sup>28</sup> Mr. Newell made the original diagnosis; cf. *Boston Myrinas*, p. 42. This dating was recently confirmed by the kindness of Miss Margaret Thompson.

<sup>29</sup> I have long felt that, in my original publication, I relied too heavily on the evidence of this coin stamp. Further study suggests that many Myrinas which I placed in the early second century should have been dated in the third century, particularly nos. 16, 22, 41, 44-45, 65-68, 89, 99, about which I now feel reasonably certain.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. C. D. Nos. 59, pl. 40; 73, pl. 41.

<sup>31</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 174, fig. 20, p.

<sup>32</sup> A. Laumonier, "Terres-cuites d'Asie mineure," *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 314, pl. XIV, 2 (H. 0.07 m.)

<sup>33</sup> *TK II*, p. 237, 1-3: Martha, *Catalogue des figurines . . . d'Athènes*, pp. 86 ff., where ten are listed. They are all of approximately the same scale, usually *ca.* 0.25 m. high.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *TK II*, p. 237, 1, 2.



ours only in having a triple row of lappets."<sup>33</sup> Since this grave-stone is usually dated at the end of the fourth century, it gives support to our dating on technical grounds and places our mould probably around 320 B.C., along with the latest pieces from the Coroplast's Dump. It is noteworthy that a votive plaque of a cuirass from Corinth was found in a deposit of the late fourth to third century B.C.<sup>34</sup>

Our mould is so well modelled that we feel the differentiation of texture between the chiton and the heavy cloak, which hangs in a few deep folds. The diagonals accent the height of the figure and give a slight suggestion of swaying; the V-shaped folds emphasize the triangle of the cloak and suggest its thick woollen substance. The air of poise and competence in the figure gives the feeling of a bronze, although I can quote no bronze parallel. The warriors shown on bronze mirrors and reliefs are nude. This is no hero, but a young hoplite, a symbol of Athenian military pride after the army had surrendered to the Macedonians and become more conscious of the value of soldiers. Had the head of our figure survived, we might have been able to tell whether this was intended as a sympathetic portrayal of a youth or a sly criticism of the hoplites, who for a brief time in the twenties enjoyed a monopoly of the franchise."<sup>35</sup> It is difficult to correlate the chequered pages of Athenian history with the choice of themes in popular art; but when a totally new theme is introduced, we feel curiosity regarding its motivation.

The little hand-made study of a bearded head (No. 6) is a masterpiece, modelled in the fullest plastic style. The head is conceived in large masses of which the volume is enlivened through animated surface movement. Chiaroscuro is produced by the skilful handling of deep-set but protruding eyes, by the thick locks of the beard. The lips, parted, are about to speak; the eyes are alert. Age is presented as beautiful, honored, endowed with wisdom—a true picture of a Greek philosopher. Yet can we seriously regard this head as a portrait?

A few parallels must be considered to elucidate the significance of this head. First, we must compare it with contemporary Silen masks, which exist in abundance, as for example, in a superb series from Tarentum.<sup>36</sup> In general type they certainly resemble our piece. Many show the high-domed bald head, the heavy roll over the outer corners of the eyes, the flat nose with wide nostrils, the sagging cheeks and drooping moustache. But there are significant differences: the Silens' eyes are heavy-lidded, but wide-open and popping; the beard is stylized (as befits an architectural piece); most important of all, the ears are long and pointed. Place our piece beside

<sup>33</sup> Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 1931, p. 52, pl. 50.

<sup>34</sup> *Corinth*, XII, no. 376, pl. 34.

<sup>35</sup> In 322/1 B.C. the vote in Athens was restricted to those liable for hoplite service, cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 22. But in 318 B.C. the situation had shifted so that "thousands of men who had been disfranchised were again entitled to exercise the rights of citizens," p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> C. Laviosa, "Le artefisse fitili di Taranto," *Archeologica Classica*, VI, 1954, pl. LXXVI. I owe this reference to Professor Erik Sjöqvist.

them and then beside the applied heads of the "philosophical Silen" type from Gela<sup>33</sup> and it becomes clear that our head is not bestial, but human.

It has been suggested that this is a Silen or Papposilenos of New Comedy, of which Hellenistic representations at least are not uncommon.<sup>34</sup> But there is nothing mask-like about this face, nor are the figurines of actors at this period on such a scale nor of such quality. The ears are usually animal, though on certain parallels, such as a smaller terracotta from Ruvo,<sup>35</sup> the human aspect is emphasized.

The best parallels known to me are fragmentary heads from Cyprus and South Russia.<sup>36</sup> Both have the same deep-set eyes with drooping lids and protruding balls, the same sagging cheeks, but the beards are rendered in finer lines and the general aspect is harsher. But the type is very close to ours; both were very probably inspired by Attic models if they are not actually imports from Athens. Winter places the Russian fragment among his series of old men and pedagogues, of which several are reminiscent of our head.<sup>37</sup>

The scanty evidence available makes it more likely that our head represents a pedagogue or a teacher than a Silen. Yet, at this period, the facial types are one and the same. This fact has been pointed out by Weickert in a study of a terracotta from the Loeb Collection.<sup>38</sup> Almost twice the size of ours, finished as a mask and found with a series of New Comedy masks at Olbia,<sup>39</sup> the Loeb figure looks like a dull copy of our Athenian head. Weickert has perspicaciously analysed the elements in this mask, which, on the one hand, clearly represents the tired Papposilenos, on the other, inevitably suggests the face of Socrates.<sup>40</sup> For, as Weickert points out, the old Silen is the Teacher *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the *ἡδίστος δαίμων*. This must have been a literary conception long before it was expressed in art, for even the descriptions of Socrates by his contemporaries are couched in just these terms.

Alcibiades, in the Symposium, remarks of Socrates: "I say that he is most like the Silens . . . and I say again that he resembles the Satyr, Marsyas."<sup>41</sup> In detail, his

<sup>33</sup> Cf. P. Orlandini, "Le nuove antefisse sileniche di Gela," *ibid.*, p. 266, pl. XCI, 2.

<sup>34</sup> *TK* II, p. 397, 1 and 3, 398 ff. This suggestion was made by Dr. Gerhard Kleiner.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395, 6 (H. 0.19 m.).

<sup>36</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Louvre II, p. 160a (from Kourion, H. 0.058 m.); *TK* II, p. 402, 7 = *Materialy po archeologii Rossii*, VII, 1892, pl. III, 4 (photograph, much less fierce looking than the drawing).

<sup>37</sup> *TK* II, p. 403, 3, 4 and 8. Cf. *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 30, no. 17, a fourth century example.

<sup>38</sup> J. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen*, 1916, pl. 24, 5, pp. 27 f. (H. 0.09 m.); C. Weickert, "Maske eines Silens in Sammlung Loeb," *Festschrift für James Loeb*, Munich, 1930, pp. 103 ff., pl. XV.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Sieveking, *op. cit.*, pl. 24, a series from Olbia that would certainly seem to belong together.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Weickert, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 f. Cf. J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, I, pp. 184 ff., pls. XXI, XXII; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter*, Basel, 1954, p. 68 (Naples head, from an original dated by Schefold ca. 380 B.C.), p. 82 (Terme head, from another, dated ca. 335 B.C.).

<sup>41</sup> Plato, *Sympos.*, 215 B; cf. Xenophon, *Sympos.*, IV, 19.

features are given thus: ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπιπρόλαιοι,<sup>48</sup> "protruding eyes," a perfect description of the eyes of our head, where the eyeballs are accented with unusual emphasis; τὸ σιμὸν τῆς ῥινός, μυκτῆρες ἀναπέπτανται,<sup>49</sup> also a perfect description of the wide flanged nostrils; παχέα τὰ χεῖλη,<sup>50</sup> true, but less apparent. Other details, such as baldness and untidy hair, need not be insisted upon. In short, our head answers in all details to the literary descriptions of Socrates.

Commentators on these passages of the *Symposia*, which relate also to the surviving copies of statues of Socrates, are at a loss to estimate how much the face of the famous philosopher actually did resemble that of an ugly old Silen and how much the artistic type of the Silen influenced the literary as well as the artistic pattern. Inevitably, a Greek sculptor undertaking to represent Socrates would have represented him by a Silen type, whether in the older idealized style of the Naples head or in the livelier intense manner of those renderings attributed to Lysippos.<sup>51</sup>

Weickert shows how the Loeb mask (and this is even more true of our head) closely resembles the portraits of Socrates that are usually associated with the name of Lysippos, though he believes that the type given by the British Museum statuette dates earlier, likening it to the Korallion grave stele of ca. 340 B.C.<sup>52</sup> He goes on to argue that, though the Silen type created the Socrates portrait, so, inversely, did those famous portraits find reflection in Silen types of later date. This shrewd analysis explains, without insistence on identification, the startling similarity between our little clay head and the marble copies of portraits of Socrates, such as the Terme or Louvre pieces. All have the egg-shaped head,<sup>53</sup> the straight forehead, the deepset eyes with protruding eyeballs, the wide flanged nose, the trailing moustache over the thick beard. But our tiny original has more beauty of expression, more vital personality, more tenderness—less that is, of the Silen, more of the philosopher—than any of the major works. Is this surprising fact not due to its being an original, fresh from the hand of a fourth century master, even if only a coroplast?

I should suggest, therefore, that our head is not a conscious imitation of a Lysippan portrait of Socrates, but an expression, in miniature, of the same idea, of the interest in philosophers and teachers, which was so vigorous in Athens at the turn of the fourth century and several decades thereafter. Major and minor bronzes,

<sup>48</sup> Xenophon, *Sympos.*, V, 5.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 6.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 7.

<sup>51</sup> For a recent discussion, with references, of the two chief Socrates types, see Schefold, *Bildnisse*, pp. 68, 82, notes p. 204, 206. Pictures of the more important Socrates portraits are conveniently assembled in M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 1955, figs. 124-139.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 107, figs. 6 and 8.

<sup>53</sup> The high-domed head, however, could not have been intended to indicate high intelligence, for, as Harold F. Cherniss has pointed out to me, common Greek belief at this period did not place the seat of *νοῦς* in the brain.

marbles and small clay figurines all speak of the reflective mood, the retreat, as the world became too much to bear, into the uses of philosophy. In 306 B.C. after a period when philosophers had been hounded and the discursive association beloved by the Athenians had been in mortal danger, Epikouros established his school in Athens.<sup>22</sup> Continuing the good work in 301 B.C., the moderates gave up the requirement of a long military service for the ephebes and "expected or required" them to listen to lectures by the philosophers.<sup>23</sup> Immediately thereafter, Zeno opened his school in the Stoa Poikile and the age of reason began.

This is the background against which we must picture the old teachers or professors moving, purse or garland in hand, diptych and stylus ready, across the marketplace. We see them less vividly in the long series of statues than in the little clay scenes. In the Metropolitan Museum is a fine example of a late fourth century teacher writing letters for a little boy to learn. The old fellow is bald, wrinkled, bearded, with "Socratic" face.<sup>24</sup> Another, believed by Curtius to be Attic,<sup>25</sup> shows a pedagogue or a teacher in exasperation, seizing the boy by the ear, ready to strap him. Many other studies on the theme come from all over the Greek world. One derives, for example, from the Theban Kabeirion, another from Eretria,<sup>26</sup> both glancing downward at their charges with weary patience and fundamental kindliness. So our head also seems to glance.

One of the finest of these terracotta teachers or professors is a hand-made, delicately modelled example in the Louvre.<sup>27</sup> Very aged and weak, he leans heavily on his staff. He is bald, bearded, and stump-nosed. There is no hint of the Silen, no reference to tradition; this is an old man who may well have been the coroplast's grandfather. This Louvre figure has long been considered Attic, a conjecture well supported by its fabric and restrained but masterly modelling, and by the discovery, in the Kerameikos excavations, of a similar, though not identical, figure.<sup>28</sup>

The Kerameikos figure, which is unfortunately headless, is in turn extremely close to one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Pl. 35).<sup>29</sup> In fact, it is probably

<sup>22</sup> Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 107.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127 f.

<sup>24</sup> TK II, p. 403, 10; cf. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 588 = *B.M.M.A.*, XIX, 1924, p. 128, fig. 1 (from Asia Minor. H. ca. 0.12 m.).

<sup>25</sup> *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, pl. 8, 1, col. 157 = TK II, p. 403, 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403, 3 and 8.

<sup>27</sup> Louvre CA490, *ibid.*, p. 402, 6 = *Mon. Piot*, II, 1895, pp. 169 f., pl. XX. Cf. Charbonneaux, *Terres cuites grecques*, Paris, 1936, no. 85 (front); Schneider-Lengyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Munich, 1936, fig. 88 (side). The head is so unlike any others of this class that one is tempted to suggest that it may not belong to the body.

<sup>28</sup> Unpublished. In the Kerameikos Museum, Athens.

<sup>29</sup> Inv. 13.155. P. H. 0.12 m.; pink flesh, reddish brown on cloak. I owe the privilege of publishing this figure as well as the photograph on Plate 35 to the courtesy of the Trustees of the Museum and Miss Hazel Palmer.

from the same mould. This bent old man carries his head, which is of Silen type and coarser than ours, poked awkwardly forward, as though he were Diogenes seeking for a honest man. He leans on his staff as he walks. His mantle is wrapped carelessly around his body; bunches of folds hanging over his shoulder and down his left side contrast with wide plain areas around his body. These two pieces should be compared with the not dissimilar, but more sophisticated, bronze statue of "Hermarchos" in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>60</sup> This, however, portrays the dignified philosopher, whose noble character is expressed by his idealized face. The terracottas bring us closer to the common race of schoolmasters who hobbled along the streets followed by a gang of teasing youths.

It is illuminating to compare these types of the earliest third century with a figurine found in a well at Corinth, dating from the late third to early second century.<sup>61</sup> This philosopher stands quietly, with no hint of intended movement, either physical or spiritual. His head, which bears no trace of the Silen, echoes that of the solemn portraits of contemporary philosophers. It is tilted backward in reflection rather than forward in search. The drapery is sketched over his body in linear rigid cross-folds, much like those on a figure from the Agora Komos Cistern of the same period.<sup>62</sup>

In this series, then, we can trace the history of the philosophical type—the traditional hieratic Silen or Ugly Wise Old Man (did not the centaur Cheiron teach Achilles?) is tempered to a sensitive naturalistic portrait, best exemplified by our head from Group B, and then gives way to a contemplative type before the end of the third century B.C.

This series also shows how closely the coroplasts followed contemporary ideas and styles, particularly in bronze. If bronze-workers and coroplasts were not colleagues, they certainly must have been neighbors, well acquainted with each other's ideas and styles, throughout the entire third century B.C. It is indeed possible that the larger scale, the incisive marking of the eyeballs, the deep undercutting of the beard, the delicate detail of our head indicate that it was a study for a bronze. Unfortunately, such bronzes are extraordinarily rare in the late fourth century B.C. and offer us no parallels. We shall discuss other evidence for this possibility below under No. 19.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: DRAPED: NOS. 7-15

Several figures of dancers are representatives of a favorite fourth century type (Nos. 7-9). Dancers, playing tambourines or castanets as their thin garments flutter

<sup>60</sup> Richter, *Handbook*, 7th ed., p. 263, fig. 103, a — *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum*, p. 70, no. 120.

<sup>61</sup> S. Weinberg, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 14, 7.

<sup>62</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLII, 2. Mrs. Stillwell has called my attention to this close resemblance. The figure will be published in another article in this series.

wildly behind them, were already popular at Olynthos<sup>44</sup> before the middle of the fourth century. Our fragments, though sadly battered, clearly belong to that class. Two come from the lower parts of figures (Nos. 7-8). On the mould fragment (No. 8), the rush of skirts is worked out in large ogival folds, which in their haste curve back on themselves at the bottom. This is the style prevalent in the earlier fourth century, as, for example, on the famous "Titeux" dancer in the Louvre.<sup>45</sup> The mould is presumably earlier than the fragment from the figurine, No. 7. On this piece, the advanced left leg moves forward, drawing behind it a mass of drapery on which folds are lightly sketched; the right leg also stands clear of the drapery. This treatment is like that on the Running Niobid,<sup>46</sup> of which the original is usually placed in the late fourth century. These finely etched folds also remind one of the reliefs and drawings on bronze mirrors of the same period.<sup>47</sup>

In contrast, No. 9 shows an entirely different spirit. The fabric of the piece is thin, hard, smooth-surfaced, with sharp-cut internal nick and an abrupt reversal of the movement at the bottom. It is, in fact, very like a piece from the Komos Cistern, of the late third century B.C.<sup>48</sup> Stylistically, not only this parallel, but a series all showing this bold style, like the bronze Baker Dancer,<sup>49</sup> suggest that this scrap from our Group B must be among the later objects from that cistern. A fragmentary mould (No. 10) also shows the nicks that are often present on drapery of the third century.

One of the finest pieces of modelling in Group B comes from a sizable figure wrapped in a mantle (No. 11). In fabric it is close to the Eros (No. 4) discussed above. Probably both came from a group, the woman leaning on a stele from which the child looked up, his arms outstretched toward her.<sup>50</sup> The flattened line of breakage on the proper left side of the woman's figure matches, though without joining, that on the proper right side of the stele. The quality of the modelling is also in harmony with that of the child. The systems of folds are carefully thought out to give the feeling of a heavy fabric. The main curves shape the thigh, but within its appointed course each fold has a life of its own, made fresh by delicate surface modulation. Retouching

<sup>44</sup> E. G. D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, VII, pls. 22 f., nos. 182, 185, etc.

<sup>45</sup> Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, fig. 54; Charbonneaux, *Terres cuites grecques*, no. 55. Cf. the examples from Olynthos; *Olynthus*, XIV, pls. 75 f., 224 f.

<sup>46</sup> Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 264; cf. fig. 265.

<sup>47</sup> E. G. W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, 1942, pl. 5, KS 9 for the earlier type (ca. "350 B.C.") and fig. 97, KS 162 for later ("third quarter of the fourth century") and fig. 49, KS 161 (first half of the third century).

<sup>48</sup> A photograph of this piece appeared in *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 377, fig. 9. It will be published in the next article in this series.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 371 ff. and parallels there cited. Cf. also *Boston Myrinas*, nos. 68-69 (which I should now date well within the third century B.C.). These heavy folds appear on the paintings in a Bulgarian tomb, Micoff, *Tombeau de Kazanlak*, pls. XXIX ff.

<sup>50</sup> General type: *TK II*, p. 82, 7; 83; 6; 97, 6, etc.

has brought out sharp shadows, very like those on metal-work. This piece, when compared with good "Tanagras,"<sup>10</sup> shows an even finer finish than they received, yet it is not overdramatized as on certain specimens of the later third century.<sup>11</sup>

Now that we have a clear picture of the work of the end of the fourth century B.C., as evidenced by the examples from this cistern group, we find it very hard to reconcile a larger fragment from a draped female figure (No. 12) with the rest of the material. It is different technically, as we have seen.<sup>12</sup> The profile shows flat breasts and protruding ribs, not at all in the style of the piece just described. The surface is dull, with one rather casual vertical fold, which is set off by sharp cuts of the graver rather than by modelled shadows. This type of fold occurs on a Nike from the Phnyx from a context of the late third century B.C.,<sup>13</sup> on a dancer from the filling of the Middle Stoa in the Agora, which goes down to about the mid second century, and on other examples, already discussed.<sup>14</sup> The Group B fragment shows a woman with her right arm akimbo; she probably leaned on a support at her left, as does a similar piece from Priene, which dates before ca. 125 B.C.<sup>15</sup> This is a period when terracottas follow the Pergamene sculptural style with surprising fidelity.<sup>16</sup> A fine example from Myrina retains this sculptural feeling far better than does our piece.<sup>17</sup> In this case, Athens is clearly copying, not creating, the style. All available evidence, then, places this fragment, No. 12, very near the middle of the second century B.C. It must have entered the cistern with the Pergamene plate and the lamp mentioned above.<sup>18</sup> This dating is confirmed by comparison with pieces from later groups of the Hellenistic series: it seems closest to one from Group D, but not far from one from Group E, of the late second century.<sup>19</sup> We shall discuss these interrelations later.

A few insignificant scraps from draped figures or from their moulds do not merit publication, but they are of good quality. Their nature may be indicated by citing two characteristic samples, Nos. 13-14. No. 13 shows a shoe projecting from massive drapery, as on the Baker Dancer.<sup>20</sup> It is of the same scale. The bands of gold leaf on the drapery show that it was once an expensive piece.

<sup>10</sup> E. g. Kleiner, pl. 5; pl. 9, a.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. *ibid.*, pl. 14, a; cf. pl. 6, where the folds lose their organic union with the surface and become artificial lines imposed upon it.

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 109.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, 1943, p. 141, fig. 56, no. 30.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 377, fig. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Priene*, p. 351, fig. 416.

<sup>16</sup> *Boston Myrinas*, p. 16; cf. Kleiner, p. 215 and Winter, *KB*, pp. 360 f.

<sup>17</sup> Athens, Nat. Mus. 4998: Winter, *KB*, p. 360, No. 6 = R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen*, 1931, pl. 30, 2 (dated in very early second century B.C.). Cf. *Boston Myrinas*, p. 58, Kleiner, p. 215.

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 109.

<sup>19</sup> Groups D and E will be published in a later article on second century groups.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 373, fig. 2.

The other scrap apparently comes from a seated figure (No. 14); only the red seat and the ends of drapery are preserved. The folds are rounded and slightly flaring; they bear thin cuts in their surface. The zigzag end is naturalistically rendered, with well articulated turns and deep shadows. The fragment must come from one of the earliest of those seated figures of dreaming girls and boys which became immensely popular during the third century.<sup>31</sup>

The upper part of No. 14 is lost, but No. 15 suggests on a smaller scale the most probable type. The pose is essentially that of Rodin's *Penseur*. The figure is seated simply in a frontal position: the right elbow rests on the right knee, carrying upward the vertical movement; the head rests upright on the supporting hand. This compact form and vertical movement suggest inner stability and calm, the *desideratum* of the age. Eminently suitable for the portrayal of philosophers, this pose began its history rather as an expression of mourning. During the fourth century, it lost its connotation of sorrow and came to stand for the contemplative mood. It was used effectively for abstractions like the Tyche of Antioch or for the more frivolous reflections of youth as in the Conservatori Maiden.<sup>32</sup> In terracottas, the examples are sufficiently numerous to form an interesting series. The example from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 39) repeats, in characteristically traditional way, the oldest version, that of the mourner. But another example<sup>33</sup> of just a little later date shows a new approach and refinement of the theme; the movement is very quiet and the shallow folds draw in toward the central axis. The head of this figure, incidentally, is close to Nos. 28-29 of the Coroplast's Dump. We see here the moment of transition from the traditional to the re-created type. In a somewhat later piece from Corinth,<sup>34</sup> the raising of the right foot and cocking of the head imply inner tension, an effect enhanced by the taut horizontal folds of the himation, which seem to bind the body. Our small fragment from Group B is particularly interesting because, although it accents the vertical with the right arm, it shows a peculiar broken rhythm of folds over the torso. As ever, the Athenian example of a well known type does not exactly follow tradition. We can feel sure that this piece comes from a seated figure rather than from a standing type, because, with sensitive feeling, the contemplative gesture of the arm, supported on the crossed other arm, is not developed for standing figures until later. Then it soon forms the basis for the "Pudicitia" motif, which is repeated *ad nauseam* in late Hellenistic times.

<sup>31</sup> E. g. Kleiner, pl. 31, b, c.

<sup>32</sup> E. g. TK II, p. 109 for the types. Cf. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, figs. 205, 101 f.

<sup>33</sup> Kleiner, pl. 35; cf. Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 44. Kleiner dates these in the late fourth century.

<sup>34</sup> Kleiner, pl. 36; dated in the second quarter of the third century.



## FEMALE HEAD: No. 16

The only female head in this group is somewhat broken, but it clearly belongs to a common "Tanagra" type. It is important to distinguish the characteristic features in this head from Athens of the latest fourth century. The hair, parted in the center, rises resiliently on either side of the part to be drawn to a low knot at the nape of the neck. This coiffure, which we might call the "Knidian" after its most famous appearance on the Aphrodite by Praxiteles, is most characteristic of the earliest "Tanagra" phase. The head is a narrow oval from the front view, but rather rounder from the side. The face is pointed. The eyes are level, with sharply accented lids, which do not meet at the corners. The forehead is slightly rounded and set off from the nose, which is narrow at the bridge, but wider at the nostrils. This contrasts with the type of nose that has the same breadth throughout its length. The mouth is small, somewhat pursed, set high under the nose and separated from the chin by a groove. The chin is narrower than that of No. 7 from the Demeter Cistern and it slopes more markedly into the neck. All these elements seem a little later than the facial type of the Coroplast's Dump (Nos. 28-29,<sup>18</sup> for instance), which we have dated to ca. 320 B.C. The features are smaller and more deeply modelled than those of Demeter Cistern No. 7. The profile can profitably be compared with those on coins of the period ca. 336-280 B.C.,<sup>19</sup> though these are by function more idealized. The facial type also resembles that of a head on a bronze mirror of ca. 300 B.C.<sup>20</sup> It is perhaps significant that only one or two of the heads from Chatby are at all close.<sup>21</sup> This head type occurs frequently on "Tanagras" in museums. Dating as it does very close to 300 B.C.,<sup>22</sup> this head is a valuable touchstone for the dating of "Tanagras" of unknown provenience.

## ANIMAL: No. 17

The mould for the head of a dog is an unusual piece. The animal's strong muzzle, loose lips, and deep-set yearning eyes are rendered with affectionate knowledge. That the ear was to be made separately and attached suggests that it was large and pricked forward. This fact, the shape of the head, and the absence of ruff all point to the identification of the breed as the true Molossian hound.<sup>23</sup> Shorter-muzzled and heavier than the running hound, the Molossian was used for herding

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 36 and pl. 34.

<sup>19</sup> E. g. B. Head, *Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London, 1932, pl. 31, Nos. 1, 14, 18, etc.

<sup>20</sup> Züchner, *Klappspiegel*, pl. 24, KS 14 (dated 350-325 B.C.).

<sup>21</sup> E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, 1912, pl. LXXI, 207, 212 are somewhat alike. Most of the faces look later. On the dating of Chatby note *J.E.A.*, XXXIX, 1953, p. 89, note 1, evidence that tends to place Chatby after 300 B.C.

<sup>22</sup> It was found in the earliest deposit of this group; see above, p. 112.

<sup>23</sup> See O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 103 ff., pl. I, 2, 5, 6 and fig. 39.

and protection. This is then the portrait of the sort of dog that Theophrastos' Boor introduced to his friends, taking him by the snout and saying, "This fellow is the guardian of my house and farm."<sup>11</sup>

Other evidence for the devotion of Athenians to their dogs has recently come to light in the Agora, behind the Stoa of Attalos, where a grave was found containing the skeleton of a large dog, with a meat bone placed tenderly by his nose.<sup>12</sup> Epigrams in the Anthology vivify this sentiment:<sup>13</sup>

Though in the tomb, dear Huntress, your bones lie,  
The wild beasts of the mountains fear you still.  
Pelion knew you; Ossa heard your cry;  
Even Cithaeron, where sheep graze their fill.

Despite this affection, dogs were accorded little attention by the coroplasts of classical times. Small pets are shown as playmates for children,<sup>14</sup> but they do not often receive the compliment of special study. We must mention, however, the shaggy farm dog from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 58) and the delicate bronze statuette of a hound chewing a bone, now in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>15</sup> The mould from Group B derives from an ambitious piece. To my knowledge, only a few later parallels occur; for instance, a head of similar shape and scale, but with a shaggy body, wearing a studded collar, from Egypt<sup>16</sup> and the handsome figurine of a "pseudo-Molosian" dog with a ruff from Hellenistic Asia Minor.<sup>17</sup> Neither is so skillfully modelled as our Athenian representative of the breed.

#### MISCELLANEOUS: No. 18

The mould for a Corinthian capital has been discussed under its most interesting aspect—the technical.<sup>18</sup> The leaves have been too much damaged to permit detailed comparison with those of large marble capitals. The single row of encircling leaves is tall, as on the capital of the Tholos of Epidauros;<sup>19</sup> they cover about a third of the height of the capital with a higher leaf pushing up beneath the corner to reach to

<sup>11</sup> Theophrastos, *Char.*, IV.

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 52, pl. 26, a, and p. 268 with parallels.

<sup>13</sup> J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, London, 1907, Section 3, LXI. Cf. *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 211: cf. Theophrastos, *Char.*, XXI.

<sup>14</sup> The finest examples are gathered by Miss Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1930, pls. LIII-LV.

<sup>15</sup> Inv. 36.11.12. Richter, *Handbook*, 7th. ed., pl. 105, f.

<sup>16</sup> P. Perdrietz, *Terres cuites grecques Fouquet*, no. 395, pl. CXXV.

<sup>17</sup> Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten*, 1926, pl. 104; De Jong, *Griekische Terracotta's*, 1944, p. 69, no. 84 (dated third-second century B.C.).

<sup>18</sup> See above, pp. 111-112.

<sup>19</sup> D. S. Robertson, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, 1943, pl. V.

half the height. These proportions and the arrangement of leaves which permits the upper part to remain either bare, or decorated only with paint, is closer to the earlier types of Corinthian capitals than to that of the more nearly contemporary Monument of Lysikrates. It is a question whether the mould reproduces an earlier piece, whether the style of miniature capitals was conservative, or whether the upper part was erased.

Since the capital had an upper diameter of ca. 0.08 m., the shaft, on the analogy of the columns on the Monument of Lysikrates, would have been ca. 0.50 m. high. Such a column is too large for a figurine to lean against at this period. Shall we assume that the capital was intended for an unusually large votive, such as have been found, on a smaller scale, in the Coroplast's Dump (No. 69) and in the Hedgehog Well (No. 12)? Since, however, the width of the abacus would have been about 0.08-0.09 m., another solution can be suggested, namely, that the column supported a figure.<sup>100</sup> Figures of deities stand on columns, for instance in vase-paintings such as the Panathenaic, but columns also support men and women in pious meditation.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, this abacus is just about the size of that on which stands the bronze statuette of "Hermarchos" in the Metropolitan Museum. The height of this figure is about three times the width of the abacus on which it rests.<sup>102</sup> Calculating on that basis, we find that the statuette which could have stood upon our Corinthian capital would have been a trifle taller than the "Hermarchos," that is, between 0.27 and 0.28 m. high. Its head, including the beard, would have been ca. 0.05 m. high.

It seems not unlikely, then, that our mould was taken from a metal capital. As the mould is, however, not itself technically intended for the casting of bronze, but is rather identical with our terracotta moulds, it must be considered just another example of the way in which coroplasts copied metal-workers. Possibly it was also intended to support a clay figurine.

#### CONCLUSION

In contrast to the groups of figurines previously studied, this series contains not one single piece that can be connected with a sanctuary. The subject matter is drawn from daily life—the youth, the soldier, the old philosopher, the girls dancing or seated in reflection, the dog lying by the door. Only Eros joins this group as a representative of the immortals. He perches for a second, ready to be off; he is welcomed as a human child and not much heeded. These everyday folk are the people of Tanagra, of Athens, of New Comedy. Luckily for us, they are selected by the coroplasts with a

<sup>100</sup> I owe this suggestion to my husband.

<sup>101</sup> E. g. *TK* II, p. 84, 3, 7; p. 88, 4, 6.

<sup>102</sup> H. 0.263 m. Width of abacus: 0.08 m.; H. of head: 0.045 m. I owe these measurements to the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander. The plaque bases for small figures from the Coroplast's Dump range from 0.039 to 0.063 m. Cf. D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1949, pl. 31, no. 146 (H. 0.142 m.).

kindly eye to soften the harsh picture of the period painted by Theophrastos in his *Characters*.

Artistically, this is the time of the finest terracotta work in Athens. The coroplasts no longer interest themselves in turning out masses of flat stock types for votives. They are making works of art for the connoisseur who cannot afford bronzes. Even these scraps show how masterly the portraiture that could be done in clay, how sculptural the feeling of the drapery. We can only surmise that the whole figures were even more exquisite, more varied, more subtle than their Boeotian imitations.

In such a small deposit as Group B, it is not easy, or even desirable, to attempt a full analysis of stylistic development. In general, the moulds seem earlier than the figurines, which is usual. They may well date as early as the third quarter of the fourth century. The dancer (No. 7), the female head (No. 16), the male doll (No. 1), and the bearded head (No. 6) all seem to fall in the last quarter of the fourth century. Just after 300 B.C., we place the seated figures (No. 14-15), the group of a woman with Eros (Nos. 4, 11) and some bits of drapery. These all belong, in any case, to a period very close to 300 B.C. Much later, on stylistic and technical grounds, come the draped scrap (No. 8), the female figure (No. 12) and that of a boy (No. 2); this discrepancy in dating is explained by other evidence of an intrusion in the mid second century B.C.

This group is not homogeneous, but it is not, on the other hand, untrustworthy as evidence for the taste of the period just after Alexander. We see the break from hieratic tradition, the surge of interest in humanism, the new preoccupations and subjects, and the great development in technique. Terracotta figures become works of art. We are entering the purely Hellenistic domain.

#### CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows the form set up from that of the Coroplast's Dump, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 158 ff. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the letter B.

##### *Articulated Figure*

- 1 (T 290) Articulated Male Figure, Fragment. Pl. 34.

P. H. 0.056 m. Thin wall; cursorily smoothed inside; attachment hole for arm preserved.

Fragment from the left side of a seated male nude "doll."

##### *Male Figures*

- 2 (T 170) Draped Male Figure, Fragment. Pl. 34.

P. H. 0.037 m., P. W. 0.024 m. Hard, mot-

tled light red clay; part of large rectangular cutting at back; inside smoothed.

Fragment from the right side and front of a childish figure wrapped in an himation around the body over a thin chiton that has slipped down over the shoulder. His right arm hangs down.

- 3 (T 317 a) Right Arm. Pl. 34.

Max. dim. 0.049 m. Solid. Red glaze at shoulder and wrist.

Right arm of a male figure, preserved from shoulder to wrist.

## 4 (T 297) Eros Seated on Stele. Pl. 34.

P. H. 0.063 m., P. W. 0.033 m. Solid; no vent. Hand-made back. Traces of glaze used as an adhesive on neck, arms, wings, seat.

Eros, nude, sits on a stele; his arms were stretched upward.

## 5 (T 295) Mould: Standing Hoplite. Pl. 34.

H. 0.115 m., W. 0.072 m. Complete. Round-backed; worn inside. Eleven tabs preserved.

Mould for the torso of a fully armed hoplite, wearing modelled cuirass beneath chlamys, which is fastened on right shoulder. The left hand is extended forward beneath it. The cuirass, with one row of lappets, is worn over a chiton, which hangs below it.

## 6 (T 313) Male Head, bearded. Pl. 35.

H. 0.052 m., W. 0.034 m. Hand-made. Solid. No trace of slip. Chips missing.

The head of a bald bearded man. The eyeballs are modelled.

*Female Figures*

## 7 (T 315) Dancer: Fragment. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.058 m. Hand-made back. Red glaze beneath for attachment to plaque base.

The dancer moves rapidly to her left; she wears full long drapery that pulls out behind her.

## 8 (T 308) Mould(?) : Flying Drapery. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.06 m. Smoothed behind; rough inner surface. Much cracked.

Fragment from trial piece representing flying drapery from the side of a figure.

## 9 (T 292) Fragment: Drapery. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.037 m. Thin hard fabric; solid. No slip.

Fragment from flying drapery.

## 10 (T 317 c) Mould: Drapery. Pl. 36.

Max. dim. 0.075 m.

Fragment from drapery from a large figure, hanging in straight folds.

T 317 was listed erroneously in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 331, as Head of a Dog.

## 11 (T 291) Fragment: Drapery. Pl. 34.

P. H. 0.055 m., P. W. 0.058 m. Tan clay; hard fabric. Blue-gray color; red glaze along left side, at break.

Fragment from drapery over thigh of a large figure.

## 12 (T 304) Standing Draped Female. Pl. 37.

P. H. 0.096 m., P. W. 0.06 m. Tan-gray clay; rough inside. Yellow shading in white folds; blue border around neck and down right side.

The woman stands with her right arm akimbo, wearing a low-necked chiton, girt high.

## 13 (T 309) Fragment: Draped Figure. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.064 m. Tan clay. Hollow; clay had by foot; traces of plaque base. Blue color, with traces of gold bands; red glaze as adhesive on shoe.

Fragment from the lower part of a draped female figure, probably dancing.

## 14 (T 296) Fragment: Seated Figure. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.065 m., P. W. 0.046 m. Tan clay; blue on drapery; red on seat. Inside rough.

Fragment from left side of a seated figure.

## 15 (T 300) Draped Torso. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.037 m. Traces of circular vent. Head never attached. No trace of slip.

Torso wrapped in himation, under which right hand is raised to throat.

## 16 (T 314) Female Head. Pl. 37.

P. H. 0.032 m., W. 0.024 m. Mould-made, then stuffed solid. Red on hair. Chips missing from left front of hair.

Female head, wearing hair parted in center and drawn to knot at nape; over it a circlet.

*Miscellaneous*

17 (T 316) Mould: Head of Dog. Pl. 37.

H. 0.049 m., L. 0.074 m. Complete. Rounded back, with five tabs. Edges of mould rough; mould cracked.

Head of dog to shoulder, showing trace of collar; eyeball modelled. Ear was to be attached separately.

PRINCETON, N. J.

18 (T 293) Mould: Corinthian Capital. Pl. 37.

H. 0.091 m., W. 0.078 m., diam. at bottom 0.055 m. Back uneven. Impression damaged.

Mould for a capital with low curved abacus and acanthus leaves at base of bell.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

# THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

## II B. THE ALTAR WELL

(PLATES 26-30)

### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

THE deposit from the "Altar Well" was found in 1946 to the west of the Areopagus, near the Great Drain that led down to the Agora.<sup>1</sup> Nothing survived of the small house or industrial establishment which had been served by the well. The deposit from it is one of the very few from the Agora excavations that contain both good pottery and a number of figurine fragments sufficiently interesting to warrant publication. It therefore falls naturally into the series of Agora deposits of Hellenistic figurines on which I hope to base a fuller understanding of the character and chronology of Athenian terracottas. Previous studies of groups of earlier date have already appeared under convenient names by which they will be designated without further reference in the following pages, namely, the Coroplast's Dump, the Hedgehog Well and the Demeter Cistern, and Group B.<sup>2</sup>

### CHRONOLOGY<sup>3</sup>

The filling of the well was deposited in three distinct layers. The first period of use "may be placed within the first quarter of the third century B.C.," according to Dr. Edwards. He adduces as evidence two lamps of characteristic type and several fragments of kantharoi with handles with exaggerated spurs. Only one figurine fragment was found in this layer, a mask (No. 30).

The debris from the second period of use contained no figurines.

The final filling, which yielded the bulk of our deposit, "covers a wide period.

<sup>1</sup> Deposit B 20:7 (see *Athenian Agora*, IV, p. 234 for explanation of deposit numbers). This well was excavated by Rodney S. Young. Its position is shown on the plan in *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 136, fig. 1 in the region of wavy rock lines just to the right of the tank marked 64.30 and below the Roman north-to-south wall. This article profits by the photographs taken by Alison Frantz and by suggestions and help from many colleagues, especially Evelyn Harrison and G. Roger Edwards.

<sup>2</sup> These deposits were treated in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 116 ff. (Coroplast's Dump, Deposit S 19:3); XXIII, 1954, pp. 72 ff. (Hedgehog Well, Deposit O 18:1 and Demeter Cistern, Deposit F 16:1), and XXVI, 1957, pp. 108 ff. (Group B, Deposit H 16:1).

<sup>3</sup> This account of the chronology based on the pottery is taken from a letter from G. R. Edwards, dated April 5, 1956. Since the pottery is to be published elsewhere, no illustrations are included here.

There is a little of the fifth century, a very large proportion of the fourth and a relatively small amount of the third century. The most distinctive and probably the latest pieces in it are a number of Megarian bowls and fragments thereof. Several of these would seem to be of the very earliest types, bowls with floral decoration and others with imbricate leaves, of a high standard of workmanship; others are of the figured variety. The considerable number of bowls represented in the filling would indicate that the filling occurred at a time when the production of Megarian bowls was beginning to get into full swing. There is reason to believe that their production began near the middle of the third century B.C., and that these bowls began to gain popularity in the third quarter; it is probably to that time that the filling should be assigned. This dating would seem to be in accord with the archaeological evidence, making allowance for the second period of use filling, for which independently there is no certain indication of date." A coin from this level is attributed to Athens, 307-283 B.C. The lamps vary considerably in date. One, of Howland Type 43 C, is placed late in the third quarter and into the fourth quarter of the third century.<sup>4</sup> The stamped amphora handles range as follows: Rhodian (early to mid third), Thasian (mid third [?]), Knidian (early).<sup>5</sup> All this evidence implies that our terracottas were thrown away in the third quarter of the third century, but that most of them are likely to have been made considerably earlier. Thus they overlap those from Group B of the late fourth century and also show close relations with others from the Demeter Cistern of the third quarter of the fourth century.

#### TECHNIQUE

The clay is in general like that employed in the previous groups, a yellow-buff in color, fired at times to pinkish or even to light red. The exceptional colors stand out clearly. The mask (No. 30) from the earliest deposit is smoked gray. The color of an Eros (No. 2) is peculiar and is probably due to stain; that of the boy's head (No. 6) and of a boot (No. 4) are more the normal tan-buff that appears frequently in the Satyr Cistern.<sup>6</sup> The clear tan-buff of the drapery (No. 15) finds a likeness in the Satyr head of that Cistern (T 2072) and in the bit of drapery from Group B (No. 11). The clay of the small altar which gives this deposit its name (No. 33) is patently Corinthian. One piece only is made of an unusual fabric (No. 11), hard-baked and like an egg-shell in fineness. The color and appearance of the clay, however, are enough like those of the others to indicate that it too is Attic.

One group of pieces from this deposit is strikingly individual in being much

<sup>4</sup> The lamps are classed by Richard Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, pp. 59, 74, 135 as types 23 C, 25 B Prime and 43 C respectively.

<sup>5</sup> In the order mentioned in the text: SS 9654, 9660, 9663; SS 9659, 9683; SS 9709. I owe this dating to an analysis made by V. R. Grace dated August 10, 1949.

<sup>6</sup> Deposit N 21: 4, a mid-third century group to be published next in our series.



thicker and heavier than the rest (Nos. 13-14).<sup>7</sup> The surface has been much eaten by acids and is sandy, but seems Attic. A few similar pieces have been found in a large deposit to be published later, known as the Terracotta Factory.<sup>8</sup> Two of these (T 2816 and T 2800) are obviously "patrices" or archetypes from which moulds were to be made. It is significant that not one of the fragments of this kind from the Altar Well shows even a trace of slip. The unusually thick walls and the fact that these pieces, though themselves mouldmade, have been retouched by hand, make them excellent candidates for interpretation as patrices. The likelihood is that they were mouldmade pieces of popular types reworked for use in making new moulds.<sup>9</sup> Since a number of moulds were found in the well along with these figurines, the existence of a coroplast's factory near by seems highly probable and supports our hypothesis.

Little other technical evidence survives. Of the preserved backs only one is modelled (No. 1). The only vent is triangular (or irregular) (No. 7) except the very large opening on No. 11. The backs of the human heads are not modelled, except for No. 6, on which the boy's hair is slightly indicated.

The bases are varied; they will be discussed in the commentary.<sup>10</sup>

The sizable fragments of moulds from this deposit, of which in addition to the eight listed below about twenty scraps are uncatalogued, compare well with those of the Coroplast's Dump. Several are of the soft buff or reddish buff fabric with carelessly indented backs that we have reason to date in the fourth century; they are also well worn (Nos. 20, 31, 32). Others are made of a firmer fabric, fired yellow, but their backs are not very well finished (Nos. 17, 20, 21). Only one (No. 10) resembles the latest from the Coroplast's Dump and Group B in being of a firm, pinkish buff fabric carefully rounded behind. Almost all these moulds bear grooves to hold cord for fastening the moulds together and only one shows traces of having been held together by means of tabs of clay, which seems to be a later method of fastening.<sup>11</sup>

The condition of the figurines is, in general, poor, as might well be expected from the fact that they were found with pottery much of which was over fifty years old when it was discarded. Only four pieces retain sharp edges, plastic detail or color, namely, the boot (No. 4), a draped fragment (No. 15), a female figure and an Eros from a relief vase (Nos. 40, 42). In style, most of these certainly seem to be among the latest pieces from the deposit.

<sup>7</sup> The walls vary from 0.01 to 0.015 m. in thickness, as opposed to the more usual 0.005 m. and 0.002 m. on No. 15.

<sup>8</sup> T 2893, 2895 a-b, 2800, 2816, from Deposit C 20: 2.

<sup>9</sup> For the process, see R. V. Nicholls, *B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 220. Evidence of similar procedure in the making of lamp moulds has been observed by Judith Perlzweig.

<sup>10</sup> See below p. 144.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 83; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 124.

The four fragments from relief vases will be discussed after the figurines, for they seem to have been made by coroplasts.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

No "doll" fragment worth publishing appears in this group, but one large articulated arm not inventoried and a smaller one with mitten hand (T 2675) belong in this category. The "dolls" with articulated arms and legs seem to have passed their peak of popularity by the beginning of the third century, to be superseded by the seated nude type with articulated arms only.

#### MALE FIGURES: Nos. 1-6

Male figures are also few. No. 1, which from the curve of its back appears to have been seated, has a narrow but strong chest, in which the rib cage is muscular and compressed. The bony structure is well presented, not in terms of linear pattern, but clothed with flesh. It compares well with a smaller figure from the Pnyx (No. 57).<sup>12</sup> A torso from Corinth, more emphatically modelled on the same lines, probably dates in the late fourth to early third century.<sup>13</sup> The pose suggests that the youth sat in relaxation or perhaps he was drinking. He may well be a Dionysos, the favorite young male of the period. We cannot derive any clear understanding of the type, but we can appreciate the sculptural feeling. This reflects the spirit of the crisply enunciated bronze reliefs of the earliest third century.<sup>14</sup>

The midpart of an Eros (No. 2) who held a bit of drapery at his left side, must have been similar to Erotes wearing twists of drapery around the hips (Pl. 26)<sup>15</sup> and others, more babyish, from the chamber-tomb at Eretria.<sup>16</sup> Its closest parallel is an Eros from the Pnyx (No. 58).<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to add this other example, which presumably dates in the period after 300 B.C., showing Eros still boyish if not lean, rather than a plump "putto" in "correct" flying position.<sup>18</sup> Dated examples from Halae<sup>19</sup> show how well established was the boyish floating type ca. 300 B.C. The

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 122, 145, fig. 59.

<sup>13</sup> G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 29, No. 321.

<sup>14</sup> W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel, Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft XIV*, 1942, p. 65, pl. 27, KS 92; cf. p. 140, fig. 66, KS 78 (p. 57 dated ca. 275 B.C.; this is more fleshy).

<sup>15</sup> T 880, 882, from the Agora Cistern, Deposit E 14:1, dated 275-225 B.C.

<sup>16</sup> A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. I; cf. A. Köster, *Die griechische Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pls. 77 ff., J. Charbonneaux, *Les Terrecuites grecques*, Paris, 1936, pl. 52.

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 145, fig. 59; cf. A. Levi, *Le Terrecotte figurate del Museo nazionale di Napoli*, Florence, 1926, p. 52, No. 53 (Tarentum).

<sup>18</sup> G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren, Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft XV*, 1942 (hereafter Kleiner), pp. 173 ff. suggests that early examples did not react properly to suspension in the air, but this is not true of Coroplast's Dump No. 11.

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, pls. XXII, V-h-2, XXIV, V-h-3. These seem to be among the latest terracottas, dating ca. 280 B.C., found in this cemetery.

Agora series suggests that the baby type was not created in terracotta until nearer the middle of the third century.<sup>20</sup>

The limited appeal of this most sentimental of Greek coroplastic creations is surprising. Eros is rare, for instance, in Corinth<sup>21</sup> and Alexandria,<sup>22</sup> two cities where the god of love was not without followers. Athens, which seems to have created the type, exported it to Boeotia,<sup>23</sup> whence it spread to south Italy and Sicily<sup>24</sup> and Asia Minor.<sup>25</sup> In those areas flocks of baby Erotes fluttered around the ladies and were responsible in no small way for the sentimentality of Roman taste when it fell under the spell of the *Graeculi* from those regions.

The curious costume shown on No. 3, which is virtually a chiton doubly *exomis* and gathered in the center of the chest by a clasp or brooch, is occasionally worn by Artemis, Maenads, and other figures in active movement.<sup>26</sup> More rarely, it appears on males.<sup>27</sup> The modelling of the chest of our piece is vague, but seems possibly female; or the figure may have been of hermaphroditic or Dionysiac character.<sup>28</sup> In this connection we should note that our No. 4 is a leg wearing an elaborately modelled high soft leather boot with flaps.<sup>29</sup> It differs from the stage boot in having an open toe. Considering that the scale and fabric of these two pieces are similar, we may well assign them to a sizable statuette of Dionysiac character. Since, moreover, the leg modelled completely in the round is not common on standing male figures of this period, it seems more probable that our piece represents a Dionysiac Eros, floating in the air, such as are common in Myrina.<sup>30</sup>

Another foot (No. 5), apparently from a female flying figure, should be men-

<sup>20</sup> Kleiner (p. 175) noted that the first plump baby Eros appears on a coin dated 300-289 B.C., but he correctly placed the flowering of the type ca. 250 B.C.

<sup>21</sup> A wing shown as Corinth, XII, pl. 31, No. 354 suggests that the flying Eros type was used, but only one baby Eros from the Corinthia is known to me (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pl. 56, b), which was presumably held, not floating.

<sup>22</sup> No flying Erotes appear in E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, or among the many denizens of the Alexandria Museum publications. The only visible example in that immense collection, No. 19896, was sequestered and therefore may well have not come from Egypt.

<sup>23</sup> TK II, pp. 320 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 344 ff.; cf. P. Willeumier, *Tarente*, Paris, 1939, pl. XXXVI, 1-3; G. Libertini, *Centuripe*, Catania, 1926, pl. XXV.

<sup>25</sup> TK II, p. 328, 5 ff., p. 333 etc.

<sup>26</sup> D. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934 (hereafter *Boston Myrinas*), No. 41; R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, I, London, 1954, No. 1271 with references.

<sup>27</sup> *Jahrb.*, XXIX, 1914, p. 147, pl. 9; note 2 gives full bibliography.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. A. Laumonier, *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 72, Nos. 709, 711.

<sup>29</sup> A. Alföldi, *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 50 f. identifies this boot as the Persian *chaps*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. TK II, p. 338, 5-6, p. 339, 1-3 (Professor C. H. Morgan has kindly informed me that No. 5 is now in the Mead Art Gallery, Amherst, Mass.).

tioned here. It wears a pointed closed shoe with a thick sole (probably of cork) which was popular, chiefly among the ladies, during the third century.<sup>21</sup> But it could also conceivably be worn by a floating Eros.

#### MALE HEAD: No. 6

The one preserved male head from this deposit gives us a touchstone for the boyish type of the early third century. It is too large for our little Eros and must have come from the figure of a boy of the type that played with the "Tanagra" girls, for example one in the National Museum in Athens<sup>22</sup> of the same scale and character. These boys have small features, characterized by marked grooves in the forehead and under the lower lip, eyes squinting, a grooved neck and short hair treated with lightly impressionistic curls. A thick stippled wreath sits well back on the head. Such wreaths were made up of small flowers and tied on the head by ribbons that often hang down on the shoulders. They make an appearance before 348 B.C. in Olynthos, on large-sized heads,<sup>23</sup> but do not reach their heyday of popularity until the third century B.C. The facial type, the wreath set back on the head and the whole aspect of this head are like those of advanced Tanagras and indicate a date well down in the third century, probably in its third quarter.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: SEMIDRAPED: Nos. 7-8

This type of female figure, nude to the hips, must originally have represented Aphrodite. But by the third century many such figures are evidently no more than mortals, who take on, for artistic purposes, the attributes of the goddess. Many variants exist in all media. In terracotta, they stand or sit preparing for the bath or relaxing in private. Our No. 7 is an excellent example of the simplest type. She stands with right leg markedly relaxed, but though she does not lean, the chiasmos in her body still follows fourth century tradition. Her right arm was extended forward, but not to play a cithara as in examples from Centuripe.<sup>24</sup> The slim body rises from its sheath of drapery and contrasts with it—the revelation is enough in itself to create its effect. This is the first phase in the development of this distinctly Hellenistic motif. Like an example in Berlin<sup>25</sup> which stands cross-legged, it presents itself in simple frontality and its drapery, muffling the legs, falls in greater simplicity with scarcely any folds. A heavy roll around the hips and more sharply articulated

<sup>21</sup> *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 379 f. with references.

<sup>22</sup> J. Marthé, *Catalogue des figurines de terre cuite*, Paris, 1880, No. 352, pl. V, 1; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXIV, v-j-9 (Halai).

<sup>23</sup> E. g., *Olynthus*, VII, pls. 54 ff. on head-vases.

<sup>24</sup> Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XXIII, 2, 3; cf. Kleiner, pl. 4, c-e.

<sup>25</sup> Inv. 8041, Köster, *Griechische Terrakotten*, pl. 89 (Myrina).

folds in four areas of contrasting structural patterns divert the eye on the Berlin piece. The Centuripe examples just cited are more sophisticated, built into a pyramidal composition, enhanced by raising the leg, turning the torso and elaborating the drapery. Perhaps the finest variation on this theme is a beautiful piece also in Berlin,<sup>36</sup> a work of subtle balances and skilful contrasts; one feels vividly the difference between our early third century piece and this truly sculptural creation of about a hundred years later. This "Aphrodite" raises her cloak with her right hand in a gesture of revelation. Our No. 8 follows this same motive, but its slighter body seems considerably earlier. The flat, high-set breasts of both our pieces as well as their direct presentation remind one of the girlish figures in copies of the Niobid group.<sup>37</sup>

#### FEMALE FIGURES: STANDING DRAPED: NOS. 9-18

Our first draped female type (No. 9) is a representative of a large class of which the Agora specimens are shown on Plate 27. These figures are often called "archaistic idols."<sup>38</sup> On analogy with many other examples, we can safely restore on ours a head wearing a polos and long locks of hair on the shoulders.<sup>39</sup> The garment is a long clinging peplos, girded high, with overfold to the hips and marked central fold in the lower part; this is worn over the chiton that shows beneath it.<sup>40</sup>

These little figures appear on vases as early as the last quarter of the fifth century and on statues such as the Aphrodite from Corneto or the Artemis of Larnaka.<sup>41</sup> They stand on bases, posts or pillars and seem much more like figures of votaries or dancing temple attendants<sup>42</sup> than, as has been suggested, archaic statues of the deity who leans on them.<sup>43</sup> Muthmann shows that this interpretation is contradicted by the fact that different deities and even males lean on identical figures.<sup>44</sup> Since these supports appear to be merely the female counterparts of herms and Priapus figures (which later supersede them), why should they not be stylized repre-

<sup>36</sup> Inv. 8151, *ibid.*, pl. 88 (Myrina); cf. *Boston Myrinas*, No. 6.

<sup>37</sup> M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1954, fig. 255.

<sup>38</sup> W. Déonna, "Aphrodite accoudée," *L'Antiquité classique*, XIX, 1950, p. 53.

<sup>39</sup> *TK II*, p. 84, 7, p. 85, 1, 8, etc.; E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* (hereafter *Néc.*), pls. VII, 6, XXVIII, 1, XLIV, 6; A. Philadelphus, *Πρότυπα Ειδώλια ἐκ Μυρίνης*, Athens, 1928, pl. XIV, No. 4999.

<sup>40</sup> For this combination of chiton and peplos, see Hans Weber, "Griechische Frauentrachten im vierten Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende," *Beiträge zur Trachtgeschichte Griechenlands*, Wurzburg, 1938, pp. 114, 142. Examples occur on Attic grave reliefs, the Mantinea Basis, etc.

<sup>41</sup> Déonna, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>42</sup> Certain examples, like that of the Artemis of Larnaka, hold out the drapery as though in the dance, reminding us of the dancing children from the Sanctuary of Demeter in Priene (Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 160, figs. 142-143). I hope to deal with this topic more fully in my forthcoming publication of the terracottas of Ilion.

<sup>43</sup> Déonna, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>44</sup> F. Muthmann, *Statuenstützen*, Heidelberg, 1951, pp. 18 ff.

sentations of actual statues of votaries that were seen by the artists and coroplasts in the sanctuaries? There is no reason to believe that these artists were not showing a contemporary type as they do in their other supports upon which figures lean. Since the pose is obviously that of the votary or temple attendant, these statuette might well represent small offerings set up in the sanctuaries," as on the Acropolis and elsewhere, by pious girls who had served the goddess. Other votaries too, as was often the custom," might have dedicated their statues in the form of priestesses or temple attendants, thereby identifying themselves with these holy women. These little figures, deliberately archaized by the artist in order to show clearly that they are images in contrast to the living figure beside them," would logically serve as supports for Aphrodite and other goddesses who were concerned with the needs of women.

The history of this type in terracotta can be traced down through the centuries in a series of Agora examples shown on Plate 27. The central one certainly represented a statuette standing against something; the others may have acted as supports. The type remains virtually unchanged for over 200 years. Our earliest piece (T 2942) comes from a fourth century filling.<sup>44</sup> Long locks remain on the shoulders; the girding is fairly low. Compared with it the piece from the Altar Well looks somewhat more sophisticated. Closer are examples from Corinth of the fourth and third centuries.<sup>45</sup> Sedately they clasp an offering (a kernos) to the breast and touch their drapery with their left hands. They are obviously descendants of the earlier, familiar Corinthian votaries who wear a tall polos and carry two offerings.<sup>46</sup> Our next Athenian representative (T 3186) comes from a disturbed Hellenistic filling;<sup>47</sup> she is obviously more advanced than the girl from the Altar Well. She differs more markedly from her Corinthian cousins of the mid third century.<sup>48</sup> In Corinth the broad, stocky proportions continue, stolidly rendered. The Athenian example, which is, however, probably later, is extravagantly elongated and her drapery more clinging. Still later, probably in the second century B.C., a more decorative and sharply modelled piece from the North Slope<sup>49</sup> serves as a transition to the most highly characterized of our Agora

<sup>44</sup> E. Bielfeld, "Götterstatuen auf attischen Vasenbildern," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst Moritz Arndt-Universität Greifswald*, IV, 1954/5, p. 385 points out that cult statues are not shown on high columns or posts. All such figures, which include numerous examples of our type, are votives.

<sup>45</sup> J. H. and S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 230 f.

<sup>46</sup> I owe this suggestion to my husband who compares the representations of statues in the pediments of the Argive Heraion and of Epidauros; their archaic style effectively differentiates them from the "living" figures of the pedimental composition.

<sup>47</sup> From Area D 18, H. 0.056 m.

<sup>48</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 8, No. 114 (holding a kernos), pl. 20, Nos. 236-238.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 6-7, Nos. 89 ff.

<sup>50</sup> From the filling of the Middle Stoa, H. 0.054 m.

<sup>51</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 20, Nos. 239-244.

<sup>52</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 212, fig. 15 f.

figures (T 1629), from a deposit of the late second to early first centuries B.C.<sup>44</sup> She is the modest counterpart of the painted and even more extravagantly archaizing figures on late Panathenaic amphorae. Her pinched waist, swelling hips and elongated proportions recall those on the Lagina frieze,<sup>45</sup> as do the sharply-cut folds, rigid and emphatic. Late and odd as this may be, the Athenian votary still stands unchanged before us, clasping a tiny fawn to her breast as piously and as hieratically as did her ancestors of the days of Peisistratos. The amazing conservatism of Greek figurines is thus once again brought to our attention. We need not be surprised also to note two minor echoes of this ancient class (T 1966, T 2256).<sup>46</sup> These have lost every vestige of artistic significance, but serve once more to remind us of the vitality of one of the oldest of artistic motifs.

A rather fine fragment in the sculptural manner is the mould, No. 10. The upper part of a female figure wears a chiton which still has sufficient fullness to drop in a triangular fold between the breasts. This fold appears on most Attic grave reliefs, even the more advanced, but it disappears when the narrow Hellenistic chiton becomes popular. The himation is drawn across the left breast with a broad, emphasized edge from which tension folds fan out. This new style, in which design is built up of opposing rather than harmonious elements, can be seen beginning on reliefs of the mid fourth century and gaining intensity toward its end.<sup>47</sup> Our mould (to judge also from its technique) expresses the mood predominant at the end of the fourth century.

A very delicate torso, No. 11, belongs, in contrast, to that phase of third century style which speaks in the lowest voice of the quietest topics. No mass of drapery, no deep opposing folds, but a muffled torso stands in utter simplicity, wrapped in an almost foldless mantle. The garment makes itself felt by a few taut lines. This restraint is that of the finest Tanagras, those dated by Kleiner to the end of the fourth century.<sup>48</sup> Technically, our piece would seem to be a trifle later. It is most interesting to find in Athens so perfect an example of the "Tanagra" style at the time of its greatest flower. This piece has the thin, crisp quality of a bronze and seems to echo metal-work. In that it presages a bronze masterpiece, the Baker Dancer,<sup>49</sup> which will, some fifty years later, dramatize the same theme and set the tranquil pose into spinning motion.

Unfortunately no complete figure of the "Tanagra" class survives in this deposit,

<sup>44</sup> Deposit N 20:4. It is interesting to compare these degenerate pieces with a more ambitious example from Sardinia, from a grave of the first century B.C. (*A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 401 ff., fig. 9).

<sup>45</sup> Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 704-707.

<sup>46</sup> From Hellenistic fillings of no specific date.

<sup>47</sup> H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt, 1938, pl. 19, 2; H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1931, pl. 54. Cf. Kleiner, pls. 11c and 22a (more conservative Tanagras).

<sup>48</sup> Kleiner, pl. 5.

<sup>49</sup> *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 371 ff., particularly fig. 14.

but a series of lower parts of figures indicates how the styles changed within a relatively short time. The smallest and obviously the earliest member is No. 12, which is a typical "Tanagra" of the stylistic phase that is represented in the Coroplast's Dump by Nos. 19 and 20. The folds fall simply, but they are plastically felt and modelled; the base is early. The piece can not date much later than ca. 320 B.C.

With Nos. 13 and 14, the drapery is rendered in another, a monumental sculptural style which, as Kleiner has already noted,<sup>80</sup> coexisted in Athens with the miniature style which we call "Tanagran." The representatives from the Altar Well are typical and serve to establish the style in its setting in Athens. It differs from the Tanagran not only in its larger and more plastic handling of drapery folds, but in its stronger feeling for the body beneath, which dominates the drapery in the old classical manner. This effect is attained by an intensification of fifth-century techniques, by contrasting bold untreated areas over the structural volumes of the body with deeply shadowed and emphatic folds. No longer is the front of a figure virtually flattened into one plane, but the movement swings forward and sideways making free use of the third dimension. No. 13, with its powerful left leg, its independent, flaring tubular folds, its strong pleat in the himation, instantly suggests not so much terracotta parallels<sup>81</sup> as those in major sculpture. The Artemis Larnaka and other copies of late fourth century statues often ascribed to Praxiteles<sup>82</sup> show these elements that soon go on, in early third century statues, to develop simplified forms. Since this style is barely hinted at even on late Attic grave reliefs,<sup>83</sup> which are almost all in the manner of No. 12, we must assume that it developed after 320 B.C. and probably did not last long into the third century.

No. 14 shows a more advanced stage, in which tubular folds, flaring a little more mechanically, fall into groups, like musical phrases. These contrast sharply with the untreated plain surface of the himation which hangs lightly over them. "Untreated" is, however, not strictly a correct description, for, in a raking light, this edge of himation can be seen to yield sensitively, if very slightly, to the contours of the sturdy folds of the chiton beneath it. In other words, we have the first appearance of transparent drapery over drapery. This significant piece has already been related to other examples of its class.<sup>84</sup> These highly organized and emphatically treated folds produce an entirely different effect from the homogeneous rhythm of our No. 12 and

<sup>80</sup> Kleiner, pp. 132 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Kleiner, pls. 5b, 13d (Kleiner dates pl. 13d in the mid third century, which seems a little late on our evidence).

<sup>82</sup> E. g., Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 40-42; cf. C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, IV, 2, p. 383, fig. 168 (Demeter Grimani).

<sup>83</sup> Diepolder, *Att. Grabreliefs*, pl. 54 shows an intimation of the style.

<sup>84</sup> *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 376, fig. 7. I now incline to place fig. 7 earlier than fig. 6, but obviously they are not far apart in date, although they represent different styles.



of most late fourth century figurines<sup>44</sup> and sculpture, as, for instance, on the Mantinea Basis. Our No. 15 is even more subtle. It has already been likened to the bronze Baker Dancer.<sup>45</sup> Every centimeter of the surface of this piece bespeaks thought and sensitive care in modelling which remind us of the same delicacy on the drapery fragment from Group B (No. 11). The movement is not vertical, but it flares from an off-center axis which is set on the deeply shadowed right leg. The legs are, in fact, not felt as supports, but merely as hidden axes in the design. The flaring diagonal courses of the main folds are not firm; they bend, waver, and strike off in other directions at the bottom. This liveliness is enhanced by the variations in the width and character of each fold, as they turn their faces this way and that so that the hem of the garment traces an irregular plan. The surface of these box-pleat folds, moreover, is covered with delicate nicks so that the clay takes on the feeling of textile. It is tragic that our deposit did not contain more pieces of this quality. No. 16 is a mould in somewhat the same style.

The relative chronology of this series of draped fragments seems clear; their absolute dating can be approximated from parallels. Kleiner, on varied evidence, has placed the Tanagras which are closest to our No. 15 after the middle of the third century.<sup>46</sup> This seems reasonable. Since our well was not closed until the third quarter of that century, the latest fragments (Nos. 15-16) were, most probably, made close to 250 B.C. or a shade thereafter. We find thus a reasonable sequence for the stylistic development: the simple Tanagra, No. 12, would then date ca. 320 B.C., the sculptural No. 13 at the turn of the century, so that the merging, as it were, of the two styles in No. 14 would come at ca. 275 B.C. and its enrichment just after the mid century (Nos. 15-16).

No. 17 is sadly fragmentary. It shows the lower part of a woman wearing a thin chiton with overfold to the thighs, who moves forward rapidly. It would be interesting to know whether the figure originally had wings and could be called a Nike. A little of the base is preserved to indicate that the figure was not suspended. We had best therefore call it a Dancer. The evolution of this rapidly moving type will be discussed when our first good Nike is published. It suffices here to note how the streaming S-folds that vividly traced this movement on fourth century terracottas have subsided and how dull the slight fluttering of the edge of the chiton appears, for instance, beside the rushing of skirts on examples from Group B (Nos. 7-9) or even on the following mould.

A finer treatment of a figure in rapid motion is given by the mould, No. 18. It shows a woman rushing sideways in haste, the right foot just visible, extended for-

<sup>44</sup> E. g., Kleiner, pls. 2a, 5, 8a (late fourth century), pls. 8b, 9b-c, 10c (early third century).

<sup>45</sup> *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 376.

<sup>46</sup> The treatment of the himation is comparable to that on the Leukon Terracottas, dated in the third quarter of the third century, Kleiner, pp. 16 f., pl. 6a-b.

ward from the drapery. The pose is reminiscent of those of statues of a running Niobid, but in reverse.<sup>44</sup> On our mould, the motion lines move more obliquely in patterns no longer based on the simple S-curve, as in Group B, No. 7, for the lines are less systematic and more nervous. We must therefore place this mould slightly later than that of Group B. It seems, however, to retain far more of the Classical spirit than the mechanical fragment just mentioned (No. 17).

#### FEMALE FIGURES: SEATED, DRAPED: NOS. 19-21

Seated figures, though probably numerous at the time of the Altar Well, are not so well preserved. One sadly battered piece, No. 19, belongs to the finest class of Tanagras. The lady sits with her legs crossed, wearing her delicate garments with an air of dignity and repose. This is a more sophisticated version of the tiny mould from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 42), but not much different in feeling. It probably dates also in the late fourth century. There are also two very fragmentary bits from the lap of seated figures, possibly goddesses; one, a mould (No. 20), holds a phiale and what may well be the head of a lion cub; the other (No. 21) holds a tympanon. These are reminiscent of the scrap (No. 5a) seen from the right side in the photograph from the Demeter Cistern. The tiny piece, No. 21, is technically close to Coroplast's Dump No. 42. These both therefore probably survive from the third quarter of the fourth century and relate to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. Nothing can be said of their style.

#### DRAPED FRAGMENTS

An unusually large number of fragments from this deposit has been left uncatalogued because they are so small and so insignificant as to offer nothing whatever on the plates of a book. To the student, however, they are tantalizing, for they speak of all we miss in our hopelessly shattered collections and they give a better basis for generalization. At least it can be said of the drapery scraps and of the moulds for drapery that the style is consistent. The general tenor is quiet; the folds run their courses evenly, with rounded profiles, varying somewhat in width. A few bits show slight movement. This quiet subsidence of the purely classic tradition must, to judge from the extremely worn state of all these bits, belong to the later years of the fourth century. For the swing toward new directions, we must turn to the larger pieces discussed above.

The fragments also show, like a few catalogued pieces, that the scale of figures varies considerably. Most are of the usual "Tanagra" size, ca. 0.15-0.25 m. in height, but certain scraps indicate much bigger statuettes; e. g., the fragment of a

<sup>44</sup> Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 264-265; *Cat. Terracottas Brit. Mus.*, I, pl. 93, no. 709, cf. no. 1271.

right breast on a scale of a height of *ca.* 0.33 m. and an arm and hand extended (holding a phiale?) of scale considerably larger still.

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 22-26

Although this group contains more female heads than the others we have published except the Coroplast's Dump, it gives us little evidence because the features are badly blurred.

These heads are commonplace types already recognized as normal in the early third century. No. 22 is a long oval in shape; the sober face is much damaged. Nos. 23-24 are more childish in character; they are tilted slightly upward, which gives them animation. The neck of No. 24 is bent sharply to the right, but the head is set vertically upon it, a lively, if unnatural position.<sup>10</sup>

The hair on these heads is worn simply parted, with curls hanging down the sides of the neck in a manner not encountered in our earlier groups or in early Tanagras. On No. 22 a pair of leaves is set at the back and two round fruits over the forehead, such as occur also on early Tanagras.<sup>11</sup> No. 24 wears a plain wool fillet.<sup>12</sup> No. 23's fillet is pitted, probably to represent flowers as on No. 27.<sup>13</sup> The size of the wreath and the plastic treatment of the hair of No. 23 indicate that it is among the most advanced pieces from the well. It should be noted that, in addition to hanging curls, this girl wears a double flaring knot rising from the crown behind the wreath.<sup>14</sup> This is further development of the lampadion coiffure often shown on figures of courtesans or "dolls" of the fourth century B.C.,<sup>15</sup> which soon develops into a "bow."

It is interesting to note how these coiffures and these facial types compare with their contemporaries from other sites. They bear only a general similarity to heads from Chatby, which seem to retain for a long time the fourth century canon—the larger, more piquant features, and simpler hair styles.<sup>16</sup> From Corinth come a few heads of the early third century that show the same round face with very slight features, naturalistically rendered without any of the emphasis or plastic feeling

<sup>10</sup> E.g., other early examples, Kleiner, pls. 22a, 23a-b (dated fourth to early third centuries). Cf. A. W. Lawrence, *J.E.A.*, XI, 1925, p. 184, "a trick of tilting the head into some strained position in order to heighten the expression."

<sup>11</sup> Kleiner, pl. 22; *Arch. Anz.*, 1954, col. 280, fig. 16. I plan to discuss the chronology of wreaths in my forthcoming study of the terracottas from Ilion.

<sup>12</sup> This type of wreath appears on Coroplast's Dump, No. 33.

<sup>13</sup> The earliest dated example known to me from the Agora is T 1967, from a mid fourth century cistern, Deposit O 22:1. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XIII gives two examples from Halai dated 335-280 B.C.

<sup>14</sup> This coiffure also appears on an uncatalogued larger fragment from this well.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., British Museum C 243, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 90, pl. 21.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXIII, which presents no striking parallels.

that appears in examples from that site which are dated in the later third century.<sup>78</sup> Boeotia, as might be expected, provides the best parallels in its charming faces of children with undifferentiated features.<sup>79</sup>

Another example (No. 25) on a larger scale lies out of the ordinary run of children's heads. Wreath, face and curls have all been cast in one mould, which was dull, so that the features are not easily distinguishable. The small blurred eyes and full cheeks are, however, not dissimilar in feeling to those of the preceding heads. A tall top-knot or bow of hair has been broken from the crown. In style, it resembles another Agora head, T 2132, that was found in a second century context. Our piece indicates that more ambitious variants on a scale of ca. 0.36 m. were being made at a time when smaller figures were the norm. Its clumsy style seems also out of key with that of the other heads and bits of drapery from this well. In style this head is close to that of a dancer from Corinth.<sup>80</sup>

The delicate mould of a head (No. 26), with its sharp tiny features in an oval face beneath a wreath of leaves, is typically "Tanagran." The back was made in a separate mould. Many delicate heads of the late fourth century resemble it, not only in the piquant features, but in the slightly tipped carriage of the head on a long neck, with its downcast glance and hint of a smile.<sup>81</sup> This is the "Tanagra" style *par excellence* and here again we find that a mould was made in Athens.

#### ACTORS' HEADS: NOS. 27-28

The two actors' heads are good examples on a larger scale and of more varied nature than those from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>82</sup> No. 27 is thrust forward in inquiry, wearing a wedge-beard and stippled wreath. This type is close to that of moulds which were found in Corinth in deposits of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>83</sup> Webster classifies<sup>84</sup> the type as that of an elderly and "rather embittered" man. This fellow wearing a banquet-wreath is undoubtedly a free-man, animatedly discussing some plot or secret.

The other head (No. 28) is more unusual. It is bald, wearing a Dionysiac wreath of leaves and a flowing beard which was apparently made by adding long locks to a

<sup>78</sup> E. g., *Corinth*, XII, pl. 21, No. 247, pl. 31, No. 355; cf. pl. 31, No. 353 (late third century), pl. 32, No. 357 (ca. 250 B.C.).

<sup>79</sup> E. g., from Halae, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXII, V-h-2; pl. XXIV, various examples (ca. 335-280 B.C.); from Boeotia, Sieveking, *Loeb Collection*, I, pl. 63.

<sup>80</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 21, No. 248 (third century B.C.).

<sup>81</sup> E. g., Tanagras: Met. Mus. 06.1113, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 34; Kleiner, pls. 5b, 11d; grave reliefs: Diepolder, *Att. Grabreliefs*, pls. 51, 2, 52, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 143.

<sup>83</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 35, Nos. 43-46.

<sup>84</sup> *Greek Theatre Production*, London, 1956, pp. 63 f., 119, pl. 11, c. Cf. Agora T 2065 from a deposit of the late fourth to early third century.

mould that originally showed a rounded "megaphone" mouth.<sup>88</sup> The eyes are small and deepset. This is the typical head of the Grand Old Man, Papposilenos, who often carries the child Dionysos.<sup>89</sup> Our head, with counterparts from Corinth and Pergamon,<sup>90</sup> is an early and lively variant of a type that becomes very popular in later days. Our heads presumably were made during the years around 300 B.C. or a little later.

#### MASKS: Nos. 29-30

The large female face (No. 29) most probably comes from a mask, although it might derive from a bust of the type found in the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>91</sup> The face is that of a sober young woman, with large eyes, of which the upper lid is clearly accented, but the eyeballs are not pierced. The general type may be likened to several theatrical masks from South Italy.<sup>92</sup> The closest parallel, however, is an example from Corinth,<sup>93</sup> which has much the same sober expression as ours and also dates in the early third century. These are both a little later than the fine but peculiar mask from the Hedgehog Well of ca. 320 B.C.<sup>94</sup> The exact significance of these votive masks is uncertain. They may represent theatrical masks, like those painted on Gnathia vases,<sup>95</sup> but this is by no means certain when the mouth and eyes are closed. The markedly triangular forehead, the large eyes and the bowed mouth all suggest that our piece was made during the latter part of the fourth century. In these details and particularly in the broad surfaces and shallow set eyes, it finds itself more at home among works of the Praxitelean circle, such as the formal copies of the Knidian Aphrodite or Apollo Lykeios, than with those of the later Praxitelean School, such as the heads from Kos.<sup>96</sup>

In the bottom of our well, that is in the deposit of the first quarter of the third century, was found another mask fragment, No. 30. A close parallel (T 88, Pl. 29) comes from a context of the last quarter of the fourth century. Both resemble a complete mask in Berlin which represents an Oriental potentate in the Persian tiara.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Other examples will be published in the *Agora Catalogue of Terracottas*. Professor Harald Ingholt refers me to R. E. M. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, XXIII, 1949, p. 11, pl. VII, for similar practices in making Indian stuccoes. Miss Grandjouan reports the same technique for lamp moulds.

<sup>89</sup> *TK II*, pp. 400 ff. E.g., Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, pls. 88, 89, 94.

<sup>90</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 30, No. 333; *Pergamon*, I, p. 259, No. 12. A close parallel is exhibited in the Tarentine Museum.

<sup>91</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 39, No. 51; *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 140.

<sup>92</sup> E.g., Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XXXVI, 3-5.

<sup>93</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, No. 290.

<sup>94</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 19, No. 10.

<sup>95</sup> Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*, pl. 11, a, b, d.

<sup>96</sup> Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 17-25 compared with figs. 33 ff.

<sup>97</sup> T 88 from Deposit H 6:9. P. H. 0.067 m. Berlin mask, Bieber, *Denkmäler*, pl. 65, 1 (less delicately modelled). Cf. *Pergamon*, I, p. 261, No. 18 (Herakles). Weak late echoes of this type have been found in Corinth, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 41, Nos. 443-444 (first century A.D.).

All these examples show a powerful, bearded face with large aquiline nose ending in a projecting tip, staring eyes, and sharply arched brows beneath a furrowed forehead. This is the mask of the Great King or potentate, of Oedipus or Darius.<sup>99</sup> A fine terracotta (T 862, Pl. 29) representing such a personage at a dramatic moment of tragedy was found in an Agora context of the mid third century.<sup>100</sup> These Agora pieces vivify the stock type of the earlier fourth century as seen at Olynthos.<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to observe how the same Persian head with the same long-tipped hooked nose appears on coins showing Persian satraps.<sup>102</sup>

A few other scraps of larger masks or protomes were found, but are not worth cataloguing.

#### ANIMALS: Nos. 31-32

Although the mould, No. 31, is worn, the impression shows the sensitively modelled head and dewlap of a bull with curls on its forehead, a mild, round eye, and a soft muzzle. In feeling, however, and presumably in date, it is closer to the calf from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 37). Only a few such fine terracottas of bulls survive, of which the most impressive and ambitious comes from Priene.<sup>103</sup> The technique and style of our mould belong to the late fourth century.

Another mould, No. 32, represents the neck of a shaggy animal. The fleece, which is shown in long, thin tufts, too flat for those of a sheep, and the hanging hair at the right of the positive both suggest that the animal was a goat, like those ridden by children. These types appear both as figurines and as plastic lekythoi.<sup>104</sup>

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS: Nos. 33-37

A fragmentary miniature altar or *arula* (No. 33) is the most unusual and striking object found in this deposit and therefore has been selected to designate the well as the "Altar Well." It is made of Corinthian clay.<sup>105</sup> Recently a small group of these *arulae* has been discovered at Corinth<sup>106</sup> and a not dissimilar but much later example from Italy may also have come from there.<sup>107</sup> The development of our type,

<sup>99</sup> Cf. the types in A. Alföldi, *Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, pls. IV-VII (but none has the aquiline nose).

<sup>100</sup> T 862 from Deposit E 14: 1 (cf. note 15), P. H. 0.08 m.

<sup>101</sup> E. g., *Olynthos*, IV, pl. 43, No. 390.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 243, 247. I owe this reference to Miss Evelyn Harrison. Even on the reliefs from Persepolis the Persians have large noses with accented curve.

<sup>103</sup> *Priene*, p. 362, fig. 451.

<sup>104</sup> E. g., *TK II*, p. 304, 4, p. 305, 8, 9.

<sup>105</sup> I was supported in my ascription of the clay by the late Mrs. Stillwell.

<sup>106</sup> O. Broneer, "The Corinthian Altar Painter," *Hesperia* XVI, 1947, pp. 214 ff.; "Terracotta Altars from Corinth," *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 370 ff.; *Corinth*, XII, pp. 130 f., pl. 65; *Corinth*, XV, ii, pp. 272 f., pl. 59.

<sup>107</sup> *M.A.A.R.*, II, 1918, pl. 19, c. Full bibliography on *arulae*, C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, St. Louis, 1949, pp. 171 ff.

which bore crown and base mouldings with Lesbian leaf ornament, can be traced from the early through the late fifth century B.C.<sup>107</sup> The leaf grows wider with time and the area between is treated as a marked loop with sharp tongues in the interstices. Our piece most closely resembles the fifth century example from the Corinthian Kerameikos,<sup>108</sup> but probably itself dates in the early fourth century.<sup>109</sup> The traces of a horse in relief prancing to the left suggest that the subject was a horseman, a descendant of the riders on the early fifth century *arulae*.<sup>110</sup> Probably these altars were used in the service of a hero cult, of which many traces survive from the Corinthian Agora.<sup>111</sup> It would be interesting to know whether our fragment travelled to Athens in the hands of the pious or merely in the role of a souvenir.

Another architectural votive is No. 34, a miniature fluted column with a flattened echinos capital. The possible uses for such columns have been discussed previously.<sup>112</sup>

The wheel fragment, No. 35, is unusual at this period. Solid clay wheels occur for the numerous early chariots and carriages,<sup>113</sup> but by the fourth century the subject has apparently died out of the terracotta repertory. Yet this specimen must belong to that date, because it shows the typical four spokes and narrow rim characteristic of that period.<sup>114</sup> We may suppose that this piece was intended as a votive of the type very common in metal<sup>115</sup> and shown hanging as a symbol on fourth century vases.<sup>116</sup>

The little object, No. 36, with gable ends and on small feet represents one of those jewel-boxes that appear in the hands of lovely ladies on Kertch vases.<sup>117</sup> A tiny figure is painted on the end of a similar miniature chest which is carried by an attendant on a tomb painting at Kazanlak in Bulgaria.<sup>118</sup> No. 36 shows an attachment at its back for its use as an adjunct for a freestanding figurine or possibly a plastic lekythos.

<sup>107</sup> The order would seem to be: *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pls. L, 5 and LII, 1; *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 59, No. 65; *Hesperia* VI, 1937, p. 313, No. 239, figs. 43, 44. Another unpublished Agora fragment (T 2146) from Deposit C 18: 11, an early fifth century context, confirms this sequence.

<sup>108</sup> *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 59, No. 65.

<sup>109</sup> I owe this chronology to Miss Lucy Shoe, who, however, warns against attempting to date terracotta mouldings so closely as is possible with stone.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. LII, 1 and the horseman plaques of later date, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 111, fig. 3.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105 ff. and O. Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *ibid.*, pp. 128 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 151, No. 69; XXIII, 1954, p. 82, No. 12.

<sup>113</sup> *Corinth*, XV, ii, pp. 198 ff.

<sup>114</sup> *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 343 f.

<sup>115</sup> *Délos*, *op. cit.*, pls. XCVII, 864 etc.; cf. *Olynthus*, X, pp. 512 f. with full bibliography.

<sup>116</sup> E. g. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Griekse Ceramiek*, Rotterdam, 1936, pl. XL, fig. 114.

<sup>117</sup> K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pls. 16, 50. Cf. also R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, III, 2, Leipzig, 1913, pl. XVII.

<sup>118</sup> V. Micoff, *Le tombeau antique près de Kazanlak*, Sofia, 1954, pl. XXXII.

## BASES: Nos. 37-39

Fragments of bases of three types show the range characteristic of the fourth and third centuries B.C. No. 37 is a block with an accented lower moulding; this appears to be a fourth century variant of the plain block base that prevailed in the fifth century.<sup>114</sup> Another more elaborate variant is the stepped base No. 38, not just a single small block set on a plinth, as in the Coroplast's Dump (No. 83), but an elaborately grooved creation.<sup>115</sup> These elaborations of sculptural bases yield in popularity to the flat plinth base of Tanagra fashion, of which No. 39 is a good example, although rare in having black glaze painted along its edges. This feature suggests that it may have been intended for a plastic lekythos. The flat plinth base obviously was copied from the form employed for small metal statuettes and is another indication of the influence of bronze work on terracottas at this period.

## PLASTIC APPLIED RELIEFS: Nos. 40-43

Several fragments in this group derive from a small class of reliefs that were applied to the surface of vases, not, as in the case of the ordinary plastic lekythos, forming an integral part of the body of the vase. These reliefs were made into shallow plaquettes by the use of a mould and much additional hand modelling and retouching. No. 40 shows a back that must have been attached to a curved surface which bore black glaze. Nos. 41 and 42 are also thin; their backs broke away clean from the background. These reliefs were not glazed, but treated like those on lekythoi with attached reliefs,<sup>116</sup> slipped with white and touched with matt colors. Gilding was also used on No. 42, on the necklace and on the object held in the hand. Our figures are much larger than the plaquettes taken from metal prototypes that decorate later relief vases.<sup>117</sup> They belong to a peculiar class of *lebes gamikos* of which numerous other examples have recently been found in the excavations of M. Meliades on the South Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>118</sup>

The style of No. 40 is unusual. The head is carried on a tilted long neck like that of No. 27, but the features are different. The head is egg-shaped; the forehead is domed, the cheeks full, and the large eyes with markedly curving, wide-open lids are shallow. The lids do not meet at the inner corners. The mouth is smaller than on the head from the Demeter Cistern (No. 7) that might otherwise be compared

<sup>114</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXI, V-e-3 (early fourth century); Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb*, I, pl. 44.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 60.

<sup>116</sup> E. g. *Handbook of the Metropolitan Museum*, 1953, pl. 95 d, f; Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX, Nos. 142-144.

<sup>117</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 423 ff.

<sup>118</sup> I. Meliades, *Πρακτικά*, 1957, p. 51.



with No. 40. Though the upper lip is wider than the nostrils, the lower lip is narrower and pouts forward, set off by a groove beneath it. The chin is also set off, jutting firmly forward, with a dimple set into it. This is our first instance of the dimple that becomes very popular during the third century.<sup>119</sup> This facial type is so carefully rendered and so distinctive that it can be compared with coins and with metal and stone prototypes, such as a head of Arsinoë II, dated ca. 270 B.C.<sup>120</sup> This date is confirmed by the high girdling, the impressionistic treatment of the drapery, and the dress with its plunging deep-V neckline. The condition of this fragment also tends to suggest that it is among the latest in our group, probably in the second quarter of the third century.

The deep-V neckline is a fashion that often appears on Hellenistic figurines, though rarely in other media. At all periods, of course, the neckline often droops between its fastening on the shoulders into a V-shaped fold. But this type of plunging V-neck is evidently cut low deliberately and appears only on the sleeveless, narrow Hellenistic garments. Sometimes the point reaches almost to the girdle. This deep V appears often on the upper garment or "peplos" when it is worn over a chiton and often on the chiton when it alone is worn.<sup>121</sup> The single chiton began to work its way back into favor during the third century. It is sometimes heavy and sometimes of thin, clinging material, presumably linen. This is an interesting variation from the muffling that was in general most popular at this period.<sup>122</sup>

Rizzo, in discussing two painted portraits from Centuripe that wear this garment and date in the third century B.C., calls attention to the fact that this cannot be the classic chiton. It is obviously narrow and draws up to the back of the neck in such a way as to show that it was composed of two narrow lengths sewn together down the center.<sup>123</sup> The later examples are much tighter than the earlier.<sup>124</sup> Still later, decorative borders are woven along the edge of the neck on the selvedge and joined down the center of the front to form a wide band<sup>125</sup> called *παρυφή*. This decoration derives

<sup>119</sup> A. W. Lawrence, *J.E.A.*, XI, 1925, pp. 182, 184. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, pl. XX (late fourth century); *B.S.A.*, XXXIX, 1938-39, pl. 20, No. 58 (late fourth century). Cf. A. Westholm, *Temples of Soli*, Stockholm, 1936, pls. III, IV, No. 438 (early third century). The jutting chin appears first on coins of Berenike I (Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 306-307).

<sup>120</sup> *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, pp. 199 ff., pl. 54. Cf. Züchner, *Klappspiegel*, KS 104, pp. 71, 73, fig. 36 (ca. 300 B.C.).

<sup>121</sup> See above note 40.

<sup>122</sup> A good example from the Agora (T 139, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8) owes its too early dating to lack of recognition of this garment.

<sup>123</sup> A. Rizzo, *Monumenti della Pittura antica: Centuripe*, I, p. 31, pls. A, B.

<sup>124</sup> E. g., H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in British Museum*, C 522, pl. XXXV; *Boston Myrinas*, No. 89. Cf. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, p. 20, pl. XIII.

<sup>125</sup> E. g., Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XX, 3, XXIX, 3; *Priene*, p. 354, fig. 428. For fine metal examples, F. Amandry, *Collection Stathatos, Bijoux antiques*, Strasbourg, 1953, pls. XXXVIII ff., Nos. 234-235, and parallels there cited.

from Hittite and Persian garments, but is not applied to the deep-V neck until late Hellenistic and Roman times.<sup>126</sup>

The origin of this narrow garment is obviously Egyptian. A tight-fitting chiton with a deep-V neck reaching almost to the waist is well-known on Egyptian monuments from early times; it continued on indefinitely, as on the reliefs of Nefer-Sechem-Psamtik from a period when the Greeks could obviously have been influenced by it.<sup>127</sup> When the Greeks settled in Alexandria, they presumably used the Egyptian native linen to make their clothes and as it was woven in narrow lengths, the Egyptian type of neck and tight chiton would naturally develop, even if it never reached so tight a form as the Egyptian (or as artistic convention so represents it). The earliest dated Greek example known to me appears on a jug showing Arsinoë II, which dates 275-270 B.C.<sup>128</sup> A good many examples appear in Alexandrian cemeteries.<sup>129</sup> They come also from South Italy,<sup>130</sup> from the chamber tomb at Eretria, noted by Kleiner as typically Alexandrian,<sup>131</sup> and even from Tanagra.<sup>132</sup> This same fashion occurs on many pieces from Ilion, Myrina, Kharayeb in Syria, Tarsus, Seleucia and in an ever-widening circle into Roman times.<sup>133</sup> It is rare, however, on marble statues, of which the most interesting examples are the Niobids.<sup>134</sup> Like many other Alexandrian fashions, it spread, probably soon after the Greeks settled in Egypt,<sup>135</sup> all over the classical world.

<sup>126</sup> *Boston Myrinas*, No. 1; Déonna, *L'Antiquité classique*, XIX, 1950, pp. 53 f., pl. IV discusses the oriental origin of the garment on an image of a goddess.

<sup>127</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Le Musée de Caire*, 1949, fig. 191.

<sup>128</sup> Jug bearing both name and relief: H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Roman Pottery in the British Museum*, pl. V, K77 (note that this jug is erroneously labelled K76 on the plate). Several other fragmentary reliefs so closely resemble this as to imply that they represent Arsinoë: e.g. D. K. Hill, *Rev. Arch.*, XIII, 1954, p. 45, fig. 1. I hope to be able to make a corpus of these jugs in a special study.

<sup>129</sup> From Chatby: Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pls. LXII, 156, LXVI, 172, 174, LXX, 188 etc. (but not of the very earliest style, as on pl. LXV, 169, 171); Breccia, *Mons.*, I, pls. O, XLVII, 4. From Hadra: *ibid.*, pl. LIII, 5, No. 117).

<sup>130</sup> Levi, *Terrecotte di Napoli*, pl. II, 2 (Canosa) and examples in the Museum of Tarentum.

<sup>131</sup> Kleiner, p. 20, illustrated, H. N. Fowler and J. R. Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, New York, 1909, p. 318, fig. 237.

<sup>132</sup> At least listed as "Tanagra," *TK II*, p. 14, 5, p. 60, 1, p. 71, 2, 3.

<sup>133</sup> Ilion: on figures of Kybele, an hetaira and worshipper to be published in my forthcoming volume on the terracottas from Ilion. Myrina: *TK II*, p. 56, 5, 6; *Boston Myrinas*, Nos. 89-90; *Néc.*, pl. I, 1, 5, pl. IX, 2 (Bust), pl. XXIV, 2. Kharayeb: M. Chehab, *Les Terrecuites de Kharayeb*, Paris, 1953-4, pls. XLIV, 2, LI, 5. Tarsus: H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, No. 182, 206 (?). Seleucia: W. Van Ingen, *Terracottas from Seleucia*, p. 34.

<sup>134</sup> Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, pls. X, 1, XXV, 1.

<sup>135</sup> Negative evidence also supports this dating, for the V-necked chiton alone does not appear on Attic grave reliefs or bronze mirror reliefs (except Züchner, *Klappspiegel*, p. 40, fig. 18, KS 52, dated ca. 300 B.C.). It is significant that the coins of Berenike I show clearly a round neckline, those of Arsinoë II a pointed neckline. Cf. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 306, 308.

Though No. 41 has suffered badly with time, it still shows delicate modelling of the body and hand and fine folds of drapery. The touches of gold on necklace and bracelet speak for its high quality. The back is smooth and flat, clearly made for attachment. We can assume, therefore, that it also was intended for a relief vase of a smaller scale and more conventional shape than No. 40. Presumably the figure was seated, holding a gilded alabastron or ornament. A plastic lekythos of conventional form gives us the closest parallel for the type—Aphrodite, seated beside a censer, holding a jewel-box, and accompanied by one standing and one floating Eros.<sup>100</sup> Our piece surely represents Aphrodite in a slightly different pose. It seems to show the prototype of what later became a baroque composition.

Another fragment, No. 42, appears also to belong to this class. It represents a childish naked Eros, running or flying upward toward his right with arms extended. He reminds us of the little Eros perched on a stele from Group B (No. 4), but he is an older boy and his slim, hard body is much more like that of the Eros mould from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 11). This similarity suggests a fourth century date. Since another close parallel comes from Halai, dating ca. 335-280 B.C.,<sup>101</sup> we can safely place our piece in the later years of the fourth century. The fact that the figure is only a thin plaquette with a flat back, like that of the preceding piece, implies that it also comes from a relief vase of a composition dealing with Aphrodite and Eros; it is however too large to fit our No. 41.

One more fragment, No. 43, seems to have been made for attachment to a vase. This is a small colonnaded structure. It is finished behind for attachment in such a way that four columns appear on the front and one on the return at the spectator's left. The colonnade was therefore intended to project from the background. Its horizontal top with corner akroterion suggests identification as an altar, such as occasionally occurs as a background for dancers.<sup>102</sup> The fact that this piece bears no trace of breakage from the background suggests that it was never actually used.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The preponderance of figurines from the Altar Well, like those from Group B, concerns subjects drawn from daily life. Even the few figures of the deities, Aphrodite (Nos. 7-8) and Eros (Nos. 2, 42) are so conventional that they seem to have lost their religious feeling and to have become decorative motifs. The two small fragments which seem to represent the Mother of the Gods holding her phiale (Nos. 20-21) are, however, true votive types, which are concerned with a cult that was

<sup>100</sup> *TK II*, p. 199, 4 = Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 347, fig. 5 (in Berlin). H. 0.26 m. The scale of this vase is smaller than that of our fragment.

<sup>101</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, pl. XXII, V-h-2.

<sup>102</sup> *Priene*, p. 363, fig. 433; cf. fig. 571; *TK II*, p. 143, 6.

apparently gaining force at this time. The little *arula*, presumably used for a pinch of incense in some tiny house shrine or niche, also bears witness to the importance of domestic cults. We find this group, therefore, an admirably representative selection to illustrate the interests of ordinary citizens during the earliest phase of the Hellenistic period. It shows primarily a preoccupation with quiet subjects of the world of manners but also a growing interest in the world of major arts, now being imitated in cheap materials for the delectation of the humblest citizens, and with just a hint of the penetration of Oriental cults into their homes.

Stylistically, the figurines from this well show wide variations, as is to be expected from Dr. Edwards' comment on the wide range covered by the pottery from the final filling.<sup>139</sup> His analysis, "a little of the fifth century, a very large proportion of the fourth and a relatively small amount of the third century," in general diagnoses the proportions of datable coroplastic material from this well.

The earliest fragment, possibly of the late fifth, probably of the first half of the fourth century, is the little *arula* (No. 33). Several pieces, on analogy with material from the Coroplast's Dump, appear to belong in the third quarter of that century: the little "Tanagra" (No. 12) and the two scraps of Cybele type (Nos. 20, 21). Many others fall, so far as evidence is available, into the latter part of that period or in the last quarter: several draped female types (Nos. 10, 13, 18, 19) and two heads (26, 29), animal figures (Nos. 31, 32) and plastic reliefs (Nos. 41, 42). In this period, around 300 B.C. and probably a little after it, the largest number of pieces of which the style is clear enough to be analysed appears to belong. Among them we note most of the ordinary, rather unimaginative types: the male torso (No. 1), draped females (Nos. 14, 17), female heads (Nos. 22-25), actors' heads (Nos. 27, 28), and the one fragment from the lowest deposit, the tragic mask (No. 30). This, from its context, cannot have been made later than the first quarter of the third century, but its parallels, which have been analysed above,<sup>140</sup> suggest that it may well be a trifle earlier.

It is interesting and possibly significant for the history of sculpture that the most original, most ambitious and artistically attractive specimens all appear to date later than the first quarter of the third century. The well-modelled torso of the little Eros (No. 2), the Aphrodites (Nos. 7, 8), and the more subtly modelled draped female figures (Nos. 9, 11, 14, 40) all indicate a new phase in coroplastic style. These are, if not direct imitations of bronzes, at least modelled in the manner of sculpture. They are small, cheap works of art rather than votives. Conventional pieces continued, of course, to be made, among them ordinary figures of women and men, which we have for various reasons attributed to the previous quarter century. But owing to their traditional types they cannot be closely dated. We have suggested

<sup>139</sup> See above pp. 127-128.

<sup>140</sup> See above pp. 141-142.

that the male head (No. 26) is the latest of these, and other fragments, such as the boot from a Dionysiac floating figure (No. 4), presumably also belong in the second quarter of the century. To the period just after the middle of the century, when our well was sealed, we have tentatively assigned only two pieces—the draped fragments, of which the advanced treatment can scarcely be much earlier (Nos. 15, 16).

The most unusual piece in our deposit is No. 15, with its close resemblance to the Baker Dancer and to bronzes in general, a piece that does honor to its creator and makes us regret once more the tragic condition of most Athenian terracottas. It indubitably shows transparent drapery over drapery, which has already been adumbrated in No. 14, a slightly earlier or at least less sophisticated piece. This is in itself the most important evidence for the general chronology of sculptural styles to be derived from the study of this group of figurines. Kleiner had previously indicated that transparent fine linen was already of interest to Alexandrian coroplasts of the third century.<sup>141</sup> The Baker Dancer reveals how much the theme fascinated the metal-workers of that city.<sup>142</sup> But to find transparent drapery over drapery treated twice on figurines from the same deposit in Athens is startling indeed. By the mid third century or shortly before, then, and presumably in metal-work now lost to us, this brilliant device for enlivening and enriching the surface patterns of drapery must have been developed by artists well acquainted with transparent linen. We must assume, therefore, that the style originated in the home of fine linen, Alexandria. From Alexandria, the theme then travelled to Athens and to thence to Boeotia<sup>143</sup> and to Asia Minor, where, during the second century, it reached a brilliant apogee in *tours-de-force* in marble and in many sculptural terracottas. But the medium most congenial to such treatment is undoubtedly metal and in the vanished masterpieces of silver and bronze alone could we trace the whole story.

## CATALOGUE

*Male Figures*

## 1 (T 2687) Male Torso. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.052 m. Buff clay. Back modelled.

Nude male torso preserved from neck to waist except arms.

## 2 (T 2686) Male Fragment. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.048 m. Brownish buff clay.

Fragment from a nude boyish figure preserved from waist to knee, a little drapery against left side.

## 3 (T 2678) Draped Male Torso. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.06 m. Soft buff clay.

Fragment from chest with drapery crossing in center.

<sup>141</sup> Kleiner, pp. 178, 186.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 375 ff.

<sup>143</sup> Kleiner, p. 87, noted that transparency rarely occurs on true Tanagras. S. Besques-Mollard, *Mon. Piot*, XLV, 1951, pp. 53 ff. detects a slight transparency on Tanagra types of the second quarter of the third century.

- 4 (T 2689) Booted Leg. Pl. 26.  
P. H. 0.06 m. Buff clay.  
Male leg wearing high boot, preserved from knee to ankle.
- 5 (T 2674) Foot. Pl. 26.  
P. L. 0.041 m. Soft reddish clay.  
Left foot in soft pointed shoe with thick sole.
- 6 (T 2274) Male Head. Pl. 26.  
P. H. 0.037 m. W. 0.029 m. Tan clay. Face somewhat chipped.  
Boy's head, wearing thick, stippled wreath.

#### *Female Figures*

- 7 (T 2271) Semidraped Female. Pl. 26.  
P. H. 0.104 m., W. 0.04 m. Buff to red clay. Back unworked.  
Triangular vent; traces of attachment for base. Head missing.  
Standing female figure, extending her right hand forward and holding against her left side a heavy himation that is wrapped around her legs.
- 8 (T 2688) Female Torso. Pl. 26.  
P. H. 0.043 m. Buff clay.  
Female torso preserved from neck to waist; left arm broken away above elbow; right lifts himation behind her. A cord crosses body from right shoulder to waist between the breasts.
- 9 (T 2684) Draped Girl. Pl. 27.  
P. H. 0.076 m. Buff clay. Traces of reddish paint on flesh.  
A girlish figure wears an archaic costume, peplos over chiton; she held an object to her breast with her right hand and lifts her skirt with her left.
- 10 (T 2667) Mould: Draped Female. Pl. 27.  
P. H. 0.082 m. Soft buff-red clay; back smoothed.  
Mould for the left side of a draped female figure preserved from neck to thigh.
- 11 (T 2679-80) Upper Part of Draped Female. Pl. 27.  
P. H. 0.053 m., W. 0.045 m. Very fine buff clay; very thin walls. Large opening in back.  
The upper part of a draped female figure, her right arm bent across body, her left extended sideways, beneath a closely wrapped himation.
- 12 (T 2676) Lower Part of Draped Female. Pl. 27.  
P. H. 0.048 m. Buff clay, back unworked. Low base cast with figure.  
Lower part of a standing female figure wearing chiton under himation.
- 13 (T 2683) Fragment: Draped Female. Pl. 28.  
P. H. 0.062 m. Buff gritty clay, very thick walls.  
Fragment, broken on all sides, from left side of a standing female figure wearing chiton under himation.
- 14 (T 2682) Fragments: Draped Female. Pl. 27.  
(a) Front: P. H. 0.089 m. (b) Back: P. H. 0.075 m. Buff gritty clay; very thick walls.  
Fragments from front and back of standing female figure (or similar figures) wearing chiton and himation; left foot in forked, thick-soled shoe.
- 15 (T 2282) Lower Part of Draped Female. Pl. 28.  
P. H. 0.081 m., P. W. 0.065 m. Buff clay baked hard. Pale blue paint on drapery; dark red border on himation.  
Lower part of standing female figure, wearing chiton and himation and forked sandals.
- 16 (T 2670) Mould: Drapery. Pl. 28.  
P. H. 0.06 m. Soft buff clay; irregular back with cord-mark. Much worn.  
Fragment of mould for lower part of drapery on standing female figure.

**17 (T 2685) Dancer. Pl. 27.**

P. H. 0.081 m. Soft buff-red clay.

Central part and right leg of moving female figure.

**18 (T 2665) Mould: Lower Part of Draped Figure. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.074 m. Pinkish buff clay; back irregular. Much worn and chipped.

Mould showing (in positive) a female figure in flying drapery moving rapidly to her left.

**19 (T 2681) Fragment: Seated Female. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.049 m. Soft buff clay; irregular back.

Seated female figure, from waist down; right leg extended forward, wearing chiton and himation draped over knees.

**20 (T 2668) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.043 m. Gritty buff clay; indented back.

Fragmentary mould showing lap of seated draped female holding phiale in her right hand and traces of object (lion?) in her lap.

**21 (T 2669) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.042 m. Soft buff clay; back indented. Worn.

Fragment from mould of a draped seated female holding up tympanon in her left hand.

**22 (T 2270) Female Head. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.036 m. Buff clay. Right eye and cheek damaged.

Female head wearing curls down her neck and an ivy wreath.

**23 (T 2275) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.029 m. Buff clay. Knot broken away.

Girl's head wearing top-knot and curls down her neck and thick, stippled wreath.

**24 (T 2279) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.029 m. Buff clay.

Girl's head, wearing curls down her neck and a thick roll.

**25 (T 2272) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.**

P. H. 0.045 m. Buff to red clay; cracked.

Girl's head, wearing curls down her neck and a thick stippled wreath.

**26 (T 2277) Mould: Female Head. Pl. 29.**

Max. dim. 0.038 m. Buff clay, back indented. Worn. Complete.

Mould for front of female head with round face, wearing a wreath of leaves.

*Theatrical Figures***27 (T 2273) Comic Actor Head. Pl. 29.**

P. H. 0.032 m. Buff clay. Solid. Broken off at neck.

Actor's head wearing pointed beard, *speira* and thick, stippled wreath.

**28 (T 2278) Actor's Head: Silenos. Pl. 29.**

P. H. 0.052 m. Buff clay, smoked.

Head of bald bearded actor as Silenos, with megaphone type of mouth, wearing wreath of leaves.

**29 (T 2673) Mask: Female. Pl. 29.**

P. H. 0.064 m. Soft buff clay.

Mask of a large-featured female with a little hair over her forehead.

**30 (T 2292) Tragic Mask: Male. Pl. 29.**

From lowest deposit in well. P. H. 0.048 m. Soft brownish buff clay. Pinkish flesh, red paint around eyes. Chipped.

Fragmentary tragic mask of frowning male face with beaked nose; eyes, nostrils and mouth pierced.

*Animals***31 (T 2664) Mould: Bull's Head. Pl. 29.**

P. L. 0.073 m. Soft red clay, back rounded. Worn. Broken along neck.

Fragmentary mould for a bull's head to right in the positive.

**32 (T 2671) Mould: Animal. Pl. 29.**

P. L. 0.062 m. Soft buff clay. Back indented. Worn. Only top preserved.

Fragmentary mould representing neck and shoulders of a shaggy animal.

*Miscellaneous***33 (T 2284) Altar Fragment. Pl. 30.**

P. H. 0.063 m., P. W. 0.089 m., T. 0.028 m. Buff clay with gravelly grits; fine greenish surface. Hollow.

Lower corner of a small altar with base moulding of Lesbian cymation in relief beneath a fascia. Trace of relief (probably extended leg of a horse) preserved on two sides.

**34 (T 2692) Column. Pl. 30.**

P. H. 0.043 m. Buff clay. Solid. Finished smoothly on top.

Small column with flattened echinos capital preserved; numerous shallow flutings.

**35 (T 2691) Wheel. Pl. 30.**

P. W. 0.041 m. Buff to red clay; traces of black paint on rim.

Fragment of a four-spoked wheel, one quadrant mostly preserved.

**36 (T 2281) Chest. Pl. 30.**

H. 0.034 m., W. 0.032 m., T. 0.02 m. Traces of black glaze and attachment at back.

Small chest covered by gable roof with central ornament. One foot remains.

*Bases***37 (T 2853) Base. Pl. 30.**

P. H. 0.032 m. Buff-red clay.

Front of a base with wide lower moulding and traces of a figure on top.

**38 (T 2852) Base. Pl. 30.**

P. H. 0.031 m. Buff clay.

Corner of a stepped base, broken at top and back.

**39 (T 2851) Base. Pl. 30.**

P. W. 0.06 m. Buff clay. Black glaze on edge.

Corner of a plinth base with traces of upper part.

*Plastic Reliefs***40 (T 2276) Head and Torso. Pl. 30.**

P. H. 0.085 m., T. 0.017 m. Hard buff clay. Traces of pink on flesh and black glaze behind. Much retouching. Head split behind.

The head and upper part of a female figure wearing a chiton, high-girt with deep-V neck; traces of wreath on her head.

**41 (T 2283) Female Torso. Pl. 30.**

Max. dim. 0.057 m. Hard clay, much discolored. Traces of pale blue against breast, gold leaf on object in hand and on necklace and bracelet. Flat behind.

Torso of a female with drapery over her right arm, from which her hand emerges to hold an object.

**42 (T 2280) Eros Flying. Pl. 30.**

P. H. 0.055 m. Buff clay. Pinkish flesh. Flat back.

Torso of Eros with spread wings and arms extended forward, stretching upward.

**43 (T 2269) Altar. Pl. 30.**

H. 0.055 m., W. 0.031 m. Buff-red clay. Intact except for left akroterion broken off. Back finished for attachment at an angle to the background; slight protrusion beneath.

Small altar decorated with four Ionic columns on a base across front, with return of one column on left side.

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# THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

## II C THE SATYR CISTERN

(PLATES 87-91)

### CHRONOLOGY

IN 1939 a cistern was excavated on the slope of the Areopagus just north of the church of Dionysius the Areopagite.<sup>1</sup> It lay in an ancient residential area and contained a discarded mass of material from an otherwise completely obliterated house.

Except for a refilling of the upper part of the cistern as the surface sank, both in late Hellenistic times and in the 1st century of our era,<sup>2</sup> the material was apparently discarded at one time. The coins, as well as the pottery, set the first period of discard as fairly early in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. The coins of Athens from the filling probably date after 330 B.C.;<sup>3</sup> one from Myrina on Lemnos in the period 307-300 B.C. Among the 14 stamped amphora handles none was Knidian.<sup>4</sup>

This deposit is therefore of almost the same period as Group B and the Altar Well, which have previously been published and to which many cross-references will be made.<sup>5</sup>

### TECHNIQUE

Since the fabric of the figurines of this deposit is reasonably homogeneous, they probably come from a fairly limited period. The color of the clay, in contrast with that of the Altar Well, is reddish, as though it had been fired under more oxygenated conditions. That this variation is due to firing is made clear by fragments from two altars made in the same mould. One (No. 20) is of tan-buff clay, like that most prevalent in Group B; the other (No. 19) is light red in color, like Group B Nos. 7 and 15. This clay shows one peculiarity rare in Attica; it burns gray at the core. The thin, harder-baked fabric of buff-tan color appears to become more common in the 3rd

<sup>1</sup> Excavated by Eugene Vanderpool in Section EE at 53/E, on the new grid designated as N 21:4. The photographs are all by Alison Frantz. The dates are all B.C. Figure 1 is by J. Clapton; Figure 2 by K. Windisch.

<sup>2</sup> According to G. R. Edwards, to whom I owe my dating of the pottery, the uppermost filling dates in the 1st century after Christ, on the evidence of coins, sherds and lamps.

<sup>3</sup> The coins of the lower filling are as follows:

Athens: 4 of period ca. 330-300 B.C. (?)

7 of 307-283 B.C.

4 of uncertain, probably 3rd century, date

<sup>4</sup> V. R. Grace kindly checked the handles and jars from this cistern in 1961.

<sup>5</sup> Group B: *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 108-128;

Altar Well: *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 127-152.

century than it was in the 4th. In a few cases the backs of the figures are mould-made (Nos. 1 and 6); most are left rough and unmodelled. The trace of an oval vent is visible on Nos. 4 and 7. The interiors are pressed irregularly by the fingers, as in Group B (except No. 12) and the Altar Well. One plaque base (No. 6) survives. The plinth base, made in one piece with the figure, is usual with animal figures (No. 13). The earlier type of block base on No. 4 was opened from below by thrusting a stick upward, so that the solid mass of the feet was lightened.

Not much color is preserved, except on the satyr head (No. 2). In general, the white slip is firm, retaining occasional traces of color: yellow on the shield (No. 16) and on the drapery of the seated girl (No. 6). The Satyr head (No. 2) is particularly gay: the skin is a sun-burned tan, the hair dark red, the horns black, the lips scarlet, the eyebrows also delicately outlined in red.

The condition of most examples is decidedly poor, a fact that suggests that they were discarded some time after manufacture. Only two pieces show both crisp edges and well-preserved color, namely, the seated nymph (No. 6) and the Satyr head (No. 2). Both were clearly fresh when thrown away, particularly the Satyr head, for its crisp locks and horns retain very nearly their original appearance. These must be the latest pieces in the deposit.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

This group serves to emphasize the imagination of early 3rd century coroplasts. The range of subjects is wide and where sufficiently well-preserved to speak, the modelling is decidedly skilful. Again, however, our group is but a random selection. A wing (No. 11) alone suggests the flock of Erotes we should expect to find; a phiale (No. 18) suggests a goddess.

#### MALE FIGURES: NOS. 1-2

The seated nude "doll" (No. 1) is an ambitious example of its class, but more naturalistically modelled than examples from the Pnyx.<sup>6</sup> Male seated "dolls" are rare; they were probably made merely as counterparts of the female types, very possibly as toys to be dressed by children.<sup>7</sup> Its long smoothly modelled rib-cage is slim and soft, without much muscular articulation, like post-Lysippan bronzes, such as the Praying Boy in Berlin.<sup>8</sup> This is the only male body in the deposit, though others are attested by certain fragments to be discussed later (Nos. 10-12).

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 118; p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 11-12.

<sup>7</sup> For a full discussion of the seated "doll," see Troy, Supplementary Monograph, No. 3, *Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period* (in press). Cf. J. Dörig, "Von griechische Puppen," *Antike Kunst*, I, 1958, pp. 41-52.

<sup>8</sup> M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (hereafter, *Hell. Sculpt.*) New York, 1955, fig. 93.

The only male head, that of a satyr (No. 2), is a most interesting piece. Its size is startlingly out of scale with the rest of the figures in this group; the whole figure was ca. 35 cm. high. The sharp horns and wild locks suggest metallic prototypes. But the coroplast has not recast his subject in clay nor even followed canonical versions like the Dancing Satyr from Pompeii.<sup>8</sup> He has, rather, added the Satyr's attributes to a type of head that was frequently used for large flying Erotes. The contrast between the dull, rather coarse features, which are unaccented, and the deeply retouched locks is a new mannerism in the history of coroplastic art.

Since this head came not from the lower filling of the Cistern, but only from its dump, it cannot be dated by context. It is, at first glance, strikingly different from the rest of the material and should therefore be closely studied in order to be placed in its proper period. The fabric is a pale buff-tan more at home in later deposits. The head, on analysis, proves to have certain marked characteristics; it is tipped slightly backward on a short thick neck. The facial type is also individual; it is fleshy, with rounded forehead, broad nose with heavy angular tip, and markedly bowed mouth set high under the nose, of which the upper lip is much wider than the lower. The eyes are shallow and little modelled, but the eyeballs are just slightly indented, as though the craftsman were copying a bronze. He also lightly touched the corners of the mouth. Most individual of all is the treatment of the hair, which has been added by hand and modelled in a bold style with the graver. Not only do the locks project from the head, but they twist and turn like the flames of a radiate crown. Each lock moreover is grooved deeply so as to produce a marked effect of chiaroscuro.

This style, which is reminiscent of certain heads of Satyrs and Gauls in the major arts, is not common in terracotta. It is illuminative to consider any examples that can properly be compared with our Satyr head.

First, let us look at a head of Herakles from an early 3rd century context (Pl. 87).<sup>9</sup> The fabric is soft, of reddish clay, like that of our Nos. 3, 5, 7, 13. It is much elaborated by plastic additions and retouching. The face is vigorously modelled in the mould; the curly beard is treated more carefully and naturalistically than the locks on the Satyr head. The Herakles head has been modelled thoughtfully, in the manner of a bronze, whereas the Satyr head, as we remarked before, is not a close copy of a bronze in clay, but a terracotta head adorned with metallic-looking locks. It is, beside the Herakles head, a mechanical piece of work.

Next, to find closer parallels for our Satyr, we might look at the masks of Dionysos from Delos. Though fragmentary, several present many of the characteristics of our head: the same wreath, moulded with the head, not applied separately, the

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 95-96.

<sup>9</sup> T 1336, H. 6.3 cm. Deposit N 18:3. The lamps, pottery and amphora handles are of the early 3rd century. Most of the coins are of the same date, but one might date as late as ca. 172 B.C.

same stumpy horns, the doughnut-shaped fruit and even the twisted locks with central groove.<sup>11</sup> One head may even resemble ours in facial appearance, but its condition makes comparison difficult. The profile, with the curved forehead, the blunt tip to the nose and thick lips, is also close to that of a bearded Dionysiac mask of the same class.<sup>12</sup> One of these Delian pieces comes from a shop (No. 2) that was destroyed in the Mithradatic Wars.<sup>13</sup> The mechanical bold style, the abundant plastic additions, producing dramatic chiaroscuro are characteristic of that period.<sup>14</sup> Our head certainly is not so over loaded, nor is the face so dull and clumsy as that of Delos Nos. 335-337 from the same period, but it surely is not far from them in date. If we suggest the late first half of the 2nd century, we cannot go far wrong.

The Delian examples of Dionysiac heads have been identified by M. Laumonier as representing the horned Dionysos himself, the *ἄξιος ταῦρος*.<sup>15</sup> Our head may indeed represent the god. In the coroplastic tradition, however, Dionysiac Satyrs are more common<sup>16</sup> and follow well known marble and bronze prototypes so closely as to make preferable this simpler interpretation.

If we look a moment at these sculptural works, we find a similar facial type and hair waving in leaf-shaped locks on many figures of the late 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Those in marble seem to be late copies, and several bronzes, especially examples from Herculaneum, must go back to very similar prototypes.<sup>17</sup> These all seem to derive from the Pergamene School, where heads on the Great Altar have the same lean faces with upward glance, bowed mouth and twisting furrowed locks.<sup>18</sup> The hair is particularly individual on our head and can be likened to that of a bronze satyr from the Mahdia wreck of about 100 B.C.<sup>19</sup> Though this head shows no horns and no wreath, the hair is wrought in deeply furrowed pointed locks that toss dramatically hither and thither, following almost exactly the same outlines and patterns as those on the Agora head. Our clay version of this dramatic style is therefore not out of place in the first half of the 2nd century. It is particularly interesting as an Athenian echo of bronze work and as an example of a vigorous style that we usually associate with Asia Minor of a time from which few pieces have survived. It is interesting to note

<sup>11</sup> A. Laumonier, *Delos*, XXIII, p. 123, pl. 34, Nos. 311-314.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 315.

<sup>13</sup> No. 311, from Shop 2.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. a discussion of the work of Shop 2, *Gnomon*, XXXI, 1959, p. 638.

<sup>15</sup> Laumonier, *loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Cf. a head with similar horns, but fat face and eyes characteristic of the period around 200 B.C., D. I. Lazarides, *Πήλινα Εἰδώλια Ἀβδηρῶν*, Athens, 1960, pl. 31, B 120 (date 2nd century B.C.)

<sup>17</sup> Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 575 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, title-page and fig. 462.

<sup>19</sup> A. Merlin, *Mon. Piot.*, XVIII, 1910, pp. 15 f., pl. V. For a recent dating of this material, cf. W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (20<sup>er</sup> *Ergänzungsheft des Jahrbuches*) Berlin, 1959, pp. 183-186.

that the cargo on the Mahdia ship derived at least in part from Athens. We can explain the presence of this later piece in our cistern of the early 3rd century only by assuming that the original filling, as so often in ancient Athens, settled and was augmented at a later period.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: STANDING DRAPED: NOS. 3-5

Only a few fragments of standing female figures survive. The earliest (No. 3), to judge from its soft reddish fabric and delicate folds, is probably a survivor from the late 4th century. In all details, it closely resembles a scrap from a context of that date (Pl. 87).<sup>20</sup> The modelling is characteristic of the miniature "Tanagra" style, but the broad cross-bands on this parallel suggest its identification as Artemis. Again, another piece of the same scale, fabric and type as ours (but not from the same mould) can be identified by her aegis as Athena (Pl. 87).<sup>21</sup> It appears to have been broken away on the line of the overfold. If so, our fragment could come from the lower part of just such a figure. This suggestion is supported by traces of a curved line of attachment along the left side in the place where the shield of the Parthenon would normally rest. The figure thus restored shows a long overfold of the type on the coins of Aphrodisias or an Athena from Kos which are assumed to reflect the Athenian statue.<sup>22</sup> A representation of the Parthenon in late 4th century coroplastic art is indeed rare but must not take on too serious weight as evidence, for the aegis is merely incised on the chest. It is clear that the coroplast used an existing type, which he converted in one case into Artemis, in the other, into Athena. The later version of this terracotta form is found at Delos.<sup>23</sup> It is particularly interesting to find a figurine of Athena in Hellenistic Athens.

Another goddess may also be represented in our deposit. No. 4 is a small piece of soft fabric and of unique type. The garment hangs in straight folds to the top of boots with rounded toes of the type called *endromides*.<sup>24</sup> They were made of soft leather laced up the front, with no marked differentiation of the feet and were used chiefly by travellers and hunters. Neither so high as Dionysiac boots nor decorated with flaps, they were apparently originally worn by women and therefore could be useful to Artemis. Usually, however, the goddess wears her dress only to the knees. This piece may therefore merely represent a woman. Another possible interpretation is offered under No. 9 below.

A draped torso (No. 5) without attributes shows us feminine fashion in the early

<sup>20</sup> T 941; P. H. 4.5 cm. From Well W within the Tholos.

<sup>21</sup> T 3038; P. H. 6.8 cm. From a context well previous to the erection of the Stoa of Attalos.

<sup>22</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 104, fig. 4; Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, fig. 43.

<sup>23</sup> Laumonier, *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 29, Nos. 286 L, p. 115 considers that these late examples follow earlier pieces of the 2nd century.

<sup>24</sup> K. Erbacher, *Griechische Schuhwerk*, Würzburg, 1914, p. 57, fig. 28.

3rd century. The chiton is narrow, close-fitting, with deep V-neck that reaches almost to the girding. The folds are shallow and relaxed, presumably representing linen. They are somehow drier than the more irregular, sensitive folds on No. 3. The fabric too is a little harder and later-looking. This costume, but ungirded, is found on a mould from a well in the South Stoa of Corinth<sup>25</sup> of the later 3rd century. It too has the deep V-neck and the shallow clinging folds. This style is more commonplace than the sensitive and sharply modelled example on a plastic relief from the Altar Well.<sup>26</sup> Our piece represents the generally quiet mood of the early 3rd century. A number of small uncatalogued scraps belong to the same class.

#### SEATED FIGURES: NOS. 6-8

A new interest appears in this deposit, namely, the theme of the seated figure. It is illuminative to trace the emergence of this sophisticated theme from the stiff frontal and rigidly symmetrical archaic type of seated goddess. That type continues unchanged, though it grows slimmer and softer, during the 4th century. By the 3rd century the conception has to be recast. The basis of the new form was undoubtedly sculptural.<sup>26a</sup> Its earliest stage in terracotta is visible in a fine but headless seated figure from the Agora of a lady who was apparently looking at herself in a mirror (Pl. 88).<sup>27</sup> Although the context in which it was found can date no earlier than the third quarter of the 3rd century,<sup>28</sup> its clear buff fairly soft fabric<sup>29</sup> and its simple style must be earlier. The deep V-neckline, however, which is an early stage, is not likely to appear before ca. 300 B.C.<sup>30</sup> The style of the drapery which delicately clings to the

<sup>25</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. LXII, 23; cf. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 66, No. 661 bis.

<sup>26</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 144 ff., pl. 30, No. 40, with evidence for dating the first appearance of this neckline ca. 300 B.C.

<sup>26a</sup> For a recent analysis of the type in sculpture see T. Dohn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia*, Berlin, 1960.

<sup>27</sup> T 139; P. H. 20 cm. Fine buff, slightly micaceous clay. *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8. This type has a few parallels: cf. W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Berlin, 1942, p. 134, fig. 61 and note 1; p. 118, fig. 54. Closest of all is that in Doughty House, Richmond, *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, London, 1904, p. 83, pl. LXXXV, No. 67 (H. not given; it is smaller than ours). The woman is binding her hair and appears to be glancing at a mirror, now missing. Mrs. Saul Weinberg kindly examined this figurine for me, through the courtesy of Mr. Brockwell, its curator, and wrote me, Feb. 18, 1939, as follows: "So far as I can see the two (i.e. this piece and the Agora example) must be practically contemporary. The treatment of the drapery on the breast is a little freer and less conventional in the English figure than in yours . . . the drapery is also a little sharper than in your piece. I should venture to say that yours is a trifle earlier."

<sup>28</sup> The context of T 139 was early Hellenistic, set by a piece of Megarian bowl with large leaves as late as the third quarter of the 3rd century; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 90, pl. 44, Nos. 61-66. Fragments of Keroi suggest that the figurine may have come from a Demeter Sanctuary.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 109, Nos. 6, 17.

<sup>30</sup> See above note 26.

body is simple and sensitive as though an earlier precursor of the style of our No. 5. The little pockets or "Augenfalten" in the folds at the waist are found in sculpture of the late 4th century.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, in general character this sizable figurine has the monumental quality of sculpture rather than the miniature delicacy of "Tanagras." This must be due to a difference of school or shop and not of period, as has been noted by Kleiner.<sup>32</sup>

The pose of this seated figure marks an advance from the frontality of the 4th century toward the complexities beloved by the Hellenistic age. The woman sits quietly, but movement vitalizes her body. Her left shoulder is slightly raised and with it her left breast. Her right arm, which was evidently modelled in the round must have extended forward to support the lid of the open box-mirror toward which the glance must have been directed. Similarly, the left knee is raised because the foot rests on a stool, whereas the right leg is extended free of the stool and forward. This placement makes a less compact, more vigorous composition than the cross-legged pose of the simple "Tanagra" version from the Altar Well.<sup>33</sup> The scheme is therefore not chiasmic, but rather, deliberately asymmetrical and bold.<sup>34</sup> The drapery skilfully enhances the contrasts of the structure; the clinging chiton reveals the body, and the strong folds of the himation follow in widely-spaced curves the contours of the thighs and legs. The slightly flaring ends of the hanging drapery at the sides frame the body and, together with the spreading folds of the chiton, give stability to the whole composition. It recalls the sophisticated simplicity of the seated philosopher types of the 3rd century, each apparently casual, yet, on analysis, thoughtfully constructed.<sup>35</sup> Among all the terracottas from Athens it is one of the most monumental, exemplifying the transition from the sculptural manner occasionally seen in 4th century figurines to that, often in a metallic style, which we shall find in the later 3rd century.

In the Satyr Cistern a fragment representing a woman sitting on a diphros<sup>36</sup> (No. 6) follows the somewhat rare type which we have just discussed. The legs of the figure show clearly through the drapery, which is but lightly indicated. This articulation of the legs is rarer than the muffling that characterizes the figures of Tanagra and Chatby. This figure, however, is smaller and more delicate than the

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 206-212.

<sup>32</sup> *Tanagrafiguren*, Berlin, 1942, p. 133.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 28, No. 9; cf. Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 204 f. for the pose on a tomb statue.

<sup>34</sup> This theme appears on an Agora mould of slightly smaller scale, T 2030, of which the very fine detail is more in the "Tanagra" style.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. for example, Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 232 f. Cf. G. S. Dontas, *Εἰκόνες καθημένων πνευματικῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἑλληνικὴν τέχνην*, Athens, 1960, pls. 10 f., pp. 37 ff.

<sup>36</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Oxford, 1926, fig. 94, p. 32 calls this a diphros type b.

lady with the mirror and may well date with the very fine miniature style of "Tanagras" of ca. 300 B.C.

Another Agora figure, from an early Hellenistic context,<sup>37</sup> develops this theme toward greater refinement. It shows a girl sitting also on a diphros, but of another type,<sup>38</sup> wearing a soft yellow chiton and a bright pink himation wrapped around her legs (Pls. 88, 89).<sup>39</sup> She may have held a tympanon in the groove set within the drapery on the left side of her lap. This figure resembles a miniature version from the Altar Well.<sup>40</sup> It forms an admirable paradigm in the history of this type as it shifts from the classical feeling of the Lady with the Mirror to the plastic baroque style of the late 3rd century.

Comparing the two figures, we note how the proportions differ. The strong broad body of the earlier piece has become sligher and taller. The folds of the chiton now bunch over the stomach and pull tight between the breasts. The torso emerges from a dense roll of drapery which emphasizes the edge of the cloak. In the Lady with the Mirror contrasts are effected by texture, not by mass. Actually the structure of the cloaks is similar, but the disappearance of the left leg of the smaller piece within the drapery serves to emphasize its weight. An interesting contrast is also visible in the hanging folds on the left side of each figure. That of the Lady with the Mirror repeats quietly two elongated, rounded, rather shallow triangles (probably also one more at the bottom). On the Girl in the Pink Cloak the end hangs from a confusion of drapery at the hip, turning its edge in five zigzags that vary in size, shape, depth, angle and surface. The coroplast evidently delights in variety and elaboration; nor can he leave quiet the rest of the cloak. This surface sparkle is gay and charming; it is the natural expression of a pliant medium like clay; it translates well into metal. The contrast between these two figures exemplifies the artistic preoccupations of their periods. The *σχήματα διανοίας* of Attic classicism is giving way to the *σχήματα λίξεως* of Asianism.

To return to the examples of the Satyr Cistern, which can only be understood by these comparisons with other better preserved material, we can now try to place this later style chronologically. In fabric and in general appearance, in the twisting end of hanging drapery and in the richly modelled texture of the folds over the thighs, our No. 7 is not unlike the Girl in the Pink Cloak. It is interesting because it shows for the first time in our series a theme beloved by the coroplasts of the 3rd century, the figure seated on rocky ground. The coroplasts evidently derived this type from sculpture, as it was used for Herakles or for Apollo and a Muse on the Mantinea

<sup>37</sup> In the same context as the Herakles head; see above note 10.

<sup>38</sup> Probably Richter, *Anc. Furniture*, p. 37, type e.

<sup>39</sup> T 1339, P. H. 11.5 cm.; W. (with seat) 8.4 cm.; pinkish buff clay.

<sup>40</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 28, No. 19.



Basis.<sup>41</sup> The theme was evidently first created in painting, where it appears on red-figure vases as early as the time of Meidias and continues throughout the 4th century: nymphs, maenads, deities and the blessed dead relax on the rocky slopes of Paradise. It was apparently not until the very late 4th century or later that the coroplasts began to appreciate the opportunities offered by this informal resting place. Instead of sitting frontally and with dignity, their figures could now loll, in sloping or twisted poses that give variety, depth and, later, three dimensional volume to the composition. Moreover such figures, elongated in their extension, now become interesting from the side, with a tendency more and more to compose only from this point of view. The tympanon resting on the knee identifies our girl (No. 7) as a Maenad, but others are probably nymphs. Surely Athenian (or even Boeotian) ladies of elegance seldom sat on the harsh Greek hillside. The rocks refer to Helikon or to the Elysian fields, as on the vases, thus bringing to the conception an artificial idyllicism which seems in keeping with the poems of Theokritos. Our girl, like one of his shepherds (*Id.*, XI, 17 f.) . . . καθέζομενος δ' ἐπὶ πέτρας ἰβηλᾶς . . . , is a creature of intellectual longing, not of the real world. This escapist flavor has been noted by Langlotz,<sup>42</sup> who plausibly suggests that many of the sepulchral terracottas of the Tanagra period gave the Elysian setting that was considered suitable for the heroized dead.

The shattered condition of our piece from the Satyr Cistern makes its composition and charm only faintly discernible. The drapery is plastically handled, but without exaggeration. The elongated plaque base that is adjusted to the spreading configuration of the ground implies that the side view was preeminent. The general type is common at Tanagra and survives into elaboration at Myrina.<sup>43</sup> Parallels from Chatby seem early. These parallels and its fresh condition indicate that our piece was one of the last to be discarded; we may date it in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. rather than with the Satyr head in the later refilling.

A tantalizing fragment of this class is No. 8, which is on a slightly larger scale than the preceding. The rocky area is high; against it leans the naked torso of a boy in the manner of the plastic vases of the 4th century.<sup>44</sup> He appears to be standing against the legs of a draped woman who sits further back on the rock. Only her right arm and hand, wrapped in drapery from which hangs a long end, still survive. To judge from the breaks, the boy's right elbow rested against her lap. The composi-

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 80-81, 106-116; Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, figs. 679 f.; cf. a relief vase showing Maenads, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pl. 55, figs. 3-7.

<sup>42</sup> E. Langlotz, *Robert Boehrer, Eine Freundesgabe*, Tübingen, 1957, pp. 418 ff. Cf. B. Neutsch, "Μακαρόν Νῆπον," *Rom. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1953/4, pp. 62-74.

<sup>43</sup> *TK*, II, p. 114, p. 116, 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 198 f. R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, II, London, 1959, pl. 42, Nos. 1716 f. Cf. Agora T 988 from a group of the type. G. Mendel, *Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite*, Istanbul, 1908, pl. IV, 1 (No. 1867).

tion is decidedly reminiscent of the figures of Aphrodite and Eros on the Parthenon frieze, in which the goddess points out to her son the oncoming procession. This version is merely an idle moment of relaxation. Most terracottas of this type also show Aphrodite. We may venture to assume that the boy is Eros with his divine mother.

Stylistically and technically this fragment seems to come from the same shop as the preceding. The drapery folds are rounded, separated by channels, but they are somewhat more cursorily rendered than on the Maenad (No. 7). The long hanging end zigzags in the same pattern of four elongated triangles, turning back on themselves so as to diminish slightly. They are not, however, so emphatically grooved as those of the Maenad, nor so complicated as those of the Girl in the Pink Cloak. Complete, this must have been a lovely piece, another example of the originality of the Athenian coroplast of the early 3rd century.

#### THEATRICAL FIGURE: No. 9

This curious little old man, bearded and wearing a polos, might be taken at first for a Priapos. His mask, however, looks theatrical, though his costume, a fine chiton under a closely wrapped himation, seems more feminine than should be associated with that god of fertility. Perhaps he is an actor masquerading in female dress, of which one is listed from Kition in Cyprus.<sup>45</sup> This bearded Silenos is wrapped in a cloak like a woman and wears a short skirt and high Dionysiac boots. It is conceivable that the lower part of No. 9 looked like our No. 4, but the scale of No. 4 is much too large to belong to No. 9. Possibly, however, two figurines of this rare type existed in our cistern.

#### MISCELLANEOUS HUMAN SUBJECTS: Nos. 10-14

Two scraps, not from the same figure, indicate that the flying child Eros, which was ever popular during the 3rd century, was not absent from this group. The buttocks of a child (No. 10) come from a figure of about the scale and character of the Eros of the Altar Well.<sup>46</sup> These both seem a trifle earlier than the dumpy little Erotes from a mid-3rd century grave at Abdera.<sup>47</sup> To be associated with this scrap is a wing (No. 11) on a larger scale. It is flat and lightly modelled, with an emphasized wing-bone. The system of feathers is also like that of the Erotes from Abdera, thus being stylistically consistent in date with the general filling of the cistern. This wing might of course belong to a Nike.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *TK*, II, p. 398, 4; cf. p. 399, 3, 5, 12. Cf. T. B. L. Webster, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 256, note 8. In a letter dated 2.vii.61 he also lists examples from Taranto and in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum C85/1937.

<sup>46</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 26, No. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 13, A 26, A 28.

Three non-joining scraps (No. 12) can be assigned without much doubt to a type representing Eros asleep on a flower. This interpretation is based on better preserved fragments from the Agora of similar character, which clearly show a large flower with rounded petals lying open (probably a rose).<sup>48</sup> These are not exactly like our examples in which the petals rest on top of each other, as in a deeper petalled rose, but the resemblance is sufficient to make comparison with complete figures possible. At Abdera Eros reclines in a lily, as also at Ilion.<sup>49</sup> Our pieces show a pillow doubled up, with a dent probably for the head and a bit of drapery. These would not be enough to reconstruct the type, were it not well known from a study by Bielefeld.<sup>50</sup> Our fragments appear to fit into the series, but as an early example, which unfortunately cannot clearly be restored.

The lily flower (No. 13) appears to be an independent piece, but perhaps related in some way to the foregoing. The cup is too deep to have supported an Eros. It may conceivably have adorned the head of a goddess, like Hera,<sup>51</sup> but more probably, to judge from the narrow stem that approximately fits the base, it stood on a high support, as a thymiaterion.

A single sleeved arm (No. 14) (to judge from the creases at the wrist) indicates the presence of a figure in Phrygian costume, but the type is not clear.

#### ANIMALS: Nos. 15-16

The body of a sheep (No. 15) and the head apparently of another sheep (No. 16) are the only animal representatives in our deposit. The larger piece forms an interesting contrast with a similar fragment that was found in the filling of the Pnyx Assembly Place III,<sup>52</sup> that is, of the third quarter of the 4th century. This example is made of light buff clay; ours, of reddish color; it apparently stood on a plaque base; ours stands on a plinth cast in with the figure. The Pnyx sheep is carefully modelled in two moulds, making it visible from both sides. That from the Satyr Cistern presents only the left side and front of the animal. The earlier modelling is precise, each tuft of wool neatly rendered over the solidly constructed body. The later piece depends on

<sup>48</sup> T 2733-2735; T 2737.

<sup>49</sup> Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 3, B 54; *Troy*, Suppl. 3, No. 302; fragments of a lily-like flower have also been found in the Agora, T 2736.

<sup>50</sup> "Eros in der Blume," *Arch. Anz.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, cols. 47-73, figs. 1-3; cf. *Délos*, XXIII, p. 142, pl. 41, No. 375. For the long history of the motive in Eastern Art, S. Morenz and J. Schubert, "Der Gott auf der Blume," *Artibus Asiae*, Suppl., XII, 1954, pp. 64-71, and in Hellenistic times, *Troy*, Suppl. 3. Our flower seems to be an earlier example of the rose than that shown on J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich, 1916, II, pl. 103, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. R. P. Dellatre, *C.R.A.I.*, Paris, 1923, pp. 354-365, fig. p. 358. Another smaller well-modelled lily, Agora T 1586, comes from a 3rd century filling. H. 1.8 cm., diam. 4.3 cm. Judith Perlzweig suggests that it might have rested on the head of our Satyr, as on a similar head from Corinth (unpublished).

<sup>52</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 155, No. 99, fig. 67.

sharp but careless retouching and does not aim at showing more than an impressionistic mass of wool. These differences are marked and indicate a different artistic point of view: the one literal within artistic convention, the other volatile and seeking its effects largely by light and shadow.

Similar in fabric and in sharp modelling is the sheep's head (No. 16); it was to be seen from both sides. Both the body and the head follow the usual form for a classical sheep, as is visible from that rendered on a Melian relief.<sup>55</sup> The type to be restored from Nos. 15 and 16, non-joining fragments, probably resembled a sheep from Abdera,<sup>56</sup> which is dated in the late 2nd century and which has passed on to a dull stage.

If we wonder why figures of sheep are fairly frequent in Athens, we must presumably attribute them to the old tradition that provided votive animals for the sacrifice. Attica produced good wool and a sheep was a favorite offering by those associated with the pastoral life of its uplands. Particularly, the Athenians offered a sheep at the Apaturia, in honor of the registration of a child or a bride with a phratry. This sacrifice was presented to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia. One of their small sanctuaries probably stood not far from our cistern down in the Agora.<sup>57</sup> Though very probably made as votives, such figures often served merely as toys.

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS: Nos. 17-21

A small shield bears traces on its back of attachment to a figure, rather than the smooth interior of a simple votive. It had presumably been held, probably by a soldier, like the small figures from the Demeter Sanctuary on the Pnyx.<sup>58</sup> His shield is exactly the same size as ours, but ours was held not by the rim, but by a strap beneath it. An amusing parody of this type occurs at Larisa in Aeolis, where the soldier has the face of a monkey.<sup>59</sup> We cannot tell which of these types ours may have been.

Only the phiale with its relief-petals (No. 18) survives from what must have been the statuette of a deity pouring a libation. It looks like the petalled saucers that were often portrayed as sacrificial vessels on Hellenistic temples.<sup>60</sup> Many are listed in the Delian inventories; ours is a floral version of the rayed type of earlier days,<sup>61</sup> called *παβδουράι*.

<sup>55</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, Oxford, 1930, pl. XLIV, fig. 137. For the treatment of the eye, cf. *Dilos*, XXIII, pl. 97, No. 1304.

<sup>56</sup> Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 29, B 129.

<sup>57</sup> R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, p. 52, No. 112 discusses the identification.

<sup>58</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 174, fig. 20, p.

<sup>59</sup> J. Bochlau-K. Schefold, *Larisa-am-Hermos*, Berlin, 1942, III, pl. 9, No. 16, cf. M. Kokalakis, "Pantomimus and the Treatise *περὶ ὀρχήσεως*," Athens, 1959 (*Πλάτων*, I), pp. 24 ff., on apes performing the Pyrrhic dance.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. A. Conze etc., *Samothrake*, pl. XL.

<sup>61</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v. phiala*, p. 434.



The most unusual objects in this cistern are the fragments from two miniature altars (Nos. 19, 20), of the type used for burning incense.<sup>60</sup> They form an identical pair; the dimensions, where preserved, are sufficiently close to show that the two come from the same moulds. There are no signs that stamps were used to make the moulds. A joint between the two casts, however, is visible on both pieces.<sup>61</sup> The dentil moulding above and the Lesbian leaf below are carefully modelled, but the latter in reverse position from that shown on the Corinthian example from the Altar Well.<sup>62</sup> That from our cistern is obviously later; it has lost its profile and become merely surface decoration for a sloping band.



FIG. 1. Altar 19 and 20 (1:1).

It is surprisingly difficult to find parallels to this cylindrical altar type; most such *arulae* with reliefs are later and different.<sup>63</sup> Nor is the treatment of the subject here, which is clearly the Iliupersis, found in similar contemporary renderings in any media.

Since the scenes on the two fragments are apparently identical, we shall refer to the altar type as one single unit (Fig. 1). The scene of the warrior attacking

<sup>60</sup> C. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, St. Louis, 1949, pp. 171-175; full bibliography p. 173, note 22.

<sup>61</sup> For detail, see the Catalogue.

<sup>62</sup> Other examples of earlier types from the Agora, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 30, No. 33.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 17, A 34, B 60 (2nd century B.C.). H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlu-Kule, Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, fig. 252; *Troy*, Suppl. Monograph, 3, Nos. 293-298 with recent bibliography.

king on his throne is preserved in part on both pieces: the armed warrior on No. 20 alone and the rest on No. 19 alone. The running narrative is told in three episodes of a pair of protagonists each. The clearest pair consists of a naked youth, wearing a crested helmet, seizing a seated bearded (?) figure by the hair and striking at him with his sword. This appears to be an uncanonical representation of Neoptolemos killing Priam. The second pair, consisting of a fully armed warrior aiming his spear at a shrinking woman, must be Menelaos and Helen. Of the third scene, little survives: the shaft of a xoanon set upon a base on which a draped woman kneels. Advancing toward her are the helmet and shield of a warrior who presumably is Ajax.

Though we have to do with some of the most famous scenes of the Iluipersis, the iconography is unusual. Arktinos of Miletos gives the tale also in this order: "the slaying of Priam who had taken refuge at the altar of Zeus Herkeios; Menelaos discovering Helen; Ajax seizing Cassandra. The first scene on our relief frieze, unlike all the vase-paintings and many other representations, does not show the king on or near the altar of Zeus Herkeios, but on his throne. He is being pulled down from it as he extends a suppliant hand, a pathetic rendering but not so melodramatic as that on a well-known Megarian bowl.<sup>44</sup> A not dissimilar scene, but at the altar and in reverse, occurs on the very late *tabula Iliaca A*.<sup>45</sup> No rendering, so far as I know, shows Priam on his throne, except the early 6th century pediment at Corfu." This example can scarcely be cited as a parallel for ours except in that it may indicate the existence of another tradition in an obscure poem that was used by the artists of later metal work. Scholarly research certainly lay behind many Hellenistic creations, as we learn from the Great Altar of Pergamon. Or, and perhaps more likely, we may suggest that the artists, careless of tradition, used any convenient type, forming a *contaminatio* with other representations of regicide, for instance, that of Aigisthos, who was always murdered on his throne.<sup>46</sup> In any case, the other two scenes fix the story as the sack of Troy and give us new and interesting re-creations of the old themes.

In the next scene to our right, Menelaos speeds after a fleeing Helen, spear ready for revenge. She throws up her hands in terror, but looks back; her thin drapery

<sup>44</sup> For a recent study of the literary and artistic presentations of the story, M. I. Wiencke, "An Epic Theme in Greek Art," *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, pp. 285-306, with all texts and lists of vase-painting. I owe this reference to Dr. Alexander Cambitoglou.

<sup>45</sup> U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten*, Stuttgart, 1959, p. 54, H B 17 b = C. Robert, *50 tes Berlin Winkelmannsprog.*, 1890, pp. 41-45, drawing p. 42. K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Princeton, 1959, pp. 46 L, fig. 53.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 56 and parallels.

<sup>47</sup> G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Bildwerke des Artemistempels von Korkyra*, Berlin, 1939, p. 163 identifies the figure as Priam, seated on a backless seat.

<sup>48</sup> E. g. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, figs. 370, 478; *Jahrb.*, XXIX, pp. 30 f.; C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, Berlin, 1881, pp. 149 ff. considers that the inspiration came from the Polygnotan School. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Cambitoglou.



reveals her charm. This composition follows the outlines of the scene as portrayed occasionally on advanced red-figure paintings,<sup>10</sup> but not in detail. The episode does not occur on Megarian bowls, but it lived on, as attested by a Hellenistic relief and by the melodramatic wall-painting in the House of Menander in Pompeii and other Roman versions.<sup>11</sup> Hellenistic poetry, though generous with allusions to Helen's beauty and her pastoral love, follows the strange tradition of Helen's sojourn in Egypt and apparently was not in any way influential on our Attic coroplasts.<sup>12</sup> The iconography of our scene, therefore, goes back to Athenian prototypes, probably to those which suggest that Helen, like Cassandra, was rushing to the xoanon of Athena for protection.<sup>13</sup>

It is this xoanon, then, the focal point of two scenes, that draws the episodes together. It stands stiff, a bit of arm protruding; the girl at its base is draped in an himation that covers her legs as she kneels or crouches; the angle of her body suggests that she was reaching up to grasp it. This is a composition that is well-developed in red-figure painting and continues in many media for a long time down to the *tabulae Iliacae*.<sup>14</sup> The ingenuity of artists in rendering this dramatic theme can scarcely be imagined without glancing at the numerous plates of Mlle. Davreux' book on this subject. There we find a fairly close parallel for the details of our scene on an onyx cameo in the British Museum.<sup>15</sup> On this gem (Pl. 90) the position of Ajax, the base of the image and the drapery over the legs are close to ours, but the xoanon is of squatter type. It too could have been inspired by metalwork. Like ours, it does not closely resemble the scene on Megarian bowls.<sup>16</sup> These evidently drew their repertory of figured scenes from some other source. Our altar alone retains more purely the tradition as it must have appeared on 4th century metal altars or bowls, perhaps those that inspired Nero's beloved crystal "scyphos Homeros."<sup>17</sup>

Closely related stylistically to these altars are those of the type often called

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Lilly B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les Enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène dans les textes et documents figurés*, Paris, 1955, pp. 95-97, pls. LXIX-LXXI, 1, Nos. 79-82 bis; cf. pl. LXXIII, 1, No. 162.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. LXXIV f., Nos. 201-204, pp. 247 f.; pl. LXXXVIII, 2, No. 196, p. 245.

<sup>12</sup> The literary evidence is summarized, *ibid.*, pp. 203-211.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. *ibid.*, pl. LXVI f., Nos. 72 f.; p. 91 (late 5th century).

<sup>14</sup> J. Davreux, *La Légende de la prophétesse Cassandre d'après les textes et les monuments*, Paris, 1942, pp. 139 ff.; fig. 49; Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff., fig. 56; K. Scheffold, "Die Troiasage in Pompeji," *Festschrift Byvatck (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, V, 1954)* pp. 221 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Davreux, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI, fig. 78; p. 176, No. 122. The date is probably early Imperial. I owe the photograph on our Plate 90 to the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>16</sup> Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 57; Hausmann, *op. cit.*, p. 49; p. 54, H B 16 a; cf. H B 17 c; pls. 30-31.

<sup>17</sup> Hausmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 f. For a similar metal base revetment of Hellenistic date, *Pergamon*, I, 2, beibl. 31, p. 251, 3. For "Homeric skyphoi," *Pliny, N.H., XXXVII, 29*; Hausmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 40.

"Tarentine," which share the scenes upon their sides with Megarian bowls.<sup>77</sup> Three fragments, of Attic fabric, were found in the Agora (Fig. 2; Pl. 91).<sup>78</sup> They are all very fine examples, with exquisite egg and dart mouldings, their bases of exactly the same height (1.6 cm.) as those of our cylindrical altars. The base (T 950; Pl. 91) is among the crispest known and would seem to be very near the beginning of the series of which Hausmann dates the best extant examples in the mid-3rd century.<sup>79</sup> Our pieces, though not limited by context, certainly seem earlier, both in fabric and in style. Are they not probably among the first made, the prototypes of the first copies on Megarian bowls?<sup>80</sup> For the scene of the Girl Crowning the Trophy, Schwabacher

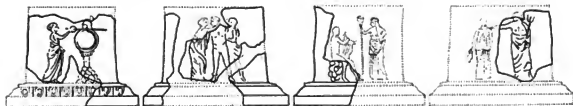


FIG. 2. Altar Agora T 1376 a (1:2). Cf. 19 and 20.

lists eleven examples on altars and eleven on Attic bowls.<sup>81</sup> The style also looks Attic and need not for any reason come from South Italy. Similarly, the Dionysiac group of the god being supported by a satyr and kissed by a nymph (or Ariadne) is characteristic of these altars and of the bowls, especially those from Attica.<sup>82</sup> We also probably have, on our altar, the usual scenes of Poseidon and Amymone<sup>83</sup> and of Apollo and Leto,<sup>84</sup> of which recognizable traces survive. Of the former scene, among 28 examples on Megarian bowls, 21 are from Attica; both scenes occur on 9 altars. Stylistically, all these compositions are sufficiently close to have derived from contemporary originals, which Schwabacher very reasonably assigns to Athenian sources.<sup>85</sup> The reason for the selection of seemingly irrelevant scenes for the decoration of these altars is obscure. It is also puzzling to observe that of the Agora altars, among the

<sup>77</sup> Hausmann, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and note 99; Schwabacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 ff. P. Willeumier, *Tarente*, Paris, 1939, pl. XLI, 1-4 (H. 10 cm.).

<sup>78</sup> T 1376 a (Pl. 91); P. H. 6.2 cm.; T 1376 b (fragment from an identical altar), P. H. 3.5 cm. (both from a context of the late 3rd to early 2nd century); see V. R. Grace, *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, Princeton, 1956, p. 95 and T 950 (Pl. 91), P. H. 1.8 cm.; P. L. 7.6 cm. (from a context chiefly of the 3rd century), an even sharper impression of the above type but maintaining the same height for the base.

<sup>79</sup> Hausmann, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. our Dionysos-Ariadne and Girl and Trophy scenes with those on the Kassel bowl, Schwabacher, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 1.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192 f.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 185 ff.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 188 ff.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 187 f.



few ever found in a context, both sets came in identical pairs. Presumably, they must have served as incense burners before a household shrine of twin deities, possibly of the Anakes, the young hero-gods of Athens, by whose names the women of Athens loved to swear and who were called 'Ἐφέσριοι.'<sup>66</sup> Certainly nothing in our knowledge explains the choice of subjects for these altars or why the "Tarentine" set became popular all over the Greek world from Italy to Troy,<sup>67</sup> whereas the other, with its consistent and original handling of that beloved topic, the sack of Troy, should have apparently died stillborn in the ateliers of Athens. Other versions, more conventional, were picked up elsewhere by the manufacturers of bowls and diffused all over the Graeco-Roman area. These modest altars raise many tantalizing questions and comment with fresh voices on an old story.

#### MOULDS: Nos. 21-22

Only two moulds come from this cistern. One (No. 21) makes a completely plain and smooth rounded object which might conceivably form the back of a small figurine or might even be for a lamp nozzle.<sup>68</sup>

No. 22 is a mould provided with a handle to assist in its use as a stamp. The design is a very coarse palmette. Its shape and character imply that we have the positive, which was used to stamp an impression in a mould for relief ware. No such palmette occurs on Megarian bowls. This object is about the size and shape of the feet sometimes placed on such bowls, in the form of masks or shells, but no parallel is at hand.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Like the pottery, the terracottas of this Satyr Cistern cover a wide range of time. Certain scraps (Nos. 3, 4, 9) appear to survive from the 4th century; only one can be dated from its costume as late as *ca.* 275 B.C. (No. 5). The new type here is the developed seated figure (Nos. 6-8); it becomes a characteristic creation of the 3rd century because it readily lends itself to three-dimensional treatment. Two pieces relate the craft in clay to that in metal, namely, the Satyr head (No. 2) and the little relief altars (Nos. 19-20). Earlier clay casts or copies of metal work appear to have been used for technical purposes; there are, rather, cheap copies of *objets d'arts* for the poorer purse. We have noted the strong influence of metallic styles on certain pieces in the Altar Well.<sup>69</sup> We see here the beginning of the next phase, the reproduction of metal work in clay. The commercialization of this trend is inevitable.

<sup>66</sup> F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1936, p. 316.

<sup>67</sup> Hausmann, *op. cit.*, p. 26, note 99; Troy, Suppl. Monograph, 3, No. 293.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. R. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, pl. 46, No. 534 of type 42 C, dated (p. 131) in the second to third quarters of the 3rd century. I owe this suggestion to Clairève Grandjourn.

<sup>69</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 148 f.

The Satyr head (No. 2) must apparently be regarded as an anomaly in this setting; its affiliations and character will best be understood when we study the style of the 2nd century.

## CATALOGUE

The terminology used in this Catalogue is that already outlined, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158, with the exception that measurements are here given in centimeters, as more convenient for small objects. For identification and interpretation, see the preceding discussion.

## MALE FIGURES

## 1 (T 2055) Seated Jointed Male. Pl. 87.

P. H. 10.5 cm.; P. W. at shoulders 4.5 cm. Reddish buff clay. Holes for attachment of separate arms.

Body well modelled in front and back.

## 2 (T 2072) Head of Satyr. Pl. 87.

P. H. 7.7 cm. Tan clay; hard fabric. Orange flesh; red on hair, eyebrows, lips, wreath; yellow on fruit, black on horns. Back of head, one fruit, several chips missing.

Wreathed and horned head inclined slightly to proper left; vigorous retouching.

Cf. T 1336, p. 246, Pl. 87.

## FEMALE FIGURES

## 3 (T 3171) Standing Draped Female: fragment. Pl. 87.

P. H. 5.2 cm. Reddish buff clay, very soft fabric. Back missing; rough interior.

Stands, wearing chiton with overfold; traces of a curved object broken away from left side.

Cf. T 941, T 3038, p. 248, Pl. 87.

## 4 (T 3175) Lower Part of Standing Female. Pl. 87.

P. H. 5.1 cm. Pinkish buff clay. Back preserved with trace of curved vent.

Figure wears garment to the top of high laced boots.

## 5 (T 2074) Draped Standing Female. Pl. 88.

P. H. 7.1 cm. Light reddish tan clay. Trace of circular vent in back, which is partly broken

away. Right arm was extended; left, with object (?), was close to side. Mark of attachment (or damage during manufacture?) on right side. The figure stands quietly; object (?) was held close to side.

## SEATED FIGURES

## 6 (T 2181) Seated Female. Pl. 88.

P. H. 8 cm.; P. W. 6.9 cm. Reddish buff clay; soft fabric. Large rectangular vent. Yellow on drapery. Red glaze used as adhesive on base.

The lower part of a figure seated, lightly draped, on a diphros.

Cf. T 139, T 1339, pp. 249, 251, Pls. 88, 89.

## 7 (T 2180) Seated Female. Pl. 89.

P. H. 14.5 cm.; Max. W. 15.2 cm. Buff-tan clay. Blue and dabs of red on rock. Many pieces missing. Rough inside. Large oval vent.

Lower part of a draped female figure, sitting on a rock; tympanon on knee; plaque base.

## 8 (T 2182) Seated Figure with Boy: fragment. Pl. 89.

P. H. 13 cm. Reddish buff clay, soft fabric. Finished as for open back. Plaque base missing.

A naked boy leans against the draped lap of a missing figure that sat on a rock.

## THEATRICAL FIGURE

## 9 (T 2073) Standing Bearded Male. Pl. 89.

P. H. 6.8 cm. Reddish buff clay, soft fabric. Solid. Lower part missing.

Masked, bearded figure wearing polos, long chiton and himation wrapped over the arms.

(Missing from Agora Museum since 1955).

## MISCELLANEOUS HUMAN SUBJECTS

## 10 (T 3178a) Nude fragment. Pl. 89.

P. H. 3.6 cm. Reddish buff clay; soft fabric. Broken all round.

Fragment of buttocks, probably from a child's figure.

- 11 (T 3176) Wing. Pl. 89.  
P. L. 4.7 cm. Dark reddish buff clay; discolored. Solid. Trace of yellowish paint. Tip broken away.

Left wing from a small flying figure.

- 12 (T 3178 b, c) Fragments: Eros in Flower (?). Pl. 89.  
P. H. b) Max. Dim. 5.5 cm.; c) Max. Dim. 7.2 cm. Reddish buff clay, soft fabric. Outside smoothly finished, with mark of attachment.

Two fragments from a large floral group, probably representing Eros reclining on a pillow within the petals.

- 13 (T 3177) Flower. Pl. 89.  
a) P. H. 4.5 cm., diam. 6.1 cm. b) Diam. 6.1 cm. Tan buff clay. Edges chipped. White slip inside and outside both fragments.

The calyx of a lily, apparently broken from the flaring circular base, which is of the same diameter.

- 14 (T 3174) Arm. Pl. 89.  
P. L. 5.5 cm. Reddish buff clay; broken at both ends and behind.

A sleeved left arm, showing two creases at wrist; apparently it was held close to the body.

#### ANIMALS

- 15 (T 2183) Sheep. Pl. 90.  
P. H. 8 cm.; P. L. 5.3 cm. (at base). Reddish buff clay.

Forepart of a sheep with area between legs filled in; back not modelled.

- 16 (T 2184) Head of Sheep. Pl. 90.  
P. H. 3.2 cm. Reddish buff clay. Solid. Broken at both ends. Head of an animal, probably a sheep, with sharply accented eyes.

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

- 17 (T 3172) Shield. Pl. 89.  
Diam. 3.8 cm. Solid. White slip has run down inside. Yellow paint. Signs of attachment inside.

Small shield with rim; traces of a right hand within rim.

- 18 (T 2071) Phiale. Pl. 90.  
Diam. 3 cm. Tan clay. Solid. Convex beneath.

Small phiale showing traces of a hand beneath. Decorated in relief with rim, petals and spears and boss.

- 19 (P 15,233) Small Altar. Pl. 90.  
H. 8.9 cm.; diam. at base 6.9 cm.; diam. at top 6.5 cm. H. frieze 4.4 cm. H. base 1.6 cm. Reddish buff clay; soft fabric. Many fragments missing; floor of fire-box broken away. Restored.

Altar made in two moulds, showing blurred joint behind the throne and between Menelaos and Helen. Dentil moulding above and Lesbian leaf, pointed downward, below the frieze. Plain rim to fire-box. Scenes in low relief: three groups of two figures each, presumably Neoptolemos attacking Priam on throne, Menelaos pursuing Helen, Ajax attacking Cassandra. From same mould as No. 20.

- Cf. T 1376 a and b, p. 259, Fig. 2, Pl. 91.  
20 (P 15,173) Small Altar. Pl. 90.  
P. H. 5.6 cm. Diam. of base 6.9 cm.; H. of base 1.6 cm. Tan clay; firm fabric. Broken on top and at sides.

Fragment from same mould as No. 19; preserves part of scene of Neoptolemos and Priam, practically all of figure of Menelaos.

#### MOULDS

- 21 (T 2037) Mould fragment. Pl. 91.  
P. H. 4.8 cm. W. 5.6 cm. Buff clay; rounded exterior. Tab and string grooves outside.

Mould for nondescript object, possibly a lamp nozzle.

- 22 (MC 578) Stamp. Pl. 91.  
H. of stamp 3 cm.; L. with handle 3.7 cm. Buff clay. One side of stamp slightly broken. Stamp with grip to impress rough palmette design.

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## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS PART III: THE LATE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

(PLATES 72-78)

### III A: THE KOMOS CISTERN

#### CHRONOLOGY

A few meters to the west up the slope of the Areopagus from the Satyr Cistern,<sup>1</sup> a reservoir was excavated in 1947 that has been called the Komos Cistern. It was so named from the incised word ΚΩΜΟΥ on a lamp,<sup>2</sup> which probably refers to the owner. To judge from the abundant duplicate pieces of pottery, the quantities of moulds for making Megarian bowls, and many warped and misfired fragments, the filling was probably drawn from the shop of a potter. Two coroplast's moulds (Nos. 18, 24) and four terracotta quivers (No. 31) that had never been attached to figures imply that he also made figurines.

This deposit cannot be considered in any strict sense limited, but most of the pottery and all the stamped amphora handles date within the 3rd century.<sup>3</sup> The Athenian coins are of the same date. A supplementary filling presumably occurred before the middle of the 2nd century. In it was a hoard of one bronze and seven silver coins of Histiaia.<sup>4</sup> Most unusual also are fragments of a faience oinochoe with the relief figure of a Ptolemaic queen, apparently Arsinoe III (217-205 B.C.).<sup>5</sup> We should expect, then, that the figurines belong to the late 3rd century, but that any one piece might come from the supplementary filling. We must therefore check all the pieces against dated comparative material.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 244-262. Professor G. R. Edwards wishes to correct the dating of the pottery as suggested on p. 244, which he now believes to be "on estimate probably at least 50 years later (than that of Group B) in point of time of discard."

<sup>2</sup> R. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, Princeton, 1958, p. 100, No. 430. With it was found a pot base inscribed ΚΩ (P 18756).

<sup>3</sup> Deposit M 21:1, excavated by E. Vanderpool. The pottery will be published by G. R. Edwards, who kindly gave me the following information in a letter dated June 26, 1961: "In the Komos Cistern, as far as I know now, the supplementary filling probably occurred within the first half of the 2nd century B.C." V. R. Grace, at the same date, informed me that the numerous stamped amphora handles probably do not go down later than 200 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Unpublished. They run down to the middle of the 2nd century and are now considered to have been a hoard deposited later in the cavity made by the settlement of the early filling of the cistern.

<sup>5</sup> P 18692. The head and drapery are closely paralleled by a piece in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam, No. 7577 (von Bissing Collection F 864) inscribed as belonging to Philopator. I hope to publish these pieces in my forthcoming study of the Ptolemaic faience oinochoai.

## TECHNIQUE

The clay and fabric of this group of terracottas vary markedly. Most of the pieces are tan to buff in color; others are reddish or brownish. Many of these variations are due to firing. The tan overtone that increasingly clouds the pure buff of earlier clays is caused by the presence of smoke in the kiln, owing to the imperfect control of conditions during firing. This hitherto little noticed imperfection suggests increased carelessness among the workmen. The trend in this period toward higher firing and therefore toward a harder fabric has been noted before<sup>\*</sup> (cf. our No. 14).

The most interesting technical variation in this group is the appearance of several fragments of a very soft, well-washed and sifted pale "blond" clay (as in Nos. 1, 30). We shall see it more abundantly in later deposits. This fabric stands out so strikingly among the warmer buff or reddish color of the traditional fabrics that it might seem to be an import. Further study and consultation with experts, however, indicate that it is composed of the Attic white clay<sup>†</sup> mixed with a much smaller proportion of red clay than was traditional. This creates a "blond" fabric very like that of Corinth, both in color and in extreme fineness of texture. Since the white clay lacks tensile strength, it must always be mixed with some red clay, but in proportions suited to the nature of the object. It costs today a great deal more than the red, but it can be more easily worked and dried out-of-doors without fear of cracking. The tendency during the late Hellenistic period toward paler clay is therefore presumably due to a desire to reduce the necessity for meticulous care. The difference in cost of the raw material could easily be made up by a saving in wages. Another reason appears to be the sudden change, in at least certain factories of Athens, to the use of plaster in place of clay moulds for the manufacture of figurines. The smooth "blond" clay could be more serviceable for use in plaster moulds, as it could easily be slip-cast or pressed very moist into plaster moulds. This technique will be more fully discussed in a later article in connection with the first examples of figurines made in plaster moulds. The "blond" fabric can be regarded as an earmark of late Hellenistic work. Its first dated appearance in our contexts is in this Komos Cistern; it continues in use until at least the time of Augustus.

The backs of the figures are in general unmodelled. Vent-holes are oval, except for one piece with a rectangular opening. The back of the actor (No. 20) is peculiar in having, in addition to the vent, one subsidiary hole above and one below it. Evidently this method lightened, for firing, the too thick mass of clay thus created at the junction with the legs.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, Berlin, 1942, p. 89. A very hard fabric is found in the pre-Mumian deposits at Corinth.

<sup>†</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, New Haven, 1923, p. 40. This white clay is today obtained at Koukouvaones and Cape Kolias. I owe my understanding of technical details to the kindness of Professor Frederick Matson of Pennsylvania State University and of our technician Christos Mamelis, who knows intimately all the details of clay manufacture in Athens.

The interiors are treated fairly carefully by smoothing the surface after the clay has been pressed into the mould. On Nos. 4 and 16, however, traces of the fingers drawn in long sweeps are visible—a trifling variation from the earlier practice, but one which is observable more with time and markedly so in T 559, from Hellenistic pottery Group E.<sup>8</sup>

The bases (Nos. 35-38) are mostly of the old step type, with a bottom plinth, which imitates a statue base set on a plinth. The more ambitious pieces (Nos. 4, 16) probably stood on plaques. A very large double base (No. 38) is irregularly shaped, presumably to accommodate a seated figure like the Maenad from the Satyr Cistern (No. 7)<sup>9</sup> or a large group.

Very little color is preserved on most of these figurines, with the exception of one head and leg (No. 7). On this, the flesh is a deep orange, like a strong sunburn, which often appears on male figures at about this time, as distinct from the pale pink or yellowish flesh-color of women and children. Dark red-brown is used for the hair of this head and a clear scarlet for the lips and inner drawing.

Most of the pieces are markedly battered, as though they were a mixed accumulation in the earth. Only two specimens, of awkward shape, are sufficiently preserved to suggest that they reached the cistern in a nearly complete state, i. e. Nos. 4 and 16. Their good preservation and sharp edges, the abundant white slip on No. 16 and the reasonably fresh surfaces all support this hypothesis. Stylistically, they will also be seen to be among the latest in this deposit.

Only two moulds survive. Both are carefully made, with string grooves for tying together. No. 18 resembles those from the Altar Well, but No. 24 is less nicely finished. These are too few samples from which to draw any conclusions.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

The subjects, like those from the Altar Well and Satyr Cistern, are chiefly drawn from daily life.

The legs and feet of only one "doll" survive (No. 1), of late technique.

#### MALE FIGURES: Nos. 2-7

A nude male figure, which seems to be reposing on a flat seat (No. 2), may possibly be a "doll" with fixed arms, as any other such nude male figure would be peculiar. The ribs are vigorously modelled. We also find two seated draped male types, which are reminiscent of those numerous statues of distinguished men that preoccupied Athenian sculptors during the 3rd century. No. 3 is unusual in wearing only the chiton, with a loosely hanging neckline and extended arms; he may have been

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392-427 (Deposit F 15:2), which is now dated in the late 2nd century. The figurines will be published later.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 251-252, pl. 89.

seated, like some counterparts, on a rock.<sup>10</sup> No. 4 shows the more usual "Tanagra" type: a young man or soldier sitting casually in reflection.<sup>11</sup> Its style will be discussed later in relation to the similar seated female figure (No. 16).

Eros continues to be a favorite subject. Two examples show the development from the strong, muscular modelling of the winged boy (No. 5) of the period ca. 300 B.C., to a slim boyish figure (No. 6), which, though it shows no trace of wings, nevertheless seems to float in the air. The former is like 4th century pieces from the Pnyx.<sup>12</sup> The latter also has a parallel from the Pnyx, but from a later context,<sup>13</sup> as well as from Tarentum of similar period.<sup>14</sup> The contrast between these two pieces is marked. One shows a feeling for body-structure; the other slurs the anatomical forms and emphasizes the contrast between the smooth body and its pendant drapery. These extremes of taste could be fifty years apart.

The floating figure, a favorite of this period, is also attested in No. 7b, as well as in fragments from flying figures of uncertain sex (Nos. 23, 24). The leg (No. 7b) is muscular and suitable to a Dionysiac flying type from which the head (No. 7a) probably comes. Both show the sunburned skin of vigorous young men. The head is very effeminate in its flowing locks and fleshy features. These details find parallels in heads of the 3rd century in Alexandria, Delos, Myrina and Tarentum.<sup>15</sup> We may consider this head then as characteristic of the third quarter of the 3rd century.

#### MALE HEADS: Nos. 8-9

Only two other male heads help us fix the common type of male face at this period. No. 8 is not unlike No. 7, though its lack of paint makes it look different. They are of the same scale; both are markedly inclined on the neck—one upward, the other downward. Both have rather fleshy cheeks, in which the blurred eyes are deep set; the mouths are somewhat pursed. The ears and hair of No. 8 are carelessly rendered; the hair is jabbed to suggest short curls. The wreaths are thin and carefully bound by ribbons or lemniskoi.<sup>16</sup> This rather Ptolemaic visage is seen at Chatby.<sup>17</sup> A parallel at Abdera is dated much later by the excavator.<sup>18</sup> Athens created many terra-

<sup>10</sup> Cf. TK, II, p. 256 for the pose in general; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 88-90, pl. 32.

<sup>11</sup> TK, II, p. 256, 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 145, No. 54; cf. the plastic lekythoi, p. 161, Nos. 123, 124. Another, much battered uncatalogued fragment also was found in this cistern, T 2635. It bears the same orange flesh paint.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145, No. 58 (context probably of early 3rd century B.C.).

<sup>14</sup> P. Willeumier, *Tarente*, Paris, 1939, pl. XXXVI, 3.

<sup>15</sup> E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pl. LXXI, 213 (No. 432); *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romain*, Bergamo, 1930 (hereafter *Mons.*) II, 1, pl. T 3; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 79, Nos. 911-913; E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, pl. XII, 2; pl. XIII, 3. Willeumier, *Tarente*, pl. XXIII, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Darenberg and Saglio, s.v. *lemniscus*.

<sup>17</sup> *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXIV, 229, 231 (Nos. 494 f.).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. D. I. Lazarides, *Πήληα Εἰδύλια Ἀβδηρῶν*, Athens, 1960, pl. 7, B 13.



cotta types that follow sculptural canons.<sup>19</sup> A smaller, childish head (No. 9) also has stippled hair and the strong upper lip that gives a grumpy expression, which is commonplace among slightly coarser and probably later heads from Delos.<sup>20</sup> These heads all seem related to those of the Altar Well and Satyr Cistern, but are more developed.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: Nos. 10-16

The upper part of a worn figure (No. 10) may represent Aphrodite, or merely a beautiful woman; this ambiguity also existed in the Altar Well.<sup>21</sup> Traces on her right shoulder and at the back of her head suggest that drapery covered them or that an Eros may have perched on her shoulder. To support him, she may well have rested her arm on a post. The modelling is simple, in decidedly Praxitelean mood, but not in the delicate "Tanagra" spirit. The scale is larger, the features more emphatic, with clearly accented eyelids and lips. The hair is not worn in melon-style, but is drawn back in a loose roll to a knot at the nape. In general outlines, the profile bears a fairly close resemblance to that of Queen Arsinoë III, who died in 205 B.C.<sup>22</sup> The large leech earrings and the circlet, as well as all the facial characteristics, are found on other Athenian terracottas, but more remarkable, in an example from Myrina that looks as though it came from the same mould.<sup>23</sup> The measurements are almost identical, but the Myrina head is a shade larger. The differences are not sufficient to suggest the copying of one mould from the other head because the shrinkage in that case should be at least 10%. It seems therefore that there is some very intimate relation between these two heads, but we know too little at the moment to assert that the archetype was created in Athens, although this seems the most likely explanation.

The muffled fragment (No. 11) is of the same scale and fabric as the preceding; the pose is extremely common among advanced "Tanagras" and yet such pieces are rare in the Agora. The surface is enlivened by the cobweb of folds that are drawn over the body, serving still to articulate the structure. The arms are contrasted in

<sup>19</sup> The prototypes of bronzes like those shown by M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, figs. 108-110 may also have inspired terracottas.

<sup>20</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 76, Nos. 835-841.

<sup>21</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 26, Nos. 7, 8.

<sup>22</sup> Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 354-356.

<sup>23</sup> D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, pl. XXXVII, No. 99. The dating on p. 71 is surely over-cautious, as all stylistic and technical considerations, such as the plaque base (our present terminology), place the Boston figure not far from ca. 250 B.C. The measurements of its head, kindly sent me by Miss Julia Green, may be compared with ours as follows:

	<i>Komos Cistern No. 10</i>	<i>Boston Myrina No. 99</i>
Base of chin to hair-line	3 cm.	3.1 cm.
Base of neck to top of head	5 cm.	5.3 cm.
Width of face at ear level	2.1 cm.	2.3 cm.



position and in modelling lines; the left breast is the focal point for a triangular area that is set at an angle to another formed by the drapery of the right arm. All this movement across a static body may seem trivial and it is certainly soon to become so. In this example, however, the design has significance and is pleasing to a sophisticated taste. Its relation to the earlier tradition and to a bronze statuette, the Baker Dancer, has already been discussed.<sup>24</sup> Among figurines it should be placed between an example from Larisa of the early 3rd century and somewhat later pieces.<sup>25</sup> It appears to belong to a style a little earlier than that exhibited in Grave A at Myrina<sup>26</sup> in which the arms, though in the same position, nevertheless are completely suppressed beneath the drapery. Note how on those the himation covers the right arm and body in one mass, whereas on our piece the right elbow emerges and the cross folds are drawn beneath it to distinguish the line of the waist. The same phase, but a little more mechanical work, is visible in Abdera at the end of the 3rd century.<sup>27</sup> But as soon as we look at fragments from the mid-2nd century fillings of the Middle Stoa in the Agora,<sup>28</sup> we note how the folds have diminished in number and hardened so that they no longer give the richness of texture, but merely sketch the pattern.

Other draped pieces from our cistern reveal the same style. Technically, No. 12 is close to examples from the Satyr Cistern (Nos. 6-8). Broken and even perhaps not from one figure, these pieces appear to belong to a dancing type whose right foot in a forked shoe is extended forward, just like that of the Baker Dancer and her counterparts.<sup>29</sup> The drapery blowing back from this foot forms an unusual pattern; that hanging down, presumably from the left side, contains passages similar to those on the seated figures discussed in the publication of the Satyr Cistern.<sup>30</sup> The area around the left breast can profitably be compared with that on No. 11 here. Whereas on No. 11 the folds form a homogeneous mass immediately interpreted by the eye as belonging to the himation, those on No. 12 so break up the surface with emphatic lines that the unity is lost. Sharp diagonals, widely spaced linear folds and smooth untreated areas form a new idiom. That these two pieces probably belong to at least the same half century shows how rapidly the development from naturalism to a more baroque dramatic style was taking place. This richer manner presumably develops somewhat after the middle of the 3rd century but well before its end.

Another fragment from a much larger figure (No. 13) continues the development into a later phase. It is more monumental than the "Tanagra" style. The chiton is drawn tight over the left breast, rounding it and leaving only one thin diagonal fold

<sup>24</sup> A. J. A., LIV, 1950, p. 377, fig. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, pl. 14 a; cf. 14 c and 14 f (end of 3rd century).

<sup>26</sup> *Nécropole*, pls. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

<sup>27</sup> Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 4, A 10.

<sup>28</sup> These deposits will be more fully discussed in the next article in our series, below, pp. 301-317.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. J. A., LIV, 1950, p. 372, fig. 1; p. 375, fig. 5; p. 377, fig. 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 249-253, Nos. 6-8, pls. 88, 89.

to emphasize it, much as is done on a minor scale on No. 12. On the left side of the figure an end of drapery hangs in a slightly twisted roll, which fans out as it reaches the waist-line. The subordinate folds have rounded profiles, but they are modelled in regular courses without clear indication of the direction in which they are turned. This style, which accents untreated areas by contrasting them with ponderous folds, occurs also in 3rd century sculpture.<sup>31</sup> Something of the same spirit, though coarser, is evident on a fragment from Delos.<sup>32</sup>

The same style characterizes the draped lower portion of a standing female figure, No. 14. The fabric is fired hard; the clay tan in color. The coroplast has enveloped the figure in ponderous drapery. Although the left leg bears the weight, it is merely suggested by an inset group of folds; the right leg is indicated by the lifting of the hem of the skirt over the foot as on a series of handsome terracottas from Myrina.<sup>33</sup> On our piece, the folds still follow the old systems, but without awareness of the body beneath. They stand stiff, almost tubular, split at the top by deep gashes of the graver that cause rather unnatural bifurcations. The effect of chiaroscuro is bold and oversimplified. The three little lifted edges form pleats reminiscent of those on Altar Well No. 15, but much drier. The formula has now been reduced to a unit made up of one hard ridge and one deep furrow, variously combined. Particularly significant is the transparency of the overhanging himation of No. 14. Each underfold causes a ripple in the overfold, clearly but undramatically, though not much more clearly than on the examples from the Altar Well (Nos. 14, 15).<sup>34</sup> This restrained transparency of drapery over drapery was apparently never exceeded by Athenian coroplasts. Only a few other examples showing the transparent himation, in addition to the three just mentioned, have been found in the Agora.<sup>35</sup> The style barely touched "Tanagras."<sup>36</sup> Nor is it obvious either in Delos or in Alexandria. Kleiner's analysis of its development<sup>37</sup> is well supported by our mid 3rd century examples from Athens. The full tale is yet to be told before the strange early appearance of this style in coroplastic work on the mainland long before its flowering in sculpture in Asia Minor is fully comprehended.

The trifling fragment of a dancer on a moulded base (No. 15) is a commercialized

<sup>31</sup> Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 230-232.

<sup>32</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 71, No. 715; cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 17, 4 (from a pre-Mummian deposit at Corinth).

<sup>33</sup> Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXXV, Nos. 91-93; cf. *Annuaire du musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie*, 1935-1939, pl. XXXVI, 3. Cf. further discussion of our piece in *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 377.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 376, figs. 6, 7 = *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 27, No. 14; pl. 28, No. 15.

<sup>35</sup> T 95, T 866 (unpublished); T 851, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 277, fig. 10.

<sup>36</sup> S. Mollard, "Statuette de femme drapée, terre cuite de Tanagra," *Mon. Piot.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 53-66, dates transparency as beginning in the second quarter of the 3rd century. In my opinion, this dating is correct, but various considerations suggest that the Barre figurine in her discussion is somewhat later.

<sup>37</sup> Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, pp. 176-187.

version of that which we saw in the Altar Well (No. 17).<sup>38</sup> It may even be a lineal descendant from the same archetype, for the folds follow the same systems in shallow echoes. It is neither an interesting composition nor a lively rendering. Its small scale implies that it is late in its series. Yet the soft reddish fabric suggests a date still within the 3rd century.

#### SEATED FIGURES: Nos. 4 and 16

The only two seated fragments will be discussed together for convenience. They have in common a fairly good state of preservation and certain stylistic peculiarities. First, they both sit in a casual, relaxed position, which seems entirely commonplace in the upper part, but suddenly below the waist the legs sheer away from the trunk at a startling angle. They thus differ markedly from the seated figures from the Satyr Cistern,<sup>39</sup> which apparently extended their pose in one single direction. Since this earlier solution required placing the figure in a sideways, rather than in a frontal position, very naturally the figures begin to be so turned that they look like reliefs. The upper part of the body faces the spectator, but the legs are twisted at an uncomfortable angle in order to appear more or less in profile. An old device for suggesting depth in a plane is thus applied to a baroque usage. This tendency toward flatness or reversion toward the "einsichtige" point of view continues and markedly increases during the 2nd century. In sculpture, it can readily be traced by looking at a study of the development of seated figures beginning with the Tyche of Antioch and evolving through the lively Conservatori Maiden to the "Invitation to the Dance," which shifts the interest sideways.<sup>40</sup> The drapery hangs limply on our male figure, leaving vapid areas over chest and knee. The folds are ridges of equal size, divided by furrows of equal size, both on shoulder and on thigh. Those on the Maenad are shallower and entirely undistinguished.

To date this new, rather careless style is not easy, because it is characterized chiefly by lack of distinction. Yet on close examination certain earmarks emerge. First, the figures have regained their structure; they are no longer wrapped tight as they "pull their drapery into pretty patterns."<sup>41</sup> Their flaccid bodies emerge beneath the inconspicuous drapery that acquiesces to the structural transitions rather than accents them. The girl sits high on her rock with her feet dangling. This is perhaps to make the rock seem large, to dwarf the human being; it is a late device, which does not occur at Tanagra, but does appear at Myrina.<sup>42</sup> The nymph herself is slim and small-breasted, like late Hellenistic statues, such as the Aphrodite from Rhodes harbor

<sup>38</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 27, No. 17.

<sup>39</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 249-253, Nos. 6-8, pls. 88, 89.

<sup>40</sup> Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 102, 564-566; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 89.

<sup>41</sup> A. Lane, *Greek Pottery*, London, 1948, p. 55.

<sup>42</sup> *Nécropole*, pl. IV, pl. XXXIII, 6.

and other similar pieces." It is difficult, therefore, to place these two seated pieces within the 3rd century, but more plausible to assume that, as the latest pieces in the cistern, they belong somewhere in the early 2nd century. Certainly they do not fall among the extravagant company of the late seated figures at Myrina. Rather, they look back to the old tradition. The male figure is perhaps more advanced in style; its regular, tubular folds find close parallels among the large pieces from Delos."

Many fragments, uncatalogued, come from the backs of seated figures, a favorite type at this period.

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 17, 18

A tiny battered head (No. 17) is identified as female by its pink flesh color. Its wreath and plastic curls relate it closely to examples from the Altar Well.<sup>40</sup> Another scrap, uncatalogued here, gives a topknot like that of Altar Well No. 23. Its small size, as well as its type, place it probably in the early 3rd century.

A mould (No. 18) shows hair combed down to a mass of curls at the nape of the neck. The detail is unusually carefully rendered for the back of a head. The curls or wavy masses of hair are arranged in a series of horizontal loops as on a head from the Isthmian sanctuary (Pl. 75).<sup>41</sup> Other late 3rd century heads also show masses of hair hanging loosely, which must have been a fashion of the time.<sup>42</sup> Our head, like that from Isthmia, also wears a kerchief on top of the hair, of which the corners are just visible in the mould. On this and on its parallels, the kerchief may, but does not necessarily, designate a priestess.<sup>43</sup>

#### GROUP: No. 19

An interesting fragment shows two children who lift high a large vessel. They hold the turned base which supported a large bowl of which traces are clear above their heads between them. A close parallel from Samothrace reveals the type.<sup>44</sup> The vessel on that complete group and presumably on ours was a thymiaterion. A close

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 526 f.

<sup>41</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 59, No. 601; pl. 64, No. 644; pl. 73, No. 717. For the dating of this class in the early 2nd century, see *Gnomon*, XXXI, 1959, pp. 638 f.

<sup>42</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 28, Nos. 23-25, pp. 139 f.

<sup>43</sup> *Archaeology*, VIII, 1955, p. 60, right hand head; our Pl. 75. I owe this photograph to the kindness of Professor Oscar Broneer.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Agora T 1355, published in our next article (below, pp. 310, 316, No. 15), from a deposit (K 18:2) of ca. 180 B.C.; Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 11, B 40; *Nécropole*, pl. XL, 3 (No. 268).

<sup>45</sup> The corners of the kerchief can be seen in the photograph. For a description of this type of kerchief, see *Troy, Supplementary Monograph*, 3, *The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Princeton, 1963, pp. 50-52.

<sup>46</sup> Samothrace Inv. 57.841. H. 10.5 cm. I am most grateful to Mrs. Elspeth Dusenbery for permission to mention this piece. Cf. *TK*, II, p. 292, 7; G. Mendel, *Musées impériaux ottomans, Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite*, Constantinople, 1908, p. 594, No. 3523 and many other unpublished fragments from Amisos.

similarity between the base of our fragment and that on a clay thymiaterion from the Agora<sup>50</sup> confirms the identification. We must think of our children as acolytes who carry a ritual vessel to the temple (or their humbler fellows who thus serve the symposion).<sup>51</sup> The same theme is rendered frivolously on Megarian bowls by the substitution of frisky satyrs for the children; they rush in bearing a huge krater to the feast.<sup>52</sup>

#### ACTOR: No. 20

One of our most interesting pieces is the torso of an actor as a slave who vigorously strides into the scene, gesticulating with his right arm and carrying a sizable object with his left. Not only is the size of the object indicated by an extensive break on his left shoulder, but a hole was pierced obliquely through the hand to secure it. The angle of this hole precludes its having held a stick. Perhaps it held the large kantharos (No. 20 b)<sup>53</sup> that also bears a small hole in the bottom and traces of attachment on one side. Since this hole in the vase, however, may have been merely a firing hole, we can make this suggestion only tentatively. Usually, clay objects held by figurines are moulded with them or glued on. The stocky body of the actor is well handled; the movement is given force by the extended limbs and by the taut diagonal folds across his legs. The drapery over the left arm protrudes directly toward the spectator, a daring device to suggest depth and to invite shifting the axis of attention from side to side. Despite its simplicity, therefore, this is a sculptural piece, of which we have only a few parallels from the Agora, such as the tragic actor<sup>54</sup> of slightly earlier date. Stylistically, it is also like the philosopher from Corinth from a pre-Mummian deposit.<sup>55</sup> The date therefore must fall not very far from the beginning of the 2nd century. The figure still retains, however, the spirit of early Attic comedy; the slave is as aggressive and as addicted to the cup as his Aristophanic ancestors.

#### MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS: Limbs: Nos. 21-24

A left foot (No. 21) also implies a flying figure, which cannot, however, from its scale be associated with our other fragments of flying figures. The modelling is reasonably careful and naturalistic in contrast with that of No. 22. Not only is the arm of this latter fragmentary figure coarsely rendered on a large scale very close

<sup>50</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 42, No. 87; other unpublished parallels are in the Agora Museum.

<sup>51</sup> For acolytes carrying ritual vessels, see K. Scheffold, *Vergessenes Pompeji*, Berne and Munich, 1962, pl. 74.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 356, fig. 40, C 22; Supplement X, 1956, pl. 40, No. 32b.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the shape of early 3rd century kantharoi, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 338, fig. 18, B 17, 19.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 29, T 862, p. 142.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 14, 7 (I owe this comparison to the late Mrs. Stillwell). Cf. Pergamon, I, 2, p. 259, No. 14 (Papposilenos); M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 1961, p. 103, figs. 395-397 (I owe these references to Professor T. B. L. Webster).

to that of the Satyr head from the Satyr Cistern," but both fingers and toes are indicated by sharp cuts in a level surface. The phiale in the hand and the high-soled sandal imply a personage of distinction, probably a goddess. Several parallels in Delos and Myrina presumably date in the 2nd century.<sup>57</sup> If the cornucopia fragment (No. 32) belongs to this figure, as is possible, it would presumably represent Tyche.

The wing (No. 23) is crisply modelled in the manner of many mid Hellenistic examples, in which primaries, secondaries and tertiaries are knowingly and delicately differentiated.<sup>58</sup> We may date it, on style and technique and soft reddish fabric, in the mid 3rd century. The mould (No. 24) appears to be that of another wing, of large scale, suitable for a flying Eros. The herringbone incisions probably represent feathers. The wingbone is unusually pointed.<sup>59</sup>

#### ANIMALS: Nos. 25-27

Two much battered figures of cloven-hooved animals modelled to be seen from one side appear to represent deer. The legs are slender. The heads have horns, lean narrow faces with rounded cap-like muzzles, easily differentiated from those of cows or sheep by the bonier structure and the placing of the eyes.<sup>60</sup> Though not from the same mould, Nos. 25 and 26 both show the same type of the animal standing and facing the spectator's left. No central portions were found, but fragments of back and front legs. This fact suggests that the animals stood behind or beside an Artemis, a type known in Myrina,<sup>61</sup> but not elsewhere in the Agora. These fragments may possibly be associated with the quivers (No. 31) which certainly imply that figures of Artemis of about the same scale were included in the coroplast's repertory. Possibly the large base (No. 38) may have supported such a group.

In contrast with the careless style of the figures of deer, the leg of a horse (No. 27) is rendered with great skill. The angle of the leg and the placing of the bones of the fetlock indicate that it is a right rear leg. The details are full; the anatomy is exact; the tuft of hair at the fetlock is as vividly rendered as on the bronze horses of St. Mark's in Venice.<sup>62</sup> The smooth surface and hard, orange clay are not unlike those

<sup>57</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 246, no. 2, pl. 87. The length of the foot of No. 22 would have been ca. 4 cm.; the total height of a standing figure would therefore approximate 30 cm.

<sup>58</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 71, No. 706; *Nécropole*, pl. XL, 3 (No. 268).

<sup>59</sup> E.g. Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 13, A 28; Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXIII, No. 58.

<sup>60</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy* (Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. 11) London, 1961, p. 53, AT 7 suggests that the piece shows an arm raising a fringed cloak. But no grasping hand is visible, nor is the ridged edge modelled like a covered arm and no folds appear. It seems more probable, but not certain, that it represents a wing as on *TK* II, p. 181, 2; p. 182, 3, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, London, 1930, pl. XLVIII with pl. XXXII.

<sup>62</sup> *TK*, II, p. 166, 1.

<sup>63</sup> Richter, *Animals*, pl. XXIII, fig. 70.

of T 559, from Hellenistic pottery Group E.<sup>42</sup> It is probable that this ambitious piece of a leg modelled in the round instead of being lazily applied to a relief belongs to the class of clay imitations of bronzes of the 2nd century.

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS: Nos. 28-34

A miscellany of small objects was found with the figurines. Each is briefly identified in the Catalogue and deserves no further comment here. In general, these pieces are votive in character, the cheapest possible dedications for a sanctuary. The four quivers (No. 31) are interesting as indications of an Artemis type, otherwise unknown from Athens later than archaic times.<sup>43</sup> Another fragment (No. 33) appears to come from a figure of Eros in a flower, such as was discussed in relation to a similar example from the Satyr Cistern.<sup>44</sup> Others are indecipherable or too small to be useful for comparison.

#### CONCLUSION

This deposit, even more than the Satyr Cistern, covers a wide range of time and a variety of types and styles. Difficult for that reason to place in chronological order, its contents nevertheless reveal the shift from the early to the ripe Hellenistic styles. The types begin with a few old, traditional pieces, like the Eros (No. 5) and animals, move through the developed, but still retrospective "Tanagras" (Nos. 10, 11) into a much wider range of subjects, such as dancers (Nos. 12, 15), flying figures (Nos. 7, 23, 24, 21 ?), and seated figures (Nos. 4, 16) of the sort which we found beginning in the 4th century but becoming more common in the Satyr Cistern. Entirely new subjects now enter the repertory: a group of children (No. 19), a large Dionysiac mask (No. 28). We see bits of plaques and oddments and very large figures such as occur in Delos in the 2nd century. An Artemis is hinted at by the fragments of deer (Nos. 25, 26) and of quivers (No. 31), a Kybele or Tyche by a few scraps (Nos. 22, 32).

The shift in style is even more marked than the change in subject matter, as is clear even from small fragments. The sturdy body of the early Eros (No. 5) is the only truly classical creation in the group; for the rest, the bodies are smooth and conventional, without interest. Drapery becomes the primary preoccupation of the coroplast—either employed to suggest the body beneath (Nos. 11, 20), at odds with it (No. 12) or enveloping and superseding it (No. 14). Finally, in our latest pieces, we see the re-emergence of the body, now rather casually rendered and draped in monotonous folds, interesting chiefly because of the romantic mood or the dramatic

<sup>42</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392 ff. The figurine is to be published later in this series of articles.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *TK*, II, p. 166, 2 and 4 for terracotta parallels; P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos, Les Bijoux antiques*, Strasbourg, 1953, pl. XXXVI, No. 233; pl. XXXVIII, 234, metal counterparts.

<sup>44</sup> See note 1 (No. 12).

twist (Nos. 4, 16). The number of small votives shows the advancing commercialism, which begins to take on the aspect of tasteless mass production.

From such battered fragments it is impossible to form any clear idea of the nature of Attic coroplastic art in the turn of the late 3rd into the 2nd century. In the next article (below, pp. 301-317), the remaining evidence from the Agora groups will be brought to bear on clarifying our picture of this period. It is clearly a period of rapidly declining skill, when a bored classical style dominates and no new mood has asserted itself. This is just the style that might well be expected of Athens in the late 3rd century when sculpture and architecture were also at a low ebb and the town was in need of new inspiration from more vigorous centers.

### CATALOGUE

The terminology used in this Catalogue is that already outlined in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158, with the exception that the measurements are here given in centimeters, as more suitable for small objects. For identification and interpretation, see the preceding discussion.

#### MALE FIGURES

##### 1 (T 2636) Legs of "Doll." Pl. 72.

P. H. 5.4 cm. Blond clay. Hollow to ankles.

Legs and feet without indication of toes, probably from a seated "doll."

##### 2 (T 3434) Seated Nude Male: fragments. Pl. 72.

P. H. a) 6.2 cm.; b) 3.8 cm. Reddish clay, soft fabric.

a) Part of back and left side; joint between moulds preserved.

b) Part of buttocks and seat; trace of oval vent.

##### 3 (T 2634) Draped Male: fragment. Pl. 72.

P. H. 3.8 cm.; P. W. 5.7 cm. Buff to reddish clay; fairly hard fabric.

Part of back missing. Neck pierced for insertion of head. Chest of figure looking to his right, dressed in chiton.

##### 4 (T 2633) Draped Seated Male. Pl. 74.

P. H. 14.5 cm.; P. W. 8 cm. Buff to light red clay. Back missing.

Sits with right hand on lap, wearing chiton

and himation over left shoulder and drawn over knees, which are turned sharply sideways to proper right.

##### 5 (T 2510) Torso of Eros. Pl. 72.

P. H. 4.9 cm. Deep buff clay, gray core. Traces of oval vent and two small holes above it. Wings broken off behind.

Torso preserved, neck to waist, with cloak thrown over shoulders.

##### 6 (T 2512) Boy: Eros. Pl. 72.

P. H. 8.1 cm. Reddish clay, smoked gray. Back broken away.

Moves forward with right leg advanced; drapery over shoulders.

##### 7 (T 2362; 3439) Head and leg fragments. Pl. 72.

a) P. H. 5.7 cm.; b) P. L. 6.5 cm.

Tan clay; yellow on wreath, orange on flesh, red on lips and eye-sockets. Back of head unworked. Leg pierced by small air vent.

Head inclined sharply to its right, wearing thick wreath over wreath of leaves. Trace of attachment on right side of head for raised right arm or some object. The right leg shows traces of possible attachment, suggesting that the legs were at an angle, presumably in flight.

##### 8 (T 2364) Head of Youth. Pl. 72.

P. H. 4.5 cm. Tan clay. Hair and corners of mouth retouched.



Head tipped sharply to right wearing a thick wreath, bound by a tainia. Deep-set eyes.

9 (T 2517) Head of Boy. Pl. 73.

P. H. 3 cm. Tan clay. Traces of red glaze for adhesive suggest a wreath is missing.

Plump childish face on long neck.

FEMALE FIGURES

10 (T 2363) Nude Female Fragment. Pl. 73.

P. H. 8.5 cm. Buff clay, mottled to light gray. Features rubbed. Traces of attachment on right shoulder and at back of head. Hair and corners of mouth retouched.

Head and right shoulder of apparently nude or semi-nude female. Hair drawn back to knot at nape, wears circlet and large leech earrings.

11 (T 2513) Draped Fragment. Pl. 73.

P. H. 9.7 cm. Buff clay. Most of back missing. Hole in top of body, for attachment of head.

Figure wrapped tightly in himation.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 161, pl. XLII, 2; *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 377, fig. 8.

12 (T 2641) Draped Fragments. Pl. 73.

P. H. a) 4.8 cm.; b) 6.7 cm.; c) 4.8 cm. Reddish clay; fairly soft fabric. Pink on drapery on a).

Fragments apparently from a dancing figure, with right foot extended in forked sandal. Two other small fragments probably from this figure not catalogued.

13 (T 2637) Draped Fragment. Pl. 72.

P. H. 6.2 cm. Tan clay. Back missing. Broken all round.

From the left breast of a draped figure of sizable scale.

14 (T 2514) Standing Draped Fragment. Pl. 74.

P. H. 9.8 cm. Tan clay; very hard fabric. Back missing. Inside fairly rough. Possible traces of plaque base.

Chiton and lower edge of himation of closely

wrapped figure lifting hem with right hand.

*A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 377, fig. 9.

15 (T 2644) Draped Dancer: fragment. Pl. 74.

P. H. 8.2 cm. Light red clay, mottled to gray. Right side missing.

Dancer on moulded base extends left foot forward.

16 (T 2511) Seated Nymph. Pl. 74.

P. H. 17.5 cm.; W. at bottom 5.4 cm. Dull buff clay. Traces of pink on drapery and possibly on rock. Large oval vent. Traces of base, possibly on open plaque, on bottom.

Semi-draped figure sits on a rock. Traces of curls on right shoulder, of object, possibly tympanon, at right side. Legs crossed just above ankles, right foot missing.

17 (T 2516) Wreathed Head. Pl. 73.

P. H. 2.4 cm. Tan clay. Thick white slip; pinkish flesh. Much battered.

Small head wearing thick wreath and retouched curls to shoulder.

18 (T 2522) Mould for Back of Head. Pl. 75.

Max. dim. 5.9 cm. Pinkish buff clay. Back well rounded with three string cuts. Chipped at bottom.

Hair is drawn to mass of curls at nape.

19 (T 2515) Fragmentary Group. Pl. 75.

P. H. 5.5 cm.; P. W. 5 cm. Dull buff clay. Traces of attachment behind and above; irregular back.

Preserved two childish heads and part of a nude torso and right arm holding up a vessel. Curly heads, wearing thick wreaths.

20 (T 2509, 2646) Comic Actor. Pl. 75.

P. H. a) 9.5 cm. b) 2.6 cm. Tan clay. a) Oval vent, with small hole above and below it. Left hand pierced, possibly to receive b). b) Complete save for one handle; pierced beneath.

Torso of actor wearing close fitting undergarment and fringed himation wrapped around his body and over his left shoulder and arm.

Traces of attachment on his left shoulder suggest that b), a kantharos, might have rested against it.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 161, pl. XLII, 2. T. B. L. Webster, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 282, C 1; *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, London, 1961, p. 53, AT 6.

**21** (T 2643) Male Foot. Pl. 75.

L. 3.8 cm. Blond clay. Solid.

Left foot, probably from a suspended figure.

**22** (T 2654) Arm and foot Fragments. Pl. 75.

a) P. L. 6.9 cm. b) P. H. 3.6 cm. Tan clay.

a) Right hand and arm to elbow; hand extending a phiale with relief petals. b) Right foot on high-soled forked sandal thrust out of drapery.

**23** (T 2638) Wing. Pl. 75.

P. H. 5.8 cm.; P. W. 6 cm. Reddish clay. Solid. Back rounded.

Left wing, with carefully modelled, upturned feathers, bone accented.

**24** (T 2523) Mould of Wing (?). Pl. 75.

Max. dim. 8 cm. Buff clay. Rather rough outside.

Mould of what appears to be a wing with sharply curved bone.

T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, p. 53, AT 7.

**25** (T 2519) Fragments of Animal. Pl. 76.

a) head L. 5.5 cm. b) left part of haunch and hind leg P. L. 8.1 cm. Tan clay; yellow paint. Rough at back. Hollow.

Animal with long legs, probably deer.

**26** (T 2520) Fragments of Animal. Pl. 76.

a) head P. L. 4.8 cm. b) hind legs P. H. 8.7 cm.; c) front leg P. H. 7.2 cm. Buff-tan clay. Rough at back. Hollow.

Animal fragments similar to No. 25.

**27** (T 2521) Leg of Horse. Pl. 76.

P. H. 6.4 cm. Orange-buff clay, micaceous.

Hollow.

Right hind leg from sizable equine figure.

**28** (T 3435) Mask Fragment. Pl. 76.

P. H. 6.3 cm.; P. W. 5 cm. Blond clay. Solid.

Fragment from proper left side of bearded mask, curly haired, with the end of a fillet hanging down.

**29** (T 2518) Tray with fruits. Pl. 76.

Diam. 4.9 cm. Mottled reddish clay. Traces of madder pink. Rough back.

Circular tray on which lie one long and several circular fruits and a stippled thick wreath, normal modest sacrificial offerings.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Supp. VII, 1943, p. 156, fig. 68, No. 106.

**30** (T 2640) Object. Pl. 76.

W. 5.1 cm. Blond clay. Solid. Broken on two sides.

Scalloped on two sides. Possibly the back of a throne.

**31** (T 2639) Quivers. Pl. 76.

H. a) 5.1 cm.; b) 4.7 cm.; c) 5.1 cm.; d) 4.6 cm. Tan clay.

Similar, but not from same mould. Complete. Tapered at bottom for insertion or attachment to a figure.

Cf. P. Amandry, *Coll. H. Stathatos: Les Bijoux*, pl. XXXVI, No. 33, pl. XXXVIII, No. 34.

**32** (T 3437) Cornucopia Fragment (?).

Pl. 76.

P. H. 2.1 cm. Diam. 2.7 cm. Tan clay. Solid, with trace of attachment on proper right.

Possibly cluster of grapes from top of cornucopia, suitable for a Tyche.

Cf. *Agora T 2717; Délos*, XXIII, pl. 96, no. 1257.

**33** (T 3438) Flower Petal: fragment. Pl. 77.

Max. dim. 7.3 cm. Reddish tan clay. Solid. Much broken.

Fragment of a small plaque base on which rests an irregular rounded object, probably the petal of a flower (rose?).

**34 (T 3436) Plaque Fragment. Pl. 77.**

Max. dim. 5.8 cm. Reddish tan clay. Flat back. Solid, thickness diminishing toward center.

Probably a shield shape, decorated with ribbons tied in bows between boukrania.

**35 (T 2645) Base. Pl. 77.**

P. H. 3.4 cm. P. L. 6.4 cm. Tan clay, soft fabric. Open beneath.

Neatly made step base on which survives the bottom of drapery and a left foot in forked sandal.

**36 (T 2648) Base Fragment. Pl. 77.**

P. H. 2 cm.; P. L. 7.7 cm. Buff clay. Traces of dark paint. Round hole pierced vertically in corner. Rounded opening beneath.

Neatly made stepped base with traces of a draped figure.

**37 (T 2650) Base Fragment. Pl. 77.**

P. H. 5.2 cm.; P. W. 6.4 cm. Blond clay, smoked. Open beneath. Back smooth.

Short part of front and complete proper right side of a base of three steps, apparently bearing traces of a column on a base in corner.

**38 (T 2653) Base Fragment. Pl. 77.**

Max. dim. of largest fragment 11 x 10.8 cm. Tan clay.

Fragments from a large double plaque base with irregular sides and traces of a figure upon it.

### III B: GROUP C

#### CHRONOLOGY

To complete the record for our series dated in the 3rd century B.C., it is desirable to add the two fragments of figurines that were found in a cistern to the northeast of the Temple of Hephaistos. In the publication of Hellenistic pottery from the Agora, this was called Group C.<sup>66</sup> The deposit was dated by its coins and lamps as not later than the beginning of the 2nd century. It therefore overlaps the Komos Cistern in date.

#### FIGURINES

Since only two scraps of figurines survive, they must be considered in relation to others of their period rather than as an individual group. The technique of No. 1 is like that of several examples from the Komos Cistern (Nos. 1, 30) which are made of soft "blond" clay smoked in part to gray. It shows a roll of drapery around a woman's waist and an object by her left side which probably is a cornucopia. It may therefore represent Tyche,<sup>67</sup> who was becoming very popular at this time.

The other fragment (No. 2) is much more distinctive. The fabric is fairly thick and baked very hard, smoked on the surface unevenly from tan to gray-brown. The slip is thick. In these details, as in the interior, this piece so closely resembles a draped fragment from Group B (No. 12)<sup>68</sup> as to suggest that it comes from the same

<sup>66</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 345-369. Deposit G 6:2.

<sup>67</sup> As on *TK* II, pp. 172 f., general type.

<sup>68</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pl. 37.

shop. The interior of Komos Cistern No. 14 is also very similar. A Nike fragment from the Pnyx is likewise close.<sup>10</sup> In this fragment from Group C, however, a dab of black glaze on the left near the bottom suggests that it may have formed part of a plastic vase. This fact may account for the very high firing and may imply that many other very hard pieces belong to that category.<sup>10</sup>

Our fragment represents a trousered figure sitting sideways on a cock. It is not the usual type of Eros riding the cock, for the figure wears Phrygian dress. It seems more likely that the figure is Mên, the Oriental godling who moved into Attica as early as the 4th century B.C. and was worshipped there all during the Hellenistic period. A relief from Thorikos gives the type, except that on it the god is not trousered.<sup>11</sup> The association of Mên with the cock and with the very popular cult of Kybele suggests that this piece belonged to the household shrine of an Anatolian metic or slave. So far as I know, it has no Hellenistic clay parallel.

The technique of both these pieces places them in the early 2nd century B.C. among the latest objects in Group C.

#### CATALOGUE

##### 1 (T 134) Draped Fragment. Pl. 78.

P. H. 2.8 cm.; P. W. 4.8 cm. Blond clay, smoked to gray, soft fabric. Worn.

Fragment from the waist of a woman wearing a roll of drapery and holding an object against her left side: cornucopia or possibly a child's leg?

##### 2 (T 133) Figure riding Cock. Pl. 78.

P. H. 8.3 cm.; P. W. 6.4 cm. Tan clay smoked to gray-brown, hard fabric. Broken all around; back missing. Spot of black glaze at bottom.

Fragment of a trousered figure wearing short skirt sits sideways on himation upon a large bird, presumably a cock, that moves toward spectator's left.

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<sup>10</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 141, fig. 56, No. 30 from a closed deposit of the late 3rd century.

<sup>10</sup> The class of vase to which some of these pieces may belong will be published by Miss Maro Tsonis to whom I owe my understanding of the technique. Agora T 2527 is also technically of this series.

<sup>11</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. Mên (Lesky) cols. 2730 ff., 2762 f., fig. 9; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I<sup>2</sup>, Munich, 1955, p. 838; II, 1950, p. 115, pl. 2. Cf. M. M. Kobilina, *Terracotta Statuettes from Panticapaion and Phanagoria*, Moscow, 1961 (in Russian), pl. XV, 1.

## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

(PLATES 80-83)

AS we have seen in the previous articles of this series, Athens during the 3rd century B.C. produced an abundance of figurines of which the Agora excavations obtained a fair, if fragmentary, sampling. For the coroplastic work of the 2nd century, we have not discovered so much material nor so much chronological evidence. This period was evidently not very productive. The groups of terracottas which we have studied above (pp. 276-292), the Komos Cistern and Group C, moreover, did not end neatly with the end of the 3rd preChristian century, but they evidently included a certain amount that must be dated within the next half-century. The line of demarcation is vague between work of the latest 3rd century and of the earlier 2nd century. Similarly, at the other end, the natural limit of chronological grouping falls not at 100 B.C. but at 86 B.C. when the sack of Athens by Sulla filled wells and cisterns with destruction debris. This discussion is therefore devoted to the period *ca.* 200-86 B.C. and will be divided into three sections.

### PART IV: THE EARLY SECOND CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

#### CONTEXTS

To form a proper transition between the Komos Cistern and the material that is definitely to be dated up to the mid 2nd century, we shall begin with a deposit K 18:2, which like the Komos Cistern contains many 3rd century terracottas and a few that apparently go down to *ca.* 180 B.C. This deposit also contained a "Tarentine" Altar which was previously published in connection with altars from the Satyr Cistern.<sup>2</sup>

We shall then consider various other characteristic pieces from contexts of which the dating is reasonably certain. The total contexts in which many of these pieces occur are not worthy of study as a whole for various reasons. Either the number of terracottas may be too small, or the figurines may be too fragmentary, or the contents may include too many moulds of large plaques or masks to tell us much about the development of figurine types. The details of the contexts of these miscellaneous pieces is given in a deposit list (below, p. 317). Since no one group is large, we shall treat this series of terracottas as a whole, cataloguing them by types and entering the provenience under each item in the Catalogue.

It might reasonably be expected that our study of this period could draw evidence

<sup>1</sup> In this article all the photographs (except one from the British Museum) are by Alison Frantz.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 259 f., pl. 91.

from the large quantity of figurines that was found in the construction fillings of the wide-flung building operations of the mid 2nd century in the Agora. Unfortunately, surveys of the pottery, lamps, coins and stamped amphora handles discovered in these fillings have revealed that much of the material was very old when it was discarded. Most of the figurines found in these contexts are also of indubitably early types and techniques. The lowest date possible for the latest filling in the complex of Hellenistic Stoa that was built during this period must be the death of Attalos II of Pergamon, in 139 B.C.<sup>3</sup> We may therefore regard *ca.* 150 B.C. as the lowest probable date for the manufacture of figurines from these fillings. A few refinements on these dates will be found in the chronological list of contexts.<sup>4</sup>

#### TECHNIQUE

In this selection, if we regard fabric and technique alone, we find considerable variety. The variety is due not so much to the transitional character of early 2nd century work as to the fact that the deposits listed contained pieces of decidedly earlier date than the latest objects in those contexts. Our evidence dates only the latest possible time for manufacture. Often the manufacture of a piece must have been much earlier. These studies therefore may seem confused by earlier styles, but considering our ignorance of chronology, it is more honest to include these old discards along with those pieces of a style more prevalent at the given date.

One head (Group D, **D1**), though well preserved, is comparable with the work of the early 3rd century and technically unlike any other piece in this series. Several other pieces show fabric characteristic of that found in the Komos Cistern.

Others (Nos. **1, 4**) are made of clear buff clay, hard baked and brittle like one in the Komos Cistern (No. 14).<sup>5</sup> It is more tan in color in Nos. **7, 8, 12, 13, 14**. We shall find various reasons, besides their similarity to work in the Komos Cistern, to place these in the later 3rd century or early 2nd century. The buff-tan clay becomes pinker and even light red in what appear to be later pieces (Nos. **1-3, 11, 15, 16, 17**). All the evidence points to the existence of this fabric *ca.* 200-180 B.C., but just how long it prevailed cannot be said. It is hard and micaceous, apparently just a later variant of the hard tan-buff clay. But with the pale "blond" clay<sup>6</sup> that shows no red and very little mica, the fabric becomes less hard, till by the later part of the century it is no better baked than in the 4th century. As we saw in the study on the Komos Cistern, this "blond" fabric is completely novel in Attic ceramics and coroplastics. At the moment, we can only speculate on the reasons for its adoption. The pieces of this

<sup>3</sup> For the most recent dating, H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, Athens, 1962, pp. 81, 101, 106.

<sup>4</sup> Below p. 317.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 186, figs. 2, 3, T 46 and T 55 found with stamped amphora handles dated by Miss Grace (1962) in the early 2nd century.

<sup>6</sup> First appearance in the Komos Cistern, above, p. 277.

fabric that we shall discuss are obviously the latest in our series (Nos. 6, 10, 18, 19, 21, Group D, D 2).

One head (No. 20) is of a strange orange-colored sandy fabric with a gray core, and full of bits; it is surely not Attic, as we shall show.

These figures have, where preserved, in all but one case (No. 2), the rectangular vent that is most characteristic of "Tanagras." We may assume then that the rectangular vent continued in Athens well through the 3rd century. The preserved backs are unworked. This is also true of most of the heads. Only a little color survives: madder pink on Nos. 10 and 12 and on Group D, D 3. Brownish red is the usual hair color and a sun-tan or an orange-red appears on the male flesh as in earlier generations.

This group of figures is particularly interesting for the abundance of added plastic detail. Ornaments and attributes had previously always been modelled separately and attached before baking, but the addition of large sections of hair or areas of drapery first becomes a technical mannerism in the later 3rd century. It is strikingly elaborate on our Nos. 4 and 5 and on the heads, Nos. 14-17. On the figures (Nos. 4, 5) strips of clay had been applied to the mouldmade cast and then worked over in order to give the appearance of a hand-modelled piece. The hair was often very plastically rendered, as on Nos. 14-17, although the features were often left without retouching. The crisp detail given nostrils, lips and chin in the earlier phase (as on No. 14) are by the mid 2nd century left dull. With the eyes thus blurred, the features soft and expressionless, the face becomes blank within a rococo setting.

#### DRAPED FIGURES: Nos. 1-13

In this limited selection of pieces, only draped fragments and heads are worth discussing. Nude figures of this period are rarer and not sufficiently well dated to warrant close study. This selection also omits unusual subjects.

The insignificant little figures, Nos. 1-3, are of considerable interest for the history of Athenian coroplastic style. They are obviously descendants of types that originated in Athens in the third quarter of the 4th century and that soon became diffused all over the Greek world.<sup>7</sup> The archetypes of Nos. 1-2 have a height only of ca. 8 cm. and are made of a thin soft, pale buff fabric, bearing a tall rectangular vent, all characteristic of their age. The chubby arms and body of the child and the fine folds of her chiton are well rendered, even on burned examples from the Sanctuary on the Pnyx\* (Pl. 80). Our Agora pieces form excellent paradigms for the development of the 4th century type in the next hundred years or so. Our No. 1 retains the original measurements, but the mould type (this surely is not from the actual mould in which the Pnyx examples were cast) has grown very dull so that the drapery

<sup>7</sup> *TK*, II, p. 123, 5, 6; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 118 and note 12 (3); J. Sieveking, *Terrakotten und Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich, 1930, pl. 12.2. H. 9 cm.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 172, fig. 18, e<sup>1</sup>, e<sup>2</sup>.

scarcely shows. The coroplast has carelessly accented the neck-line to redeem the dullness. To enliven the figure, the child has been made to hold something, apparently an animal facing to her right. The technique of this piece reveals its later date. The color is a strong golden buff, exactly like that of our No. 4; the fabric is thick and baked hard. This fabric, as we noted above, belongs to the later part of the 3rd century. In this piece, then, we have valuable evidence that such types were repeated with increasing carelessness but with no distortion for a full hundred years.

No. 2 takes the development still further. It has not only shrunk somewhat in height, but even more in width, growing slender, as is the usual result in a series from self-renewing moulds.<sup>9</sup> To judge from the measurements, we have a revision of the old mould, in which the lower part has maintained about the same height, but the upper part has been remodelled, with the right hand resting at the waist; the body above the knees has shrunk. The surface of this specimen is even duller than on No. 1; the depth has also dwindled. Since No. 2 was found in the footing trench for the walls of the Stoa of Attalos, we must date it sometime before *ca.* 150, but, to judge from its fabric, not so late as 150. It probably represents a generation or two after our No. 1 and shows how in 30 years or a little more the type which had survived virtually intact for over a century becomes stunted.

This degeneration of early "Tanagra types" is also vividly illustrated by No. 3. It comes from a stratum deposited at least as late as the third quarter of the 3rd century. Its light pinkish buff clay is not far from that of No. 1; the back and fabric are also similar. It shows an old woman holding a baby in her arms; he tugs at the neck of her dress. We would give this dull piece only a passing glance, were the archetype not known. It occurs in many copies, mostly from Tanagra,<sup>10</sup> of which examples from the British Museum (Pl. 80) and from the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society now in the National Museum<sup>11</sup> give the details in all their humorous vigor. The bent old woman, whose stocky frame, heavy face, and short curly hair mark her as a foreign slave, affectionately holds her naked charge. The simple folds of her ample dress are reminiscent of those on figures from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>12</sup> The clay and technique of both the British and National Museum pieces are unmistakably Athenian and must stand among the earliest of those finely conceived renderings of theatrical characters that were created in the third quarter of the 4th century. She is right out of the pages of Menander. Our fragment is a sorry descendant of this splendid ancestor. Repetition has not altered a single detail, but all

<sup>9</sup> Cf. E. Jastrow, "Abformung und Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik," *Opus. Arch.*, II, 1941, pp. 21-25.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *TK*, II, p. 461, 7; of these *g* is almost completely modern.

<sup>11</sup> British Museum, 1911, 4-16 1; H. 13.7 cm. Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Athens, National Museum, No. 4089, H. 14 cm.; clay reddish buff; no vent; for illustration see *Enciclopedia Italiana d'Arte antica*, s.v. Tanagra.

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 33, No. 15.



the virtue has gone out of the conception. The old woman no longer bends in her effective pose; she is a drab echo of her former self. No coroplast attempted to recast or revivify the traditional figure. Like the other type, the seated girl, it no longer interested people.

As the classical tradition in the coroplasts' shops was slowly expiring, a new style was beginning. This might be called the "additive" style because, as has been mentioned in our discussion of technique, it depends for its effects on the addition of plastic detail. This style is well exemplified by our No. 4, which comes from a mid 2nd century context. That the basic figure was mouldmade is clear at the breaks. To this figure the coroplast added fresh strips of clay that he worked to give a sharp, plastic quality to the drapery. These portions include the overfold with its scalloped edge and the roll of drapery around the hips. A telltale transition between the supplementary roll and the moulded vertical folds of the himation reveals the difficulties of amalgamation that often betray the technique. The original folds do not emerge with conviction from the rolled edge, and bits of superfluous clay survive to indicate the reworking of the surface. This piece has interesting parallels. We see in simpler dancing figures<sup>13</sup> the amusing scalloped edge of the overfold. This rare detail occurs in a marble relief<sup>14</sup> which has a plastic spirit more like that of our fragment. It probably dates in the late 3rd century. Major sculpture of that time shows an interest in overlapping masses of drapery worked in intense, but not very rich masses, as, for example, on the Menelaos and Patroklos group or on the Pentesileia in Rome.<sup>15</sup> Were our figure complete, we might be able to make further fruitful comparisons, but with so little, it is possible only to comment on the close relations between clay and sculpture at this period.

A little more advanced in style is a vigorous torso, presumably representing Artemis (No. 5). The type occurs at Priene.<sup>16</sup> Our piece was taken from a mould, but only the chiton with its belt remains in as shallow modelling as on a piece from the Satyr Cistern.<sup>17</sup> The long side fold, the baldric, the chlamys rolled round the hips, and the section of the overlap below it have all been added and detailed by hand. To unite old and new the graver has accented two folds, to give continuity with those above the roll. Beneath the overfold, we can see the original fine folds of the chiton. The style of the retouched areas is slap-dash, with grooved rather than modelled shadows. An even more mechanical example of the style with unassimilated sidefolds

<sup>13</sup> M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, figs. 551, 553.

<sup>14</sup> R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik*, Munich, 1931, pl. 13, 2, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 274, 278; cf. the Doris on the Pergamon Altar, fig. 467, for the further development of this motif.

<sup>16</sup> T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, p. 335, fig. 375.

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 88, No. 5.

resemblance to certain figures on the oinochoai of Ptolemy IV.<sup>22</sup> Its hard fabric and incisive style accord well with that date. The gradual loss of spiral movement that ultimately results in the "einsichtige" figure by the coroplast Nikostratos<sup>23</sup> is not very far away.

The trend is made evident by a later version of this theme, our No. 9. The general scheme of folds is similar on the two figurines, but No. 8 is a smaller and duller cast, rather mechanical in execution. This dancer raises her right hand to cover her chin, as on the Baker Dancer and in a series of variants from Abdera.<sup>24</sup> The fact that she was winged seems to have no especial significance, as one type can appear in both forms.<sup>25</sup> The Dionysiac fillet hanging across her forehead presumably links her with the thiasos of that god. The wide-open eyes and the hard finish not only suggest metal-work, but warn us against placing the piece among the first members of the type. These details, taken in conjunction with the character of the fabric (which is like that of No. 2), point to a date not far from the mid 2nd century.

A minor variant of the theme (No. 10) comes from a deposit that, according to its stamped amphora handles, does not go down later than ca. 180 B.C. (Deposit M 18:10). This fragment is surprisingly advanced toward composition in the late "single view" manner, but it is not yet so spread out as an example from Delos.<sup>26</sup> Our fragment is made of a dull blond clay like several pieces in the Komos Cistern, and its commonplace character are reminiscent of the small dancer, No. 15, from that same context.<sup>27</sup> No. 10 carries a step further the trend that we noted in Nos. 2 and 3. These were degenerations of early types, whereas No. 10 is a recasting of an old type in a commercial replica. The rectangular vent and the low base of older days still survive, but the rigid folds and the awkward movement ally it rather with the academic echoes of good conceptions that grow more prevalent during the course of the 2nd century.

A large semi-draped fragment (No. 11) from the same deposit as our small dancer (No. 10) invites comparison with Nos. 6 and 7. Essentially, it shows the same theme, but in this case the torso is nude. What is preserved is less well modelled than on No. 6. The scale of this figure is about the same as that of No. 6, but the fabric is hard and mottled tan to red, as on No. 7. The type is that of the famous Aphrodite of Arles or, more precisely, terracotta renderings of that goddess like that from Abdera.<sup>28</sup> The large surfaces and careful but conventional zigzags of drapery

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 357 f. The head on the vase is wrongly restored.

<sup>23</sup> *TK*, II, p. 151, 6; G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, Berlin, 1942, p. 94, pl. 42b.

<sup>24</sup> Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 21, B 87; pl. 22, B 85, 86.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. *TK*, II, p. 157; cf. Troy, *Supplementary Monograph 3, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Princeton, 1963, pp. 100 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 64, No. 648.

<sup>27</sup> Above, pp. 282-283, pl. 74.

<sup>28</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven, 1950, fig. 685; cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 16, A 33.

at the side betray a growing academicism. The figure comes from a soundly modelled archetype, but its coroplast did not work lovingly over the surface as on earlier pieces. The sparkling improvisation of our Artemis (No. 5) has been replaced by a formal correct manner. This is a veritable school piece; it lacks the freshness of the example from Abdera. Our example therefore seems to fall in the mid 2nd century.

No. 12 is a simplified version of this same type. The arm is clumsier, the vigorous zigzag of the hanging fold has been reduced to a serpentine edge that winds its way in and out of elongated hollows. The fabric, however, seems not to date very much later. This piece is just another step in the degeneration of the type. The final stage is vividly illustrated by No. 13. It was found in a disturbed late context, but its soft blond fabric certainly places it later than the two preceding examples. The flaccid body is definitely plump. Most startling is the chaotic treatment of the drapery, which looks more like the convolutions of brain tissue than like the folds of a textile. It is absurd, but it is inventive, not academic. Something of the same trend from naturalism to fantasy is also visible in the folds of a series of Nikai from Myrina.<sup>42</sup>

#### HEADS: Nos. 14-21.

Several heads were also found in the same deposits. These can be considered as characteristic of various stages of the development of Hellenistic facial types.

First, we must mention a childish head (D 1) from Group D, which was closed very near the middle of the 2nd century. The two heads from this deposit differ so markedly that we are driven to the conclusion that their date of manufacture must have been widely separated. One (D 1) is well preserved; it represents a round-faced girl whose general facial type is like that of the heads of Chatby<sup>43</sup> and close to one from the Agora.<sup>44</sup> The latter parallel itself resembles several less detailed heads from the Altar Well and even Group B.<sup>45</sup> The following earmarks appear on all: clear cut features, open eyes with defined lids, hair in a deeply-cleft part, with lively retouching, drawn over the ears to a small added knot at the nape. No side curls are applied. The crown of the head is high and well shaped at the back. All these elements belong to the typical "Tanagras" of the early 3rd century.<sup>46</sup> Confirmation of this dating is found in the reddish buff color of the clay that is at home among the terracottas of the Satyr Cistern.<sup>47</sup> In the Komos Cistern, however, it occurs in only three pieces.<sup>48</sup> Since

<sup>42</sup> Cf. D. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, pls. XXIX f., Nos. 72-75.

<sup>43</sup> E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pl. LXX, 194 (No. 414); pl. LXXI, 210 (No. 430).

<sup>44</sup> T 3026, from filling just under the Stoa of Attalos, but obviously of earlier style.

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pl. 37, No. 16 (Group B); *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 28, Nos. 22-24 (Altar Well).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, pl. 28b.

<sup>47</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 244-245, 261-262, Nos. 1, 3, 6, 8-12, 19.

<sup>48</sup> Above, pp. 288-290, Nos. 2, 12, 23.

these technical details appear to remain consistent within fairly limited times, they are significant criteria. This compact little head could easily have been about 100 years old when it found its way into the Pitthos. We might compare this head with two (Nos. 15, 16) from an early 2nd century deposit (K 18:2). The most striking difference is in the proportions. The little girl's head (D 1) is deep and completely finished in the back. The two later heads (Nos. 15, 16) are shallower.

The female head (No. 14), a large and fine piece, tells us much about the style of its period. It was buried at least by 160 B.C., but its style suggests an earlier date as do the tan fabric, the plastic wreath and retouched curly hair. The plump face with squinting eyes, pursed mouth and small prominent chin is that visible on the oinochoe of Berenike II from Xanthos that must date between 243 and 222 B.C.<sup>49</sup> This facial type appears, presumably slightly later, on terracottas from Myrina and Ilion probably under Alexandrian influence.<sup>50</sup> It is rare in Athens and in Corinth, where, however, a derivative type occurs in a deposit with coins of Ptolemy V.<sup>51</sup> We have in this vivid head the bloom of the florid style that prevailed in the prosperous courts of Egypt and Asia Minor. How the more austere Athenian coroplast became acquainted with this court beauty we should love to know.

Our next heads (No. 15, 16) are much more characteristic Attic examples. The back of No. 15 is unworked and flat, an early specimen of this careless tendency to leave backs unmodelled. Both these heads have long necks, masses of added, retouched hair, but rather flat features. The eyes are dull, the mouths level, totally lacking in the sensual fulness visible on that of No. 14. Most striking, in the front view, is the marked inclination of the neck on which the head is tipped backward. Such abrupt inclinations of the head are observable first in the period ca. 220 B.C. and reach an acute stage in the early 2nd century.<sup>52</sup> This lively device is continued for some time in the 2nd century until growing carelessness permits the heads to revert to stiff frontality. The fabric of these heads (Nos. 14-16) is still soft with a tan surface, but with an interior like that of several pieces in the Komos Cistern (Nos. 11, 19).<sup>53</sup> This fabric contrasts markedly with that of the child's head (Group D, D 1).

It is interesting to see that the back hair of No. 15 is arranged in a bowknot, a fashion that becomes increasingly popular during the late Hellenistic age. Its fairly low shape fits well into the phase that can be dated ca. 225 B.C., the period to which we may assign the head on other grounds.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, I, pl. XIV, No. 707.

<sup>50</sup> Burr, *op. cit.*, pls. XVI, No. 45, XXVI, Nos. 65, 67; Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 32, Nos. 186, 187, 194 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, No. 285.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Kleiner, *op. cit.*, pl. 6a, p. 16; pl. 9e, p. 56; Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 31, No. 206.

<sup>53</sup> Above, pp. 277, 289.

<sup>54</sup> Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, pp. 42 f.

These heads are dramatic and sharply accented in comparison with the delicate earlier "Tanagras." By ca. 200 B.C. such types have reached so advanced a stage that they can no longer rightly be called "Tanagras." At Myrina the bolder, more dramatic taste of major sculpture was imitated skilfully by the coroplasts. To a lesser degree the same phenomenon is visible in Athens. An excellent example of this period, which can be dated reasonably closely from its context,<sup>55</sup> is a large bold female head, No. 17. The head must have been discarded ca. 180 B.C. It is larger and more coarsely modelled than the preceding examples. The back of the head has been made in a mould; it is deep and well proportioned, showing slightly grooved melon-waves to which a rolled-up knot just below the crown has been added by hand. The head was encircled by some sort of elaborate stephane. Curly locks have been added below the ears. The front hair has been so much retouched as to lose its melon character and to appear as independent, crisply rendered strands. Exactly this treatment is characteristic of heads of Arsinoe III (217-205 B.C.).<sup>56</sup> The corners of the mouth and the nostrils have been jabbed with the graver and the dimple in the chin emphasized as on heads of the same queen. The rings on the long, conical, inclined neck are still plastically modelled. The eyes, long and narrow, under shallow arched brows, are obviously derived from the thick-lidded half-closed eyes that we noted as characteristic of the late 3rd century.<sup>57</sup> A comparison with No. 14 is most revealing. That earlier head is, as we observed, plastically modelled, giving the face flesh and the features, deep set into that flesh, life and expression. The face of No. 17 is a shallow echo; the smooth area of the face is unmodulated and the features applied upon it. The same rapid degeneration is observable in the faces on the faience oinochoai between ca. 240-200 B.C. It is interesting to note a like trend in Athens. We must place our head No. 17, therefore, at a date not far from 180 B.C.

As a member of the "Tanagra" tradition, this head (No. 17) is coarse and late; as an imitator of a new style, it is a good example, for the old crispness and respect for proportions and features are retained. When we compare it with its successors, Nos. 18-19, we note instantly its greater liveliness without sentimental slurring of detail.

A sizable head (No. 18) forms an interesting transition between No. 17 with its slightly Alexandrian aspect and No. 19 which belongs to the new style both technically and stylistically. No. 18 shows no hair-knot and no part, so that despite the profusely curly locks, we call it male. This is a convention, for such faces are feminine. Appar-

<sup>55</sup> Two stamped amphora handles found in this context are dated (1962) by V. Grace as no later than 180 B.C. The presence of a bronze New Style coin, which presumably must date after 196 B.C. when the silver New Style were first issued (M. Thompson, *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, V, 1952, pp. 25-33), confirms this dating.

<sup>56</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Coins: The Ptolemies*, pl. XV, 6; cf. Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 41.

<sup>57</sup> See above p. 310 on No. 14.

ently at this time, as we shall see in the following examples, a feminine face with curly locks but without knot (possibly omitted just from laziness) was used for both sexes indiscriminately. The taste in bodies also ran to the effeminate.

This sturdy head is set on a coarse neck, which is not carefully finished behind. The clay and technique are much like those of the preceding head. The features are dull and conventional, with markedly sloping chin. The wreath has been briskly touched with neat rows of rounded punching; the hair, composed of lumpy units, has been only slightly more irregularly punched than the wreath. The wreath itself, for the first time in our series, has been attached to the head behind by a series of short jabs that flattened it against the head while the clay was still damp, a technique used more and more commonly as time goes on. In scale and style this head would look at home on the draped fragment, No. 11. Since both the body and these two closely similar heads (Nos. 17, 18) come from filling dated *ca.* 180-160 B.C., we may consider them characteristic of the first few decades of the 2nd century. Their features are common enough elsewhere at the period, but the hair in added masses with deep retouching (which appears in modest form in the mid 3rd century<sup>22</sup>) seems not to appear in such ambitious versions outside Athens.

The next two heads (Nos. 19, 20) follow the same tradition as No. 18, but they look differently because they are made of "blond" clay. They both come from fillings of the third quarter of the 2nd century, but they are included here because they were probably made in the first half of that century. The first (No. 19) wears a soft cap over hair that has been added to the mouldmade head and treated with deep jabs of the graver to look much wilder than the curly locks of No. 18. The long face has small, rather blurred features, unsuited to its ruddy complexion. It was presumably drawn from a mould of old Praxitelean style. From the "Phrygian" cap and the violent toss of the head, we may assume that this head belonged to a Phrygian dancer, of the type common at Delos.<sup>23</sup> The renovation of an old mould was evidently easier than the creation of a new head. Few coroplasts were as independent as the one who made our No. 14.

The other head, No. 20, wore two wreaths and a fillet; it probably belonged to a Dionysiac figure, possibly a floating Eros. The face was left as it came from the mould with small features and blurred eyes, whereas the hair and wreaths were retouched carefully and added to the cast. This head is less markedly tipped than the previous. Its lumpy features are not unlike those of the large Satyr head that we placed *ca.* 150 B.C.<sup>24</sup> The complexion of the face is a dull sun-tan also like that of the Satyr.

Looking back on this series of heads, we can see a stylistic development that appears logical. No. 14 (before *ca.* 220 B.C.) is richly and pictorially modelled; Nos. 15 and 16 (*ca.* 220-200 B.C.) are still plastic and tossed in dramatic movement.

<sup>22</sup> *Délos*, XXXII, pl. 40, Nos. 364, 365, 367, 368.

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 246-247, pl. 87, No. 2.

Nos. 17 and 18 (ca. 180 B.C.) have somewhat coarsened; whereas Nos. 19 and 20 (ca. 170-160 B.C.) show the dull faces contrasting with dramatic hair and expression that reach their climax in the Satyr head of ca. 150 B.C.

Another fine feminine head (No. 21) was found in a footing-trench of the Stoa of Attalos. It contrasts in every way with those which we have presented. In the first place, as we have noted, the clay is entirely different from any normal Athenian clay. The type of the head is like that of well developed "Tanagras": tipped on a long neck, oval, with clearly modelled features, especially the chin, and melon coiffure in narrow, deeply retouched waves. But we have only to place it beside our Nos. 14 and 15 to see that the spirit is different. This head is handled like a bronze statuette rather than like a figurine. It is laid out on large lines, modelled in a deeper and more telling manner; it is classical and sculptural rather than casual and coroplastic. It translates readily in one's imagination into bronze or marble. It must surely with all these earmarks of Asia Minor, both technical and stylistic, be an import. Its style, which might be called "classical Praxitelean" is somewhat but not rigorously academic. In precision and in sensitive skill, it surpasses most 2nd century pieces even from Asia Minor. It certainly throws its Athenian contemporaries into the shade. It has the sculptural quality that we associate with the shops of Smyrna, but in our present state of knowledge, we must not suggest a provenience.

The last scrap of head in this series (Group D, D2) probably belonged to an Eros. It is a shockingly slipshod specimen. Its narrow eyes are clearly defined; one appears to squint. Its stubby nose and level mouth have been accented by the graver. Its hair and wreath retain some plasticity. In this sloppy impressionism it is paralleled by two similar faces in the Komos Cistern (No. 19).<sup>41</sup> The blond clay confirms the late appearance. This head represents bad work of the period just before 150 B.C.

#### MISCELLANIES: No. 22

The little palmette (Group D, D3) is, though from the same deposit as the preceding head, a much neater piece of work. Its buff clay and nicely preserved slip suggest an earlier date. Perhaps it crowned a stele on which a figure leaned;<sup>42</sup> or it may have been an akroterion of a small altar.

The wing (No. 22) has been included here because it was found in a footing-trench of the Stoa of Attalos and presumably dates before 150 B.C. The marked wing-bone and the thick plastically rendered pinions can profitably be compared with those on a wing from the Komos Cistern (No. 23).<sup>43</sup> The difference is striking. The earlier wing is delicately modelled in a deep reddish clay; each feather is rather pointed, with the vanes of the barbs carefully detailed. Our present example (No. 22) is made

<sup>40</sup> *Troy, Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> Above, pp. 284-285, 289, pl. 73.

<sup>42</sup> *TK*, II, p. 108.3.

<sup>43</sup> Above, pp. 286, 290, pl. 75.

of tan-blond clay, with rounded tertiaries, pointed secondaries and heavily outlined vanes and quills, but the barbs must have been rendered in paint. The former is naturalistically sketched in an incisive, metallic style; the latter is boldly plastic without surface detail. These two specimens must be very nearly one hundred years apart. Both styles occur at Myrina, but the latter is greatly in preponderance.<sup>44</sup> This dating is in accordance with our knowledge of the relative output of the factories of late Hellenistic Asia Minor.

Our wing (No. 22) would, in its technique, scale, and style, fit a figure of the type for which our Nos. 19 or 20 would be suitable heads. Large winged Dionysiac Erotes were popular at this period.<sup>45</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

It is not wise to draw many conclusions from the study of only 25 pieces from different sources. We can only note that the old draped female types are still popular, that dancers are numerous and that winged figures, though present in Athens, are not so common as in Asia Minor.

The interest in plastic modelling, rich in chiaroscuro and lively surfaces, that we have enjoyed in the 3rd century, appears to flag fairly early in the 2nd century. We see how quickly drapery becomes flaccid, faces dull, and a commercial slapdash style becomes the fashion. Whatever is novel comes from over the seas, from Alexandria (Nos. 14, 17) or from Asia Minor (Nos. 5-10, 19, 21). By the mid 2nd century "Tanagra" themes and types are finished and the trade awaits new ideas.

#### CATALOGUE

The terminology used in this Catalogue is that already outlined in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158, except that the measurements are here given in centimeters.

For reasons indicated above, this set of figurines is not grouped according to context. The context is indicated before the measurements. For its character and date, see p. 317. The grouping is in general by types.

#### CHILDREN

1 (T 3179) Seated Draped Girl. Pl. 80.

Undated context. P. H. 5.1 cm. Buff clay, hard fabric. Traces of rectangular vent. Head and legs missing.

High-girt, thin chiton. Three paws remain of a dog facing to her right in her lap.

2 (T 507) Seated Draped Girl. Pl. 80.

Footing-trench for wall of Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 6 cm. Pinkish buff clay; fine, hard fabric. Traces of round vent. Head missing.

Wears thin chiton. No objects in hands.

#### DRAPED FIGURES

3 (T 100) Nurse with Infant. Pl. 80.

Area H 5. P. H. 6.2 cm. Pinkish buff clay, hard fabric. Blue on dress. Traces of rectangular vent. Back flat.

She holds a naked baby against her left side, her right hand supporting its knees; the infant

<sup>44</sup> Earlier: Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXII, No. 54, pl. XXIII, No. 58; later: pl. XXI, No. 53; pl. XL, No. 117. Since wings could be attached to any figure, they cannot be relied upon as evidence for the date of any single specimen.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. *Priene*, p. 340, figs. 386-390.



pulls at the neck of her dress. The nurse has curly hair under a *sphendone*. Dull impression.

4 (T 3254) Draped Fragment. Pl. 80.

Filling south of Middle Stoa over waterclock. P. H. 8.2 cm. Buff clay. Broken all round.

Portion of left thigh and torso of female figure wearing chiton with overfold and himation.

5 (T 2346) Draped Fragment: Artemis? Pl. 81.

Hellenistic Filling of Great Drain. P. H. 10.8 cm. Yellow-buff clay; hard fabric. Broken all round. Back missing.

Female figure wearing chiton with overfold, girt outside by belt and baldric. Over this a himation hangs down the left side and the other end is drawn in a roll across the body and looped within itself to hang down on the other side.

6 (T 3207) Draped Fragment. Pl. 81.

Terrace of South Stoa II. P. H. 11.5 cm. Blond-tan clay. Back missing.

Female figure wears thin chiton high-girt, with himation in thick roll around hips. She raised her right arm high and probably rested her left on a support.

7 (T 3241) Standing Draped Female. Pl. 80.

Building Filling of South Stoa II. P. H. 6.4 cm. Buff-tan clay, mottled to light red. Solid; curved flat back. Head and arms missing.

Stands with weight on left leg, wearing thin, high-girt chiton and himation wound round hips.

8 (T 851) Dancer: fragment. Pl. 81.

Building Filling of South Stoa II. P. H. 10.5 cm. Tan clay, hard fabric. Back and base missing.

Steps forward, grasping her thin himation with her right hand, her left probably held a mass of drapery at her side. Wears full chiton and soft shoe.

9 (T 3553) Winged Dancer. Pl. 82.

Deposit O 17:7. P. H. 10.5 cm. Pale pinkish buff clay; hard fabric. Rectangular vent. Wings, left arm, lower part missing.

Dances toward her left, wearing chiton and himation wrapped over her head and drawn across lower part of face. On her head a thick wreath, with Dionysiac fillet looped below it. She raises her right hand to her chin.

10 (T 3542) Dancer. Pl. 82.

Deposit M 18:10. P. H. 6.7 cm. Blond clay. Pink on drapery. Rectangular vent.

Seen from side. Wears chiton probably with overfold. Right leg bears weight, left extended backward. Low oval base.

11 (T 3544) Semidraped Fragment. Pl. 82.

Deposit M 18:10. P. H. 15.2 cm. Tan clay, mottled to red; hard fabric. Large rectangular vent.

Probably female; stands with himation wrapped over left shoulder and around hips; torso naked; left arm bent and extended forward.

12 (T 1309) Draped Fragment. Pl. 82.

Deposit N 19:1. P. H. 12.5 cm. Pinkish tan clay; pink on drapery; hard fabric. Broken all round.

Probably from same type as preceding.

13 (T 3549) Draped Fragment. Pl. 82.

Deposit O 17:5. P. H. 6.6 cm. Blond-tan clay, soft fabric; traces of pinkish (directly on clay?). Broken all around.

From same type as two preceding.

# HEADS

14 (T 2968) Wreathed Head: Female. Pl. 82.

Filling over floor of Square Building under Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 4.2 cm. Tan-buff clay. Careful retouching.

Round face; squinting eyes. Wears earrings,



wreath of leaves and fruits over curly hair which is bound in a loose knot at the nape.

**15** (T 1355) Head with Bowknot: Female. Pl. 82.

Deposit K 18:2. P. H. 6 cm. Dull buff clay, with reddish core; red on lips. Back rough.

Retouched in added hair; crisply modelled features, with narrow eyes, prominent cleft chin. Wore stephane and leech earrings.

**16** (T 1358) Wreathed Head: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Deposit K 18:2. P. H. 4.6 cm. Dull buff clay. Retouching.

Wears thick wreath over cropped hair with added curls. Half closed eyes.

**17** (T 3370) Head with Diadem: Female. Pl. 82.

Area G 13. P. H. 7.1 cm. Buff to light red clay. Traces of glaze used as glue. Retouching. Back of head worked.

Wore a diadem behind wreath of fruits, earrings, long locks. Features sharply modelled, corners of mouth and chin touched with graver; long narrow eyes.

**18** (T 3216) Wreathed Head: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Middle Stoa Building Filling. P. H. 6 cm. Buff to light red clay. Tan flesh color. Damaged on left side of face. Retouching.

Wears a thick wreath and large bunches of curls around face.

**19** (T 2964) Head in "Phrygian" Cap: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Construction Filling of Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 7 cm. Blond clay. Dark red on cap; pinkish red flesh. Retouching.

Head much tilted to its left; wears soft high "Phrygian" cap without flaps.

**20** (T 3252) Wreathed Head: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Filling south of Middle Stoa over water-clock. P. H. 7.5 cm. Blond clay; sun-tanned flesh. Back of head unworked.

Head tipped toward its left, wearing thick wreath over one of leaves.

**21** (T 3131) Female Head. Pl. 83.

Footing-trench of Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 6 cm. Orange clay with black core, soft fabric. Back broken away.

Wears melon coiffure, earrings. Sharply modelled features.

#### MISCELLANY

**22** (T 2910) Wing. Pl. 83.

Filling of Stoa of Attalos. Max. dim. 6 cm. Blond clay. Retouching. Solid. Back flat.

Right wing from near point of attachment.

#### GROUP D (Deposit H 16:4)

**D 1** (T 226) Wreathed Head: Female. Pl. 83.

P. H. 3.1 cm. Reddish buff clay. Worked behind. Retouching.

Childish head wearing wreath of pointed (myrtle?) leaves. Hair in deep melon waves, with knot added at nape.

**D 2** (T 227) Child's Head. Pl. 83.

P. H. 2.5 cm. Blond clay; reddish on hair. Back missing.

Wears central plait and wreath of fruits over forehead. Clumsy work.

**D 3** (T 228) Palmette. Pl. 83.

P. H. 3.1 cm. Buff clay. Solid; flat back. White slip on both sides; pink on front. Traces of attachment beneath. Seven rounded petals.

## CONTEXTS

Listed below are the contexts in which the figurines discussed in this article were found. Each context is recorded at the beginning of each entry in the Catalogue. The evidence for the dating of these contexts is too full to be given in detail here; it will ultimately appear in the relevant Agora publications. In every case it must be considered as subject to correction on the final correlation of all the material. For assistance in obtaining these tentative dates, I owe much to Virginia Grace (for the stamped amphora handles) and to H. A. Thompson (for the sequence of building construction). G. R. Edwards has not completed his study of the pottery. The chronology of the bronze coins has not been brought up to date in relation to that of the Athenian New Style silver as recently made by M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, 1961. The lamps have been published by Richard H. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps*. The areas referred to are those of the National grid, to be found on the Actual State Plan in the volumes of the *Athenian Agora* series.

- Area G 13, behind Great Drain—to ca. 180 B.C.: **17**
- Area H 5 over poros blocks—to ca. 225 B.C.: **3**
- Deposit H 16: 4—to ca. 150 B.C.: **D 1, D 2, D 3**
- Deposit K 18:2—to ca. 180 B.C.: **15, 16**
- Deposit M 18:10—to ca. 180 B.C.: **10, 11**
- Deposit N 19:1—to late 1st century B.C.: **12**
- Deposit O 17:5—early 2nd century B.C., disturbed in early 1st century A.D.: **13**
- Deposit O 17:7—to ca. 150 B.C.: **9**
- Great Drain, Hellenistic Filling—to ca. 170 B.C.: **5**
- Group D—See Deposit H 16:4
- Middle Stoa Building Filling: Main Part—to ca. 160 B.C.: **18**
- Over Waterclock—to ca. 125 B.C.: **4, 20**
- South Stoa II: South Foundation—to ca. 160 B.C.: **8**
- Terrace Filling—to ca. 150 B.C.: **6**
- Behind Wall—to ca. 150 B.C.: **7**
- Stoa of Attalos: Destruction of preceding Square Building—to ca. 160 B.C.: **14**
- Construction Filling—to ca. 150 B.C.: **2, 19, 21, 22**

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON,  
NEW JERSEY

## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

(PLATES 13-22)

### V THE MID-SECOND CENTURY B.C.

THE Agora deposits that are datable within the two central quarters of the 2nd century are more reliable than those of the early part of the century. Owing to the fact that a large building program was undertaken during the period *ca.* 160-140 B.C., a number of deposits can be given a lower limit in that period. As has previously been noted, however, the terracottas from such building fillings were usually old material.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore necessary to select examples from these contexts with care, checking their fabric and style with other dated material and regarding their contexts as merely *termini ante quos*. A list of the contexts is given on p. 50. The dating indicated is based on preliminary study of the pottery, lamps and stamped amphora handles.<sup>2</sup> Only two small deposits of the third quarter of the 2nd century contained more than one interesting figurine fragment. These we call the Papposilenos Cistern<sup>3</sup> and the Egyptian Cistern.<sup>4</sup> We have therefore added a few more selected specimens from other, less reliable contexts of the period. These pieces have been listed in numerical sequence for easy reference. Details are given in the Catalogue. In this article we use the term "mid century" to cover roughly the second and third quarters of the 2nd century B.C.

#### TECHNIQUE

Apart from certain earlier pieces that we have used as comparanda in order to clarify a series of types, the clay of the figurines in the present selection falls into two classes. The fabric is well washed and fired soft. The color of the clay varies from a buff or dull brownish tone (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13) to the light color that we first noted in the Komos Cistern and called "blond."<sup>5</sup> This is probably the same clay as that from the Herakles Cistern which is to be discussed below (p. 53) as of Corinthian origin. Several examples occur in the mid 2nd century (Nos. 6, 11, 14-19, 21). It is interesting to see that this is the period when the sack of Corinth in 146 B.C. would have driven coroplasts to take refuge in other cities, just as Theban craftsmen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 301 f. I owe the photographs in the present article to Alison Frantz except that of No. 2 which is by H. Wagner; the drawings are by Jean Porter.

<sup>2</sup> Virginia Grace kindly rechecked the dating of the amphora handles in 1963. Roger Edwards has not yet reviewed our previous tentative dating of the pottery. The lamps have been published, R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, Princeton, 1958.

<sup>3</sup> Deposit D 17:5 in the list of Agora deposits. The name was given by the presence of our No. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Deposit E 6:1-2, named from the presence of several Egyptian objects.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 277, on nos. 1, 30.

did in 335 B.C. Here we find both the buff or brownish Athenian fabric beside the Corinthian. As both fabrics are lightly baked, the friable surface rubs away, carrying with it the slip and color.

The two bases surviving in this selection revert to earlier models. The block base is decorated on its upper and lower edges with mouldings (No. 5), which owe their inspiration to the bases of monumental sculpture. This type of base appears more and more frequently in the later Hellenistic period. The step base (No. 15), representing a small block set on a wider plinth, is also a revival of a type popular in the 5th and 4th centuries in both stone and clay.

The large rectangular opening in the back of the Papposilenos (No. 5) is presumably due to the size of the figure, but it is unusual in Attica where the vent comes in late and remains small.<sup>8</sup> It may indicate that this peculiar figure has foreign connections. The oval vent that occurred on the back of No. 15 is the common type at this period. This back is uncanonical in being markedly convex, giving the figure a disproportionate depth that becomes characteristic in the late 2nd century.

Another interesting feature is observable also on No. 15 for the first time in certain pieces of this series, namely, the use of moulds made of plaster of Paris. If we look closely at three fragments from the "Egyptian Cistern,"<sup>9</sup> we note certain telltale peculiarities; these are a thin wall and a smooth mechanical surface, on which appear tiny spheres, especially in the hollows. These spheres are caused by the air bubbles that occur in plaster, particularly if it is much stirred; the clay penetrates the broken bubbles and appears as beads upon the cast.<sup>10</sup> It seems strange to find evidence for the use of plaster in Athens where excellent clay is abundant. No small plaster moulds, to my knowledge, have been found in Greece, but large pieces of the Roman period have recently been discovered.<sup>11</sup> Certain lamps, however, that have been found in Athens copy lamps made from plaster moulds, presumably from Alexandria; they appear in contexts of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>12</sup> No figurines made from plaster moulds of so early a date are known to me from any site, although specimens, perhaps as early as the late 2nd century B.C., bearing the unmistakable signs of plaster moulds have been noted in Morgantina,<sup>13</sup> in Tarsus,<sup>14</sup> and in Iliion.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The "wide door" in the back is characteristic of Boeotian and other provincial work in the classical period.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 15, 16 and a small uncatalogued scrap, T 1282.

<sup>10</sup> For plaster moulds at other sites, see D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph 3, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Princeton, 1963, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Large pieces of plaster of Paris were found within the Late Roman Fortification Wall in the Agora near a sculptor's studio where they may have been used for taking casts of statues.

<sup>12</sup> Howland, *Greek Lamps*, pl. 47, no. 590; cf. no. 583. The context of this lamp, E 44:1, is not a reliable deposit; it may run down into the late 3rd century.

<sup>13</sup> I owe the privilege of examining these interesting pieces to Professor Erik Sjöqvist, who had previously noted the presence of the technique at Morgantina.

<sup>14</sup> H. Goldman, *Excavations at Göslu-Tepe, Tarsus, I*, Princeton, 1950, p. 299.

<sup>15</sup> For Iliion, see above note 8. No telltale bubbles appear on photographs of figurines from Delos and Myrina.

These first examples from plaster moulds in Athens were found in a cistern along with faience and bits of pottery with vitreous glaze. It seems possible that the figurine scraps might have been made in moulds brought into Greece from Alexandria<sup>14</sup> by a craftsman from that region. Since the clay is identical with that of other Athenian pieces of the period, the probability is that they too were made in Greece. We can readily understand how the Greeks in Egypt, who found no good local clay, adopted the ancient Egyptian technique of employing plaster moulds, particularly for the manufacture of fine metal work, as is attested by a large body of such moulds found at Memphis. Lamps of Greek types and plaster moulds for them have also been found in Egypt.<sup>15</sup> That this technique spread to eastern parts of the Roman world has long been known; that it was occasionally used in late Hellenistic times seems perfectly plausible. In Athens, however, it appears to have been rare in local work. A fuller understanding of the distribution of the technique would help us in our study of trade routes, particularly those followed by the crafts, in the late Hellenistic period.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

##### SILENS AND SATYR: Nos. 1-7

Increasing enthusiasm for the Dionysiac cult in all its various aspects inspired the coroplasts of the Hellenistic period to develop many forms of satyrs and silens. In general they followed the theatrical canon, sometimes copying accurately the theatrical masks, sometimes merely representing the types without the open mask mouth. Two characters are clearly differentiated: the youthful silen or satyr and the leader of the chorus, the old, hairy Papposilenos. Both these types were found together in our "Papposilenos Cistern." In order to understand them, we must refer to much comparative material.

We can give in outline the development of the Papposilenos type during Hellenistic times from examples in Athens.<sup>16</sup> By the late 4th century the theatrical types seem to have been established among coroplasts.<sup>17</sup> Our first example (No. 1) comes from earth deposited just before South Stoa II was erected, that is before ca. 160 B.C. But it is obviously much earlier and may belong to the deposits laid down just after the building of South Stoa I. The black glaze and marks at the back indicate that the figure formed part of a plastic vase of the sort that died out in Athens in

<sup>14</sup> For lamps from Alexandria, Howland, *Greek Lamps*, pl. 56, Benachi 1-4.

<sup>15</sup> C. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, Cairo, 1903, pls. XXVIII, XXXI-III, nos. 32287-32310.

<sup>16</sup> For a recent analysis of the character and iconography of Papposilenos, see E. Simon, *Röm. Mitt.*, LXIX, 1962, pp. 146f.

<sup>17</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, London, 1962, pp. 38-41, AT 1-5, 9, 11, 12; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 147, fig. 61, nos. 66-68.

the late 4th century.<sup>18</sup> The fat body of the Silen is covered with thick fur, which is indicated by shallow, irregular gouging. This furry garment, the *χορταῖος*, was worn by the Silen of the stage to make him look wilder.<sup>19</sup> This treatment of the fur continues the earlier tradition without any attempt toward plasticity. The old fellow sprawls on an uneven surface, probably a rock, as on an example from Boeotia.<sup>20</sup> His vigorous movement suggests a merry drinking bout rather than the child tendance that preoccupied the older figures of Papposilenoi. As this form of lekythos is the latest of its class and as the modelling is full of life, we must date the piece in the late 4th century.<sup>21</sup>

Found with much pottery of the late 4th and early 3rd century is the upper part of a smaller Papposilenos (No. 2) whose mild demeanor is in keeping with the quiet taste of the 3rd century. The fabric also suits this period. This figure wears the same shaggy garment as his predecessor; his mouth is not open, but the type is still close to the stage. His drooping eyelids and long soft moustache and gently curling beard give him the benign visage of the paedagogue, the kindly teacher of the child Dionysos.<sup>22</sup> Indeed he is differentiated from the paedagogue only by his shagginess. He may well have carried the child on his left arm.

An interesting larger fragment (No. 3) shows the reworking of the theme in a more Hellenistic mood. The fragment shows a hairy right leg emerging from an himation, which is drawn tightly around the thigh. The thick hard fabric without a trace of white slip has been entirely hand worked: the folds carved into the firm clay, the hair rendered by shallow gouging with the graver. It is clearly an artist's model, an archetype for many later moulds. A trace of adhesive implies that the figure was cut into pieces for convenient firing and then reassembled in order to make the complete model.<sup>23</sup> The golden fabric and the plastic spirit place the piece somewhere in the later 3rd century.

Another fragment, this time of a mould (No. 4), is of about the same scale. It shows the left leg and drapery at the side. The himation is less vigorously modelled than on the preceding piece; the hair on the leg, however, is more meticulously rendered. Wavy lines of curly locks reverse their direction in alternate rows to suggest an artificially combed shagginess that presages the tiered arrangement of the

<sup>18</sup> R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, II, London, 1959, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 12f. and figs. 31-33, 36-38, etc.

<sup>20</sup> F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903 (hereafter TK), p. 396, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Higgins, *op. cit.*, pl. 42, no. 1714; cf. TK, II, p. 400, 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 400f.; *Corinth*, XII, pl. 29, no. 331, p. 51 (with parallels).

<sup>23</sup> B. Neutsch, *Studien zur vorantagrisch-attischen Koroplastik*, Berlin, 1952 (*17tes Ergänzungsheft des Jahrbuches*), p. 9, Beilage 3, 16, 17; 4, 18-23.

fur on the legs of figures from Myrina and, nearer home, from Akraiphiai near Ptoon and on our No. 5. Both these pieces also resemble a figure from the Peiraeus (Pl. 13).<sup>24</sup> The warm buff of the clay of our mould as well as the style certainly do not appear to date later than the 3rd century.

Our primary interest in these earlier specimens lies in their relation to our big Papposilenos, No. 5. This is on a much larger scale than its predecessors. The himation is rendered in heavy, cord-like folds of a leathery texture. The shaggy garment lies in thick, plastic rows of coarse locks. The mechanical regularizing of the fur suggests a stage garment; it also appears on smaller Silens. One theatrical type from Myrina is more dramatic than ours; on another from Alexandria the himation is academically handled.<sup>25</sup> The Alexandrian figure carries a large cornucopia, decorated in zones like a torch, but its shape is not that of a torch. The cornucopia will be seen below to be a favorite attribute of the old Silen, but probably was not held by our own. There are absolutely no traces of attachment on the left shoulder, where such a horn is usually carried. The stance of our big Papposilenos is frontal and non-committal; the aspect is pompous and "classicizing." The figure is more like a marble statuette of the period than like a bronze or terracotta. This shift of the coroplasts to the imitation of stone rather than metal sculpture is characteristic of the taste of the period. The large size and the base are also indications that the archetype or at least the inspiration was in marble. Few Agora terracottas are comparable in size. Various large versions of sculptural types occur at this period particularly in Delos, Corinth and elsewhere.<sup>26</sup>

The head of this Papposilenos must have been at least 7 cm. in height. It would have been bearded and wreathed. We may safely assume that the face would not have been so benign as those previously noted, for according to the taste of the day, it should have been rendered in a more baroque style. The nearest Agora parallel is a smaller head of early 2nd century context (No. 6). Made of the gray-blond clay of the period, it shows a fleshy face with thick, parted lips and a heavy beard hanging in lumpy curls and a stupid, if not bestial, expression.

Our Papposilenos, in his pompous manner, must have led his chorus in a satyr play. The declaiming Papposilenos is a common terracotta type.<sup>27</sup> Traces of attach-

<sup>24</sup> S. Mollard, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains*, II, Myrina, Paris, 1963, pl. 97, c; pl. 172, e (Myrina); TK II, p. 398, 2 (Akraiphiai); p. 397, 1 ("Peiraeus"); H. 17 cm. our pl. 13, I owe the photograph to the Staatliche Museen, Berlin).

<sup>25</sup> Mollard, *op. cit.*, pl. 172, c. A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, Alexandria, 1935/9, pl. LXIX, no. 5, p. 171.

<sup>26</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 59, no. 601; cf. pls. 72 ff., *Corinth*, XII, pl. 18, nos. 222f., p. 41 (dated too early?); *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 14, no. 6; Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, p. 49, note 105.

<sup>27</sup> TK II, pp. 397, 1, 4, 5; 399, 1; cf. D. I. Lazarides, *Πόλυνα Εἰδώλια Ἀββερῶν*, Athens, 1960, pl. 27, B 121, 122 (2nd century) and G. M. A. Richter, *Greek Portraits*, II (*Collection Latomus*, XXXVI, 1959), p. 40, pl. XV, nos. 52, 53, considers one example to represent Socrates. In view of



ment on his right shoulder do not seem suitable for a child, but may merely indicate attached pieces of drapery or locks of hair. In sculpture we might note an interesting parallel in the hairy Silen that plays the syrinx on the frieze of the temple of Dionysos at Teos.<sup>28</sup> If the dating of this temple ca. 193 B.C. is sound, the similarity of type to ours gives support for the assumption that our piece can be placed somewhat before the middle of the century.

A most peculiar fragment was found along with our Papposilenos. It represents a male head and the upper part of a large cornucopia (No. 7). The head would have had a height of ca. 9.5 cm. Long locks hang down beside the thick neck. The jowls are carefully modelled as though withered and furrows run down between cheeks and chin. The throat sags, but the type is not exactly that which appears on baroque marble satyrs.<sup>29</sup> The piercing of the mouth as though for a mask suggests relation with the stage. The figure presumably represented a satyr from a chorus, but there seems to be no obvious parallel, either in marble or in terracotta. The scale and fabric of this fragment are close to those of the Papposilenos (No. 5). It seems not unlikely that both pieces come from the same shop. Nor is it impossible that they formed part of a set that represented the cast of a satyr-play, like the set from a tomb in Attica that is now in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>30</sup> The large satyr head from the Satyr Cistern is also of about the same scale and might fit into such a series.<sup>31</sup> A bronze group of Dionysiac figures suggests that clay replicas might well have existed in the 2nd century.<sup>32</sup>

The cornucopia held by our present satyr (No. 7) is an elaborate example of a hackneyed attribute of the Dionysiac cycle which later belonged to all divinities who offered prosperity. It is often shown on the arm of Papposilenos himself, but is not commonly held by his more active satyr companions. The cornucopia was known in antiquity as the "horn of Amaltheia." Amaltheia, a nymph or goat-goddess, possessed horns that exuded nectar and ambrosia. She generously broke off one to give Zeus as a symbol of plenty.<sup>33</sup> It poured forth unstintingly all that was desired without

the typical form of this figure and the informal, even indecorous arrangement of the himation, unthinkable on a philosopher, it seems to me impossible that it has any connection with Socrates, but is merely a Papposilenos leading his chorus. The hairy garment of the theater was not always shown.

<sup>28</sup> W. Hahland, *Jahresh.*, XXXVIII, 1950, pp. 77, fig. 32 (now lost, but the drawing gives the type). Cf. a similar figure on a marble relief, M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, fig. 594 (Silen rather than shepherd?).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 573, 576, 582. The modelling is more like that shown on old women, as *ibid.*, figs. 585f., 590.

<sup>30</sup> Bieber, *Theater*, pp. 46f., figs. 185-198.

<sup>31</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 246, pl. 87, no. 2.

<sup>32</sup> J. Charbonneau, *Les bronzes grecs*, Paris, 1958, pl. XXX, p. 102. The group consists of two maenads, a satyr and Dionysos.

<sup>33</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. Amaltheia (Wernicke); Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Cornucopia, cols. 1514 ff. (Pottier).

ever running dry. Although this story is recorded only in Hellenistic sources, the conception occurs earlier. In the 4th century the goddess of chance, Tyche, was endowed hopefully with the generous horn. Filled with fruits rather than nectar, it was carried by the Ptolemaic queens, impersonations of the Good Fortune of that prosperous kingdom. Examples of its early, stocky form appear on coins of Berenike II (247-222 B.C.) (cf. Pl. 15).<sup>34</sup> In the Agora no complete terracotta figures have been preserved, but fragments of the horns from their hands permit us to trace the development of the form in clay. Since it is one of the few Athenian 2nd century types that can be studied in any depth, we shall present this series here.

#### CORNUCOPIAE: Nos. 8-14

Our series begins with an almost complete plain specimen from a context of ca. 160-150 B.C. (No. 8). Its fresh condition suggests that it was manufactured fairly near that date. Its fabric finds parallels in the Komos Cistern.<sup>35</sup> The shape is long and slender like the horns on the faience oinochoai in the hands of Queen Arsinoë III (221-205 B.C.).<sup>36</sup> The leaves that spring from the lower part as a calyx for the upper portion also appear on the jugs, as well as the tall ears of wheat that rose behind the bunch of grapes. The wide upper zone is left plain on this piece or perhaps it was painted with decoration.

Another scrap (No. 9) derives from the top of a similar cornucopia. Its coarse rings and shrunken rim mark it as a modest specimen of its type.

Other Agora pieces (Nos. 10-13, Fig. 1) are more elaborately decorated with relief scenes that imitate the magnificent horns of gold and silver that must have been made in Alexandria. These relief horns can be compared with other clay copies of relief metal work, such as *arulae* and Megarian bowls. The first example (No. 10) comes from a context of the first quarter of the 2nd century. It is larger in scale than the preceding example. The relief zone is crowned by dentils. Beneath the scene the horn was apparently fluted.<sup>37</sup> The relief zone (Fig. 1) shows three draped women; the two outer face in toward the third, who appears to be moving toward her right. This composition, which is common on plaques from Sicily and South Italy,<sup>38</sup> sometimes represents nymphs or again, musicians and priestesses. Since our figures are not clearly legible and one seems to be dancing, we should probably call

<sup>34</sup> Athenaeus, XI, 476 on horns in the form of rhyta; XI, 497 on the horn of queens; one is shown on a coin of Berenike II, *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum*, The Burton Y. Berry Collection, II, pl. 57, no. 1487, reproduced here (Pl. 15) by the courtesy of Margaret Thompson.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 288, no. 4.

<sup>36</sup> The development of the horn shown on the faience oinochoai will be studied further in my publication on the oinochoai.

<sup>37</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 96, no. 1274.

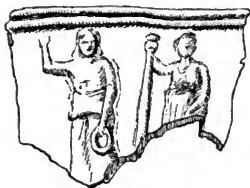
<sup>38</sup> E.g. P. Willeumier, *Tarente*, Paris, 1939, pl. XXVII, 3, 4; L. Bernabò Brea, *Κόρινθος*, IV, 1958, pl. 47, figs. 2, 3.



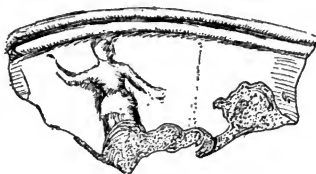
7



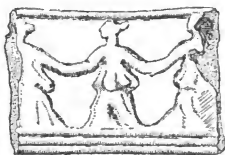
10



12



13



14

FIG. 1. Cornucopiae (1:1)

them nymphs. Perhaps they no more deserve names than the similar vague female figures on contemporary Megarian bowls.<sup>39</sup> The modelling of the original must have been delicate, in "Tanagra" style, but our piece was carelessly finished.

Even more sloppy is No. 11, from the same archetype. Its context was slightly later than that of the preceding specimen, at least as late as the second quarter of the 2nd century. The clay is blond, somewhat smoked, as is natural at the period. The dentils are lost; the figures almost illegible. The contrast between these two pieces is marked. We should like to know whether this degeneration is merely technical or whether it is indicative of the lowering of standards during the quarter century that probably lies between them.

Somewhere near this time we must place the cornucopia carried by our satyr (No. 7). It is much larger than those we just considered. Double rings, like those of No. 11, set off a decorated zone that is wider than on most pieces. This zone was probably surmounted by a plain flaring rim as is shown on No. 12 from the Egyptian Cistern that must be considered with it. The relief scene on the fragment carried by the satyr (No. 7) shows two figures (Fig. 1): a bearded semi-draped male at our left and a draped female at our right. Both lean on trees or posts. Their style, like that of the preceding relief figures, is conventional, rendered with little care. A vague resemblance may be noted to a relief in the Villa Albani in Neo-attic style.<sup>40</sup> On another similar cornucopia fragment, No. 12, of which the scale is a trifle larger, the details crisper, and the color fairly well preserved, the fabric is harder baked, tan on the outside and reddish inside. These are all earmarks of earlier work, finding parallels in the Kosmos Cistern.<sup>41</sup> Despite the discovery of this piece in a context of the second or possibly the third quarter of the 2nd century, we must probably place its origin somewhat earlier and consider it a prototype of the coarser version carried by the satyr (No. 7). The relief scene (Fig. 1) is similar. It consists of two gilded frontal figures. That at our left raises her arm as though to hold a scepter, although none is modelled; it might have been added in paint. She also holds her wreath in the other hand. Beside her stands another figure holding a scepter.

A small fragment, No. 13, from a pre-Sullan deposit retains a surprising amount of color. The background is an unusual mauve, produced by the superposition of pink on blue; the fruits are red. The single figure (Fig. 1) raises her arm as though in the dance. She is probably related to the dancing figures on the other horns.

The last example in our series of cornucopiae, No. 14, was found with "Perгамene" pottery of the period after Sulla. The fabric is extremely blond. On its surface many tiny nodules indicate manufacture in a plaster mould. It must presum-

<sup>39</sup> Cf. F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à relief*, Paris, 1922, p. 349, fig. 72, no. 34.

<sup>40</sup> W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (21tes Ergänzungsheft des *AIhrbuches*), Berlin, 1959, pl. 4, d, pp. 166, no. 13, 168.

<sup>41</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 277.

ably be dated in the middle of the 1st century. The coarse style, the strange imbricated top (of a pine cone?) and the squat shape with its sharply bent lower portion "all belong to the latest Hellenistic phase.

The relief on No. 14 (Fig. 1) gives a new type: three dancing figures holding hands, their skirts trailing. These figures have previously been likened to a set on a polos of Kybele," perhaps initiates into her cult. Here we can only say that they are dancers.

Are the reliefs on these horns related to the figures who bore them or are they related rather to the horn itself? Since the bearer might readily change with the whim of the coroplast, it seems more likely that the decoration was conceived for the horn, which was made separately and later attached. In that case, it is tempting to identify the male and female figures on the horn of our satyr (No. 7) as Amaltheia, the generous nymph, and Zeus, her beneficiary. The ladies who grace the other scenes would then be Amaltheia and the nymphs of her cortège. It is possibly significant that the nymph who leans on the tree (No. 7) was drawn, as we noted above, from the repertory of marble reliefs. The dancers may well be related to the long line of honorable maidens that dance holding hands as nymphs or graces on many reliefs from archaic times onward.<sup>42</sup> Werner Fuchs has suggested that our cornucopia No. 14 shows the adoption of the type in a new Neo-attic spirit.<sup>43</sup> It is a humble member of its class and seems rather to continue the old coroplastic tradition. Our girls do not wear the archaizing flowing garments, but the short-waisted chiton with overfold that was the contemporary everyday costume. Nor do these stumpy little figures exhibit any trace of the flutter that characterizes the Neo-Attic style. Our figures are much more like the anonymous dancers and deities on relief vases, figures that were originally drawn from the common repertory of the 3rd century by unimaginative potters of the early 2nd century.<sup>44</sup> Ultimately, we suppose, these figures were derived from the decorative reliefs that covered all sorts of metal vessels created by the demand of the wealthy Hellenistic princes. Of these creations, described for us by Kallixeinos' account of the procession and banquet of Ptolemy II, a golden cornucopia formed one item.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately our small clay copies tell us all too little of their splendid models. But they do show us the ordinary specimens that were

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, London, 1960, pl. XXIV, 7 (ca. 135 B.C.), pl. XXI, 1 (ca. 121 B.C.), 11 (ca. 38 B.C.), pl. XX, 8 (41 B.C.).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 101, pl. 23.

<sup>44</sup> For a summary of the types, Fuchs, *op. cit.*, pls. 3ff., pp. 21ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33, note 63. A group of similar dancers appears on a Megarian bowl in the Volo Museum.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 342, fig. 69, no. 2; p. 345, fig. 70, nos. 13, 16, 17; p. 461, fig. 102, no. 21. Cf. a similar survival on a relief alabastron, D. B. Thompson, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, pp. 328-336.

<sup>47</sup> Athenaeus, V, 198a.

carried during the 2nd century by Tyche and Isis-Tyche all over the Hellenistic world.<sup>48</sup>

#### FEMALE FIGURES. APHRODITE: Nos. 15, 16

Two fragments appear to show the same type. Aphrodite stands on a step base in much the same attitude as the Aphrodite of Melos. With her right hand she raises her himation which is blown up by the wind to form a sail-like or shell-like background for the naked upper part of her body. This scheme, doubtless inspired by painting, appears in a tentative form in terracottas already in the 4th century. At Myrina the contrast between the nude body and the rich color and texture of the material is fully exploited in several brilliant pieces. One is in Boston;<sup>49</sup> another, in Berlin, is full of movement.<sup>50</sup> Our piece, even when complete, would have been a vapid echo of these finer examples. The shell or sail-like aspect of the drapery is often played upon as a theme, at first on plastic lekythoi, then on terracottas, in order to suggest the marine origin of the goddess.<sup>51</sup>

A little Eros stands beside our Aphrodite, but he does not play a vital part in the composition. He is an adjunct, a symbol no more significant than the fan or the flowers that on No. 16 enliven the edge of the drapery, as though carelessly caught there. These flowers are plastic additions intended to give life, but they cannot hide the limp modelling of the hand and drapery. Despite the depth of the figurine, noted above, it is an "einansichtige Gruppe," a scene translated from painting into clay. The same spirit is visible in the marble statuettes that were popular at this period.<sup>52</sup> This type of figure, a creation of the 4th century, is by some unknown process revived thus at the end of the 2nd century. It was picked up by the Romans and even survived antiquity to be recast at length with vitality and ingenuity by Botticelli.

No other draped scraps worthy of consideration have been found in our deposits of this period.

#### HEADS: Nos. 17-21

During this period the old Praxitelean facial types and their variants were dying out<sup>53</sup> and new forms were being created for the new repertory. The first class still

<sup>48</sup> *TK II*, pp. 170-173.

<sup>49</sup> D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, pl. II, no. 6. The date of this piece now seems to me to lie in the late 3rd century B.C.; cf. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 102, no. 1367 (mould).

<sup>50</sup> A. Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pl. 88. Cf. T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 352, fig. 418, a more commonplace treatment.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Mollard, *Cat. II Myrina*, pls. 32, 33. Roman variants are numerous, for example, B.S.A. and Hellenic Society Archaeological Reports, 1961-62, p. 50, fig. 7 and in the Kocabaş collection in Istanbul, no. 1024.

<sup>52</sup> *Priene*, pp. 371-373, figs. 465-469.

<sup>53</sup> Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 31-33.

retains the soft features of the coroplastic tradition which had descended with only slight changes from the 4th century. The second class, on the other hand, turns to sculpture and to bronzes for new inspiration. These modern faces have large coarse features, clearly articulated, but without any subtlety in the modelling of details. Our Nos. 17-19 will illustrate the first class for us here; Nos. 20, 21, the second class. These styles are naturally found in contemporary deposits. They represent the old and new traditions in the Athenian shops, traditions that coexisted well down to the end of the Hellenistic age.

A good example of the treatment of the traditional type in the mid 2nd century is a female head from our "Egyptian Cistern" (No. 17). It could readily have belonged to an Aphrodite, but it is too large for our existing fragments (Nos. 15, 16). The gray-blond clay, the blurred features, with incisive touches only in the neck rings and hair, are characteristic of the style. The coiffure is a complex version of the bow-knot that adorned many Aphrodite figures of the earlier Hellenistic period. In this phase the hair is drawn in two strands back from the forehead to be tied in a spreading, butterfly-shaped bow at the crown; two other strands are rolled back beside the face and tied in a bun at the nape.<sup>44</sup> The face itself ultimately derives from the Praxitelean type, but it has lost its piquancy. The mouth is small, set high and level; the chin descends in an almost straight line into the neck. The profile is angular, almost hatchet-shaped, as it slopes out from the hair to the nose-tip and back at a similar angle to the neck. The cheeks have little fullness. The verticality of the old classical profile is lost, largely from carelessness in the modelling of transitions. This sloppy face has a vapid expression like that on the faces of many marble Aphrodites of the period.

The same profile and much the same expression appear on a male head (No. 18). The thick locks of hair surrounding the face in loops derive from bronzes. They have no longer the wild movement of the locks on our large Satyr head.<sup>45</sup> The orange flesh color of No. 18 becomes common among males at this time. The head would therefore be suitable for an Eros or a Dionysiac figure. The soft yellow-blond fabric and the style, then, as well as the context, place this head a little before *ca.* 160 B.C.

The next head (No. 19) belongs to the same type as No. 18. Its measurements indicate that it is a shade less than 10% smaller than its predecessor, a difference that may well represent a coroplastic generation.<sup>46</sup> It closely follows the archetype, not only in the locks of hair but in the tense forehead and down-turned mouth. But it looks entirely different. A deft hand has changed the character by sharpening details—by intensifying the frown, accentuating the eyelids, strengthening the muscles of the cheeks and chin. The use of tan-blond clay and the strong white slip that

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 87, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. R. V. Nicholls, *B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 220, note 23.

we shall observe frequently in the next groups of terracottas is peculiarly characteristic of the late 2nd century and on to the time of Sulla. In work of this technique the pale flesh color is contrasted with the dark red hair, a color painted directly on the clay. The effect is thus made pictorial. This head calls to mind the marble portrait of an unknown man sometimes identified as King Kotys of Thrace.<sup>87</sup> Both have the rumpled hair, the furrowed forehead, the tense frown, the small alert eyes, the nervous mouth. Seldom does a clay head look so much like a portrait, but the earlier specimen of the same type (No. 18) shows that these elements belong less to an individual than to a style. Portraits of this style are rare. It is interesting to find an example dated before the Sullan catastrophe which presumably owes nothing to Italian influences.<sup>88</sup>

Within the same quarter century we can also probably place two female heads (Nos. 20, 21) from contexts that date definitely later than 150 B.C. but decidedly before the sack of Sulla. Both have been burned, perhaps in the sack itself. Their style is bolder and less sensitive than that of No. 19. Both heads are tipped markedly backward, a favorite pose at this period. The wreath of No. 20 was attached by a series of jabs of the graver to the unworked back of the head, a technique that we first noted on an example of the second quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>89</sup> The hair has been brushed back in wide flanges on either side of the face; the eyes are shallow and thick-lidded; the mouth bowed; the narrow cheeks slope sharply to give the face the "hatchet-shape" mentioned above. The total effect is expressionless.

Similar in features and possibly from the same archetype is a head (No. 21) wearing a bank of curls above the forehead. This coiffure is neither the high *onkos* of tragedy nor the Flavian court fashion. It can be observed in Asia Minor as early as the time of the statue of "Artemisia" and reaches considerable popularity in the 2nd century.<sup>90</sup> The face of this head resembles that of a Nike from Myrina which wears this same coiffure.<sup>91</sup> Since our head appears to be of Athenian manufacture, we may regard it as another example of the influence of Asia Minor on terracotta style in Athens.<sup>92</sup> The hard, unmodulated finish suggests that here, as also on Nos. 5 and 15, the coroplast was following marble prototypes.

<sup>87</sup> J.H.S., XVII, 1897, p. 324, pl. XI, identified as a king who died before 17 B.C. L. Laurenzi, *Ritratti greci*, Florence, 1941, p. 121, pl. XXX, no. 75, dated ca. 200 B.C.

<sup>88</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Greek Portraits*, III (*Collection Latomus*, XLVIII), pls. XXXf, figs. 141f., pp. 35f. shows a marble head in Copenhagen not unlike ours.

<sup>89</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 312, no. 18.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 28f.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39f.

<sup>92</sup> Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXIX, no. 72.

<sup>93</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 310, no. 15.



## CONCLUSION

Obviously we do not have sufficient evidence for many concluding comments on the style of the mid 2nd century. In passing we have noted the growing predilection for mythological types, a reaction from the almost exclusive preoccupation with genre that characterized the preceding century. The large scale of the figures of Papposilenos and the satyr suggests that the shrines or house niches were becoming larger and religious interests increasing. It is also noticeable that at this time clay begins to follow marble rather than bronze and to produce a number of academic "objets d'art" for those who could not afford the better media. The number of pretentious cornucopias that we reviewed implies, even in the absence of their bearers, a rising interest in symbolism, a taste soon to be converted to a banal formula.

The heads that were studied here point to the dichotomy between the traditional coroplastic style and the academic revival. It is an eclectic period. As men began to travel widely and to desire souvenirs, the demands of the tourist trade aroused a new coroplastic energy, but in an entirely different spirit than in the classical period. In our next article we shall see how the coroplasts met the new demands.

## CATALOGUE

The terminology used in this Catalogue is that previously followed in this series of articles; see *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 288. The contexts are indicated before the measurements; for their chronology, see the list, p. 50. The grouping is not by contexts but by types.

## SILENS AND SATYR

## 1 (T 3296) Seated Papposilenos. Pl. 13.

Area M 16. P. H. 11 cm.; P. T. 4.8 cm. Buff clay; burned. Traces of red on left leg. Black glaze on back with marks of attachment. Back closed, without vent.

Torso and thighs of fat hairy figure that was originally attached to a vase.

*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 279, A 13; T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, p. 40, AT 12.

## 2 (T 111) Papposilenos fragment. Pl. 13.

Area G 17, disturbed late 4th to early 3rd century context. P. H. 4.4 cm. Buff clay, fired grayish. Pinkish flesh; yellow on fur;

blue-green on leaves. Back broken away.

Wears a hairy garment, long beard, moustache. On head bound wreath over ivy wreath.

## 3 (T 2959) Papposilenos fragment. Pl. 13.

Disturbed context. P. H. 7.3 cm. Golden buff clay; thick hard fabric; glaze adhesive on joint; very smooth surface with no slip. Burned. Broken all round.

Model for a silen figure wearing himation drawn tightly over a hairy right leg.

## 4 (T 2601) Mould fragment: Papposilenos. Pl. 13.

Disturbed context to 3rd century. Max. dim. 12.5 cm.; T. 3 cm. Pinkish buff clay with fine slip outside. Back much broken.

Lower part of left side of sizable figure wearing himation over hairy left leg.

## 5 (T 2929) Papposilenos. Pl. 14.

D 17:5. P. H. 38 cm.; H. base 4.8 cm.; W. base 12.5 cm.; Max. dim. shoulder fragment

11.3 cm. Dull buff clay. Red glaze at joint and on top of right shoulder. Back mouldmade but unmodelled; large rectangular opening. Square opening inside arm.

Much of figure preserved, including non-joining right shoulder. Wears hairy garment under himation; traces of beard. Double-soled forked sandal. High moulded base. Many small non-joining fragments uncatalogued.

Webster, *Mon. Illust. Trag. and Sat. Play*, p. 41, AT 15; he associates with this figure the cornucopia that was later found to join our No. 7.

**6 (T 3555) Head of Papposilenos. Pl. 13.**

O 17:7. P. H. 5.3 cm. Blond-gray clay; orange flesh. Broken across forehead.

Bearded head with thick-lidded eyes, stubby nose, thick lips. Wears an ivy wreath.

**7 (T 3671) Satyr fragment. Fig. 1; Pls. 13, 14.**

D 17:5. P. H. cornucopia 9 cm.; satyr fragment 4.5 cm. Dull buff clay; reddish flesh; dark red on hair. Most of head missing. Mouth pierced; hole in corner of left jaw (for firing?). Upper part of cornucopia hollow.

Chin and neck of figure that held cornucopia high against left shoulder. On the cornucopia double ring mouldings from relief scene of two figures: draped bearded male looking to his right, draped female looking to her left. Both lean on trees.

**CORNUCOPIAE**

**8 (T 3133) Cornucopia. Pl. 15.**

Filling that immediately preceded Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 9.5 cm.; diam. of top 2.6 cm. Pale buff clay, reddish at core. Hard fabric; solid. Back flattened. Yellow sizing on spiral; pink on upper part. Broken at both ends.

Thin stem, spirally twisted at bottom; smooth upper part emerges from leaf calyx and is bound by fillet; flaring rim with grapes hanging over it; other fruit missing.

<sup>24</sup> See Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, p. 23.

**9 (T 2712) Cornucopia fragment. Pl. 15.**

C 20:2. P. H. 4.3 cm. Buff clay; traces of red glaze adhesive at lower right. Solid. Broken at bottom. Most of fruit missing.

Upper part with ring mouldings. Traces of attachment to left arm.

**10 (T 3557) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.**

M 18:10. P. H. 5.3 cm.; W. top 3.1 cm.; H. frieze 2.2 cm. Pale buff clay. Broken below, top, back. Mouldmade front, with hand-flattened back; solid.

Grapes, apple, fig preserved on top with traces of rising wheat behind. Dentil moulding above relief frieze showing three draped female figures. Stem apparently fluted below.

**11 (T 1922) Cornucopia fragment. Pl. 15.**

E 15:4. P. H. 5.2 cm.; W. top 3 cm.; H. frieze 2.5 cm. Blond clay, gray at core. Solid. Broken at both ends. Fruit missing.

Dull impression of three draped females in upper zone, as on No. 10.

**12 (T 1246) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.**

E 6:1-2. P. H. 9.4 cm.; diam. at top 5.3 cm.; P. H. relief 4.3 cm. Tan clay, reddish core. Two moulds; join by glaze adhesive. Broken at back and bottom. Yellow sizing covered with black indicates gilding<sup>24</sup> on mouldings and figures. Some fruit missing.

Cornucopia had been held against left arm of figure. Grapes and cake(?) preserved on top, which is rounded. Flaring mouth decorated with ring mouldings. Relief zone shows one draped female facing out, with upraised right arm; the other holds a scepter.

**13 (T 2557) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.**

C 20:2. P. H. 6.4 cm.; diam. at top 3.5 cm.; P. H. frieze 3.3 cm. Buff clay; yellow sizing for gilding on mouldings and figures. Mauve

background composed of blue and pink; red on fruits. Two moulds; join by glaze adhesive. Traces of attachment to left side of figure. Broken all round.

Ring mouldings above a single dancing figure.

- 14 (T 550) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.

Late Hellenistic context with some late Roman disturbance. P. H. 9 cm.; diam. at top 3.7 cm.; H. frieze 2.6 cm. Blond clay. Traces of yellow sizing for gilding on mouldings and background; pink on drapery. Broken at both ends. Hollow; front part only preserved. Plaster mould.

Imbricated top and ring mouldings. Frieze shows three dancers holding hands moving to their right. Lower shaft plain with ring mouldings.

*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 101, pl. 23.

#### FEMALE FIGURES

- 15 (T 1244) Aphrodite and Eros. Pl. 15.

E 6:1. P. H. 12 cm.; H. base 2.5 cm. Blond clay, soft fabric. Traces of oval vent. Back convex, unmodelled. Step base. Plaster mould. Restored at proper left side.

Lower part of group; Eros stands at left of Aphrodite. Her himation is wrapped around her legs and lifted by her right hand.

- 16 (P 8593) Drapery from Aphrodite figure. Pl. 15.

E 6:2. P. H. 7.8 cm. Blond clay. Yellow sizing for gilding on fan; pink on flowers. Glaze adhesive at join between back and front. Most of back missing.

Fragment, perhaps from plastic vase, of right hand holding up himation; apparently from

preceding type, but larger in scale. Quatrefoil flowers attached along edge of drapery.

#### HEADS

- 17 (T 1245) Female Head. Pl. 16.

E 6:1. P. H. 5.8 cm. Blond-gray clay. Dark red on hair. Back of neck and top of hair broken away.

Tipped slightly to left. Wears hair in part, drawn up to bow at top of head and to knot at nape. Grooves on neck.

- 18 (T 3343) Male Head. Pl. 16.

Area H 14. P. H. 4.6 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Incised band and traces of adhesive for attachment of wreath. Back unworked.

Hair in curls around face. Grooves on neck.

- 19 (T 1026) Male Head. Pl. 16.

D 12:2. P. H. 4 cm. Dull buff clay; dark red on hair; pinkish flesh. Back broken.

Head from same archetype as preceding, but smaller.

- 20 (T 3543) Female Head. Pl. 16.

Area A 9, under modern ticket office, Channel 7. P. H. 5.5 cm. Tan-reddish clay. Burned. Back unworked.

Wears wreath of fruit beneath thick wreath, which is attached by jabs of graver. Head tilted backward to left.

- 21 (T 993) Female Head. Pl. 16.

E 10:1. P. H. 5.3 cm. Blond-gray clay, burned. Red on hair; yellowish flesh. Back missing; traces of glaze adhesive.

Wears double row of curls topped by wreath, which is partly missing. Head tipped backward.

## CONTEXTS

Listed below are the contexts in which the figurines discussed in this article were found. The Deposit numbers of these contexts are those of the National grid, to be found on the Actual State Plan in the volumes of the *Athenian Agora* series. For the evidence on which the dating is based, see detailed references given in *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 317.

- Area A 9, channel 7—late 2nd century to Sullan sack: **20**  
 Area H 14, working floor for Middle Stoa—to ca. 160 B.C.: **18**  
 C 20:2 Terracotta Factory deposit—to sack of Sulla: **9, 13**  
 D 12:2—late 2nd century to Sulla and after?: **19**  
 D 17:5 Upper Filling—third quarter of 2nd century: **5, 7**  
 E 6:1-2—third quarter of 2nd century: **12, 15-17**  
 E 10:1—late 2nd to early 1st century: **21**  
 E 15:4—second quarter of the 2nd century: **11**  
 M 18:10—early 2nd century: **10**  
 O 17:7—to ca. 150 B.C.: **6**

## VI LATE SECOND CENTURY B.C. TO 86 B.C.

The siege of Athens by Sulla and its resultant sack in mid March, 86 B.C. set a firm lower date for the late Hellenistic period in Athens.<sup>1</sup> Sulla came, he said, not to learn ancient history, but to punish rebels, which he did so effectively that he virtually ended ancient history in that metropolis. Although he is said to have spared the houses of the citizens, our excavations bear testimony to considerable damage in the residential sections near the Agora, sufficient indeed to cause the filling of many wells and cisterns with refuse. This abundant material provides us with clearer evidence for the style and technique of coroplastic art during the decades preceding the destruction than we possess for the preceding century. We shall therefore use the date of the siege of Athens as the line of division between the Middle and Late Hellenistic periods. Owing to the existence of this body of material larger than we could present for the earlier decades, we shall revert to our previous system of study of the material by groups. This article deals with those that were deposited no later than the time of Sulla. They inevitably also contain some earlier pieces. The first group in this series includes the pottery which was published under the title, "Group E"; the next is the Herakles Deposit and finally we give selections from two miscellaneous deposits.<sup>2</sup>

## VI, A: GROUP E (E 15:2, F 15:2)

A fragment of a marble inscription dating from 122/1 B.C. found in the filling of the cistern sets a formal upper limit for the deposit; in all likelihood, however, the stele was broken in 86 B.C. and discarded soon thereafter.<sup>3</sup> The amphora handles

<sup>1</sup> A vivid account of the catastrophe, with full ancient references, is given by W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 448ff.

<sup>2</sup> The photographs are all by Alison Frantz.

<sup>3</sup> The pottery from this group was published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392-427.

appear to fall well before Sulla, but the pottery goes down into the early 1st century.<sup>4</sup> The drawshaft (E 15:2) contained a terracotta head (No. 3); the chamber (F 15:2), which apparently was filled a little later, held the draped fragment and the kithara (Nos. 1, 2).

#### TECHNIQUE

The technique of the few pieces found in this cistern is not homogeneous. The draped figure (No. 1) has been fired hard; its surface remained a golden buff, but its core turned pinkish as in pieces from the Kosmos Cistern and in other examples of the early 2nd century.<sup>5</sup> This hard ware with glossy surface has previously been encountered in deposits of the first half of the 2nd century.<sup>6</sup> We must therefore regard our No. 1 as probably a survivor from a period long before the date of its discard. The common fabric of the late 2nd century is markedly different, as is well attested by the groups that follow.

The head (No. 3), on the other hand, is different from either of the two fabrics just mentioned. Its color is brownish, not unlike that of the Papposilenos and satyr of the preceding article in this series, but even browner.<sup>7</sup> The head is poorly joined between back and front so that the neck appears very thick. The hair is carefully stippled all over the head to give the effect of closely cropped hair. Glaze was used to set the flat-bottomed neck on the body, a new technique in Athens. These details all seem to be of earlier date than techniques prevalent at the time of Sulla.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

The draped figure (No. 1) probably held the kithara (No. 2), though the fabric is not identical. The kithara is often played by ladies from Myrina who may or may not be regarded as Muses.<sup>8</sup> The breaks on the left of the figure and on the right of the kithara suit the hypothesis that the instrument was resting beside her on a post.

The size and quality of this figure are unusual in Athens. It is interesting to see how the rendering differs from the small genuine "Tanagras" of the early 3rd century. Structurally, the body retains an old form that has been called the "Sophokles-type" because it follows the Lateran Sophokles.<sup>9</sup> Owing to the damaged condition

<sup>4</sup> Though this cistern was probably abandoned in 86 B.C., it contained much earlier material. V. Grace believes that the stamped amphora handles are appreciably earlier than the time of Sulla (June, 1963).

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 283, no. 4; p. 305, no. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, no. 256.

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 34-35.

<sup>8</sup> E. Pottier, S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, Paris, 1888 (hereafter *Nécropole*), pl. XXXIII, 6; *TK*, II, p. 67, 3, 4.

<sup>9</sup> G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafigures*, Berlin, 1942, pp. 95-105, pl. 5. The E scratched on the back of our figure must be discussed later in our final publication.

of this example, we cannot appreciate the pose or structure of the figure but only the drapery. The folds follow their original courses, but not in the luxuriant variety of earlier days.<sup>10</sup> They emphasize the main lines, leaving most of the surface restfully quiet. These folds are light and thin; but they still retain their proper structure. The rounded upper edge of each fold curls like a rising wave over the material beneath. Such folds exhibit marked profiles along the contour of the body. In Myrina late "Tanagra" types are often lightly etched with folds like these, which are fundamentally linear in effect.<sup>11</sup> Large dramatic figures treated in this style appear in Abdera and in Ilion in the early 2nd century.<sup>12</sup> Coroplasts as well as artists were beginning to elevate the modest women of old Greece to the station of court ladies as was suitable for the subjects of an Asiatic kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Indeed the fabric and style of our piece are peculiar in Athens and more like those of the period in Pergamon.<sup>14</sup> Our present knowledge does not permit us to decide whether or not it is an import.

The male head (No. 3) is well enough modelled to suggest comparison with other pieces. The style, like the fabric, indicates that it was made somewhere in the middle of the 2nd century. It invites comparison particularly with a head from the Komos Cistern.<sup>15</sup> Both heads are sharply inclined, but our head is tipped markedly backward in the manner of other mid 2nd century heads.<sup>16</sup> The features on the two heads also differ. That from the Komos Cistern follows the coroplastic tradition. The modelling is plastic. The brows are tensely drawn; the eyes are deep-set; the mouth is soft and mobile; the chin prominent. The features on the head from our present group, in contrast, though bold are fundamentally shallow, applied, as it were, upon the rounded surface rather than growing out of it. The strong-lidded eyes and thick-lipped mouth are emphatic rather than subtle, like those of no. 21 in our mid 2nd century series.<sup>17</sup> The hair is stippled like that on the Komos Cistern head, but more carelessly. This analysis stresses trifling stylistic differences, but they are consistent and serve to show the trend, all through the 2nd century, from the subtle plastic modelling of the old coroplastic tradition to a bolder, coarser treatment. The sculptural type of our head, with its upward tilt of the head and gaze past the spectator, reminds us of the bronze

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 18, 6; XXVI, 1957, pl. 34, no. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXXVIII, no. 102; *Nécropole*, pl. XXXVII, 4, 5; pl. XXXVIII, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 16, A 33. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. XXXII, no. 156; pl. XXXIII, no. 153.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the courtly style of the 3rd century figures in the tomb paintings of Kazanlık, V. Micoff, *Le Tombeau antique de Kazanlık*, Sofia, 1954, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>14</sup> This resemblance is best to be observed on material in the Bergama Museum, to be published by Miss Eva Hoffmann; a head suitable for our piece appears in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, I, 2, Beibl. 34, p. 265, no. 51.

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 72, no. 8.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 83, no. 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 83, no. 21.



head from Delos<sup>18</sup> and perhaps even more of the vigorous realistic coin portrait of Mithradates IV (170-150 B.C.).<sup>19</sup> Our head then, like the draped figure, must have been old when it was discarded into the cistern.

## VI, B: HERAKLES DEPOSIT (C 18:3)

### CONTEXT

A compact mass of waste, presumably from a coroplast's shop, was found just under the hypocaust of a Roman Bath, called the "East Bath," at the western foot of the Areopagus.<sup>20</sup> The pottery was composed of typical late Hellenistic wares, such as late Megarian bowls, incised West Slope ware, barbotine ware, and one early Pergamene plate, all very much like that found in the preceding Group E.<sup>21</sup> It presumably was all discarded at the time of Sulla. Among innumerable terracotta fragments, only a few were decently preserved, but they warrant publication as the largest group of the period from the Agora. Quantities of very small scraps of terracottas that did not join nor even reveal their types, as well as bits of clay and kiln props, indicate the origin of the dumped material in a factory, but are not worthy of publication. The recognizable types are numerous and varied, showing a new fashion in Athenian coroplastics.

### TECHNIQUE

Except for one markedly different specimen, which looks earlier (No. 16), the fabric of the terracottas in this as in the following contexts is strikingly homogeneous. The clay is "blond" (sometimes tan in hue, Nos. 3, 6), often smoked gray. This clay can be shown by analysis of the tempering material to derive from Corinth, a mixture of the red clay from Acrocorinth and white clay from the valleys.<sup>22</sup> The fabric is lightly fired and soft. The white slip is usually very thick, smooth and tenacious; it is used not only as a sizing for color, but as a color itself, on a cloak or on a face (No. 11). The color itself is more fugitive and rather crass. The flesh has a strong jaundiced tone, rather than the healthy orange suntan of the mid 2nd century. The dark red of the hair is dull; the madder pink of the drapery sharp. In

<sup>18</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven and London, 1962, fig. 240.

<sup>19</sup> M. Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 325.

<sup>20</sup> See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 279 ff.

<sup>21</sup> The dating of this pottery was kindly provided by H. S. Robinson and John Hayes, who consider that it falls well before Sulla. The stamped handles were checked by V. Grace in 1963.

<sup>22</sup> Miss Marie Farnsworth kindly analysed specimens from this deposit for me and found them identical with the clays found in these areas of Corinth. She assures me that the minerals found in them are not found in Attic clays.

size the figurines of this group are in general decidedly smaller than those of the mid 2nd century. They are neatly, if mechanically, made in two moulds, both the heads and the bodies. The backs are markedly convex, giving the figures an unattractive clumsiness (Nos. 2, 10-13), noted previously in the earlier examples of this style.<sup>22</sup> This bulkiness was, however, little noticed, for the composition of all the pieces is in one plane, even the groups and scenes (Nos. 7, 8). By this time vents were all oval.

Bases are all moulded, as in other late 2nd century deposits such as the shops of Delos.<sup>24</sup> Plastic ornament is very common, applied as surface elaboration as in the Egyptian Cistern; <sup>25</sup> it becomes more luxuriant in the 1st century.

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

##### JOINTED FIGURE: No. 1

One tiny fragment of a seated figure may have been articulated; that more such figures were not found is strange, for the type was flourishing at the time.

##### MALE FIGURES: Nos. 2-3

The pair of stocky legs (No. 2) is a new type which is more fully illustrated in a fragment from the same mould (T 3550; Pl. 17).<sup>26</sup> The short chiton suggests that the type was that of an actor-slave.

Another small figure (No. 3) is nude. He holds his hand on his hip in a position frequent in the dance, with his cloak drawn up over his head.<sup>27</sup>

##### MALE HEADS: Nos. 4-7

The head of Herakles (No. 4a) that gives this deposit its name is a good piece of modelling which stands out among the commonplace material with which it was found. Its gentle expression might perhaps identify it with Zeus or Asklepios but for the presence of the strophion, the athlete's crown. This must be the hero who was adored particularly in the Hellenistic period.

This particular head is so close to the head of a Herakles Epitrapezios recently found at Alba Fucens <sup>28</sup> that we might venture to identify it as copying the famous statue of Lysippos. This hypothesis is supported by the presence in our deposit of

<sup>22</sup> This type of back was first noted in our Egyptian Cistern, above p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Above, p. 35. Cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LIV, nos. 272f.

<sup>25</sup> See above note 23.

<sup>26</sup> From Deposit O 17:5, of the early 2nd century, disturbed in the early 1st century after Christ. P. H. 7.5 cm.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 147, fig. 61, no. 63, a satyr dancing with his arms akimbo; cf. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, p. 39, AT 2.

<sup>28</sup> F. De Visser, *Heracles Epitrapezios*, Paris, 1962 (*L'Antiquité classique*, XXX, 1961, 1), pls. IV-VI; cf. L. Pernier, "Copie italiche dell'Heracles Epitrapezios di Lisippo," *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1937, I, pp. 33-39, publishes a copy, not unlike ours, that was found with a coin of Julius Caesar.



a large left leg (No. 4b) of suitable scale and fabric to go with the head and bearing the same suntanned flesh color. The musculature of this leg is very pronounced. The protruding heel never touched the base, a detail which can be paralleled on certain copies of the Herakles Epitrapezios.<sup>29</sup> We cannot, however, rule out that our fragments may come from a figure of Herakles in another pose.

In this connection it is interesting to compare our head with two others from the Agora. The first (T 1336; Pl. 18) has already been discussed in relation to our large Satyr head.<sup>30</sup> Its context permits it to date as late as the early 2nd century,<sup>31</sup> but the vivid plasticity of the modelling, the fairly soft fabric and the treatment of the eyes all suggest that it was made before the end of the 3rd century. The head is tossed sharply to its right and tipped backward so that it accords well with Martial's description of a small bronze version of Lysippos' famous statue;

" quaeque tulit spectat resupino sidera vultu "  
(*Ep.* IX, 43)

The crown was apparently composed of leaves bound by a twisted fillet or strophion as on several versions of this statue.<sup>32</sup> The eyebrows are knotted and the right eyeball, which would have been heavily shadowed, was touched by the graver to give it life. The back of the head is left unmodelled, an unusual feature in a rendering like a bronze. This looks like a study piece, not unlike the silen head from our Group B.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, were it not for the structure of the face and of the hair, which appear to have been drawn from a mould, and for the color, we might regard this head as a model. As it is, we may merely note its resemblance to the heads of Herakles in Stuttgart and in Vienna<sup>34</sup> and surmise that the inspiration was a work of the Lysippan school.

The second head to be discussed (T 2297; Pl. 18) comes from a context that contained early Megarian bowls and West Slope ware. It is mouldmade from the same prototype as the preceding piece, but it was not made from that head as archetype. Both heads wear the strophion, but on the second example the wreath has been cast with the head, not applied to it. The eyes are also very like. The hair, on the other hand, is worked in shallow waves all over the head as on a bronze. The fabric of this second head is like that of some of the later pieces in the Komos Cistern;<sup>35</sup> its color is a warm buff, fired fairly hard, pinkish at the core. We may therefore place it

<sup>29</sup> De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, fig. 22; pl. XXVI, fig. 24.

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 246, pl. 87, T 1336.

<sup>31</sup> Deposit N 13:3 was in general not later than the second quarter of the 3rd century, but further investigations show a fragment of a Megarian bowl, two lamps and a coin of ca. 172 B.C. that bring the date of abandonment down into the early 2nd century.

<sup>32</sup> De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pls. XX, XXIII, fig. 19.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pl. 35, no. 6.

<sup>34</sup> De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, fig. 9; pl. XXVI, fig. 24.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 74, nos. 4 and 16.

slightly later than the preceding example, say in the early years of the 2nd century. Spiritually, it seems less intense than the first head. Although the eyes are still deep-set and alert, the forehead furrowed, the beard somewhat wild, the glance seems to be turned inward rather than upward. A calmer mood prevails as on a large marble head from Pergamon and on a clay version in Florence.<sup>44</sup>

The vitality that fills these two small heads has faded from the third, that is No. 4a from the Herakles Cistern. In size it is identical with the two preceding pieces, It obviously follows the same archetype. Certain slight differences, however, have altered the whole aspect of this version. The head sits straight on the neck, a pose inevitably suggestive of calm. The strophion has been attached by jabs of the graver, a technique that we first observed in the second quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>45</sup> The hair is lightly incised, as on the preceding example. The forehead is higher than on the other pieces, an intellectual rather than an athletic brow. The eyes are small and benign, without focus and without fire. The nose is thick, with a blunt tip of the same width as the bridge. The lips are smaller and less sensuous than previously. In the beard we observe the greatest change; it has shrunk and grown neat. All in all, this head looks like an academic rendering of the previous types. In spirit it has close analogies in many academic bronzes, in many terracottas which have been collected by M. Laumonier,<sup>46</sup> and even in certain marbles.<sup>47</sup> Of these perhaps the closest is the head of the colossal statue of the Epitrapezios type recently found at Alba Fucens.<sup>48</sup> De Visscher sees in this statue the older Herakles, not the rugged athlete. This is the Herakles who was highly regarded by the Romans, the hero who had successfully accomplished his tasks, who had vanquished death and achieved immortality.<sup>49</sup> In this mood Herakles received his devotees as *parasitoi* at a ritual banquet over which he presided, *epitrapezios*, as the beneficent genius of the feast.

The artistic taste that created the first heads can be related reasonably closely to the Lysippan School. The spirit that infuses our latest head is rather the sober academic mood of Damophon and Eukleides.<sup>50</sup> Another example from the same cycle is a bearded protome to be discussed below (p. 67, No. 6).

Another male head, a mere fragment (No. 5), is of even larger scale; unbearded, the face would have had a height of at least 6 cm. The knotted forehead and untidy locks are like those of Gauls and Satyrs.<sup>51</sup> The eyes protrude, with thick narrow lids,

<sup>44</sup> De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, fig. 8; cf. J. Vogt, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, 2, pl. XXXV, 3, p. 119. P. H. 7.6 cm., handmade?

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 312, no. 18.

<sup>46</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, p. 132.

<sup>47</sup> De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 4; pl. XV, fig. 6; pl. XVII, fig. 10.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. IV-VI, p. 14 dated in the early 1st century B.C.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-39.

<sup>50</sup> Bieber, *Sculpture*, figs. 665f., 671f.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 373, 424f.

a form of eye that reached its greatest popularity ca. 200 B.C. but continued for some time thereafter." This head seems also to revert for its inspiration to the art of the Pergamene School.

It is distressing that a small bearded head (No. 6) has lost most of its surface. The pointed beard is modelled in soft shallow locks that also look as though they had been copied from a classical prototype. It appears softer and more academic than the Papposilenos head which we considered characteristic of the mid 2nd century<sup>46</sup> and again illustrates the emasculation of once vigorous types.

#### DRAPED CHILD: No. 7

In keeping with our previous observation that male types seem to predominate at this period, we note that only a few scraps of drapery and one poor figure represent the honorable "Tanagra" tradition. This figure of a child (No. 7) stands in quiet pose, wrapped in an himation. The surface and the surviving part of the head are almost blank. Only the right arm and leg are sufficiently articulated to indicate the type. It is in fact a common type. In its earliest Hellenistic stages, it represents a bright little boy, the counterpart of a little girl whom we first met in the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>47</sup> It is illuminating to trace this type through the long history that ended in its effacement.

The Hellenistic type goes back ultimately to the canonical draped figure of the early 4th century. The difference between a specimen from an early 4th century well in the Agora and an example from a context of the very latest 4th century<sup>48</sup> is striking. The right arm is bent upward under the himation which is drawn to the left hip by the left hand gathered in a large fold. The earlier figure is rigid and the drapery merely indicated. The later piece has more volume than the photograph suggests. The right arm asserts itself through the cloak; the left leg is firmly advanced; the himation hangs down the left side in a series of overlapping edges. A little later in style is a pretty piece in the British Museum (Pl. 19).<sup>49</sup> The theme has here been delicately refined by articulating the right arm and leg with clarity, by drawing a few fine folds across the body and by curling the fold of the himation into a spiral that suggests both weight and volume. Such subtlety is characteristic of the years around 300 B.C. The next step is visible in a number of run-of-the-mill copies of this type that were found on the Pnyx in a sanctuary deposit of conservative character.<sup>50</sup> In a context

<sup>46</sup> Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> Above, pp. 38-39.

<sup>48</sup> *TK*, II, p. 240, 3, 4. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 132-136, pl. 34, no. 20.

<sup>49</sup> Agora T 3363; from Deposit Q 15:2, H. 11 cm.; T 168, from Deposit F 16:6, P. H. 8 cm.

<sup>50</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1903, pl. XXX, C 334, here reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. H. 9.8 cm. Acropolis Museum 1275 is a delicate elaboration of the type, which may well have inspired the Boeotian copy.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. examples from the Pnyx, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, fig. 19, 1, m.

in the Agora that dates from the mid to the late 3rd century we find a spirited reworking of the type (T 884; Pl. 19).<sup>80</sup> Its fabric is harder and duller in color than the previous examples and it has an oval vent. We may date it therefore probably not long after the middle of the 3rd century. It exhibits the strong plastic sense characteristic of the period. The rather flat composition has now a marked volume; the right arm is sharply bent to set off a triangular area at an angle to the front. The figure tapers toward the bottom, giving an effect of slenderness to the type that retains its original height.<sup>81</sup> It is interesting to note that whereas on the earlier examples the depth was produced by the advanced leg and the rounded body, on this figure the structure of the body is lost under the enveloping himation and the hanging fold swings forward to replace the function of the advanced leg in the earlier composition. In other words, the feeling for the structure of the body has been replaced by an interest in the mass of textiles. Beside these skillful pieces, our specimen from the Herakles Deposit is indeed a decadent descendant. It has so flattened out that all sense of volume is lost. That it was not alone in its period is shown by the numerous fragments of dispirited figures that fill museums. The most degenerate form, decidedly smaller than our figure, appears in an early Roman context in the Agora (T 3063; Pl. 19).<sup>82</sup> To judge from its pale blond fabric and complete lack of modelling, it was probably made in the 1st century B.C. It is thinner in relation to its height than No. 7 and even more indistinct.

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 8, 9

A head fragment (No. 8) of about the same scale as our No. 5 is more mechanically rendered than the other heads in this deposit. It resembles a complete large face that will be discussed below (Miscellaneous Contexts, No. 4) and might indeed be derived from the same archetype. An earlier rendering occurs in a head from the Pnyx.<sup>83</sup> The nose on both is thick and stubby; the open eyes have sharp lids of which the upper lid is strongly arched; the lids do not meet at the inner corners. This facial type appears in sculpture of the 2nd century, as, for example on a head from Alexandria.<sup>84</sup> Our clay version has a smooth surface that seems to relate it to certain masks, but they have pierced eyes.<sup>85</sup> These sizable clay heads are unfortunately too seldom well preserved to indicate their character.

<sup>80</sup> T 884, from Deposit E 14:1. P. H. 8.5 cm.

<sup>81</sup> The same tendency was noted on other similar versions of old types, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 303 ff., nos. 1-3.

<sup>82</sup> From Area I 10. P. H. 6 cm.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, fig. 58, no. 48.

<sup>84</sup> Bieber, *Sculpture*, figs. 328f. A. Adriani, *Testimonianze e Momenti di Scultura alessandrina*, Rome, 1948, pp. 5ff., pls. I, II.

<sup>85</sup> Thompson, *Tray Figurines*, p. 120, pl. XXIX, no. 134. Agora T 965 of blond clay is a coarse rendering of the same type.

In contrast, the girl's head (No. 9) follows the older coroplastic tradition. We all recognize the full face with small, lively features, the thick curls hanging to the shoulders, the high bow of hair that once stood erect at the back of her head behind the narrow unbound wreath. These elements are like those of a head in the Komos Cistern.<sup>66</sup> We note, however, that the fabric, though redder than the usual blond clay of this deposit, is still not far removed from it in texture, that the back of the head is shallow and unworked, and that the wreath has been attached by jabs of the graver. We need not date this head much earlier than the rest of the pieces found with it though it certainly represents an earlier tradition.<sup>67</sup>

#### ACTOR: No. 10

Another example of the long life of certain creations of the 4th century is the example of the actor seated on an altar, meditating mischief (No. 10). The type is remarkably close to that found in our Coroplast's Dump.<sup>68</sup> It differs in certain telltale ways, however, from the archetype of the third quarter of the 4th century. Though it is of almost the same height, it is much more slender, following the trend toward elongation that we noted in No. 7. The broad paunch of the earlier type has been compressed by crossing the left arm over it and resting the right elbow upon it in a pose called *os columnatum*. The vivid mask of the earlier head is skillfully reduced to one plane. The convex back gives the figure greater actual thickness, but no sense of volume. Only these small differences can be noted between these products that were made at least two hundred years apart. Coming down to our period, we should compare our Athenian representative of this common type with Delian examples of the time just before the Mithradatic Wars.<sup>69</sup> These are so close as to indicate a high degree of standardization at this period. This is one of the Athenian types that continued intact far into Imperial times. An example from the Agora of the mid 3rd century after Christ<sup>70</sup> shows our pose in reverse. This actor wears a gaily colored quilted garment, but he is the same saucy slave after 600 years of repetition.

A variant of this type, in which the actor's hands are crossed at the wrists, is given by a handsome bronze statuette in the Princeton Art Museum.<sup>71</sup> An Agora terracotta fragment from a context of the 1st century B.C. (T 2581; Pl. 20)<sup>72</sup> shows

<sup>66</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 73, no. 17.

<sup>67</sup> For a somewhat similar late version of an earlier type of head, cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LI, no. 256.

<sup>68</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 38, nos. 44-46.

<sup>69</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 92, no. 1219; cf. no. 1220.

<sup>70</sup> C. Grandjourn, *Athenian Agora*, VI, Princeton, 1961, pl. 32, no. 1110.

<sup>71</sup> *TK*, II, p. 419, 67; Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 382f., p. 96. Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 39, no. 427 (1st century A.D.?).

<sup>72</sup> P. H. 5.4 cm., found with "Pergamene" pottery.

the same type with the hands reversed. This example was made in a plaster mould; the blond clay looks local.

Groups: Nos. 11-13

In contrast with the foregoing hackneyed versions of old themes the novel types in this deposit are more interesting. Aphrodite is prominent in the repertory, but not as a statuesque goddess; rather, as the protagonist of pictorial scenes. On one example (No. 11) the goddess sits like a mere nymph on a rock, half-naked, lifting her long lock of hair and holding high her himation so that the wind blows it up like a sail behind her, as in an example in the preceding article of this series.<sup>63</sup> As on that piece, here too the wind that blows out the cloak like a sail—or shell—behind her brings with it quatrefoil flowers that catch on the edge—a revival of the rosettes on plastic lekythoi of the 4th century.<sup>64</sup> The pose of the goddess, who looks sharply back at her son, as he opens her mirror, is frequently seen on Hellenistic terracottas. Our piece bears a close resemblance to an *arula* of the same period from Abdera.<sup>65</sup> On both pieces the Aphrodite is essentially the same figure, although larger and better modelled on the altar. But there she holds the edge of her cloak rather meaninglessly, for the sail-like portion has been omitted. On the altar, the Eros, also fundamentally the same type, does not stand at the left of the goddess to receive her glance and close the composition, but he runs up to her with the mirror on her other side. The shifts of composition and the adjustments of detail on the larger relief to the requirements of a smaller scene are interesting in showing the tendency toward pictorial compositions that began to preoccupy the coroplasts of the later period. It is significant of the growing enthusiasm for the past that they owe much of their inspiration to the plastic lekythoi of the 4th century.<sup>66</sup>

Similar in spirit is another little group involving Aphrodite and Eros (No. 12). The goddess leans lazily upon her son as a support. To help bear her weight, the little god, doubtless here represented as a statue, patiently clasps his hands under his chin, thus parodying a Telamon. The pose is reminiscent of that of Eros beside Aphrodite that we found in the Egyptian Cistern,<sup>67</sup> but not enough of that survives for adequate comparison. The strong *déhançement* of the figure resembles that of many late Hellenistic marbles, from the Aphrodite of Melos onward.

We may wonder how the subjects and the treatment of these two groups can so closely resemble those of the 4th century originals in terracotta. Where did the

<sup>63</sup> Above, p. 44.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *TK*, II, p. 199, 4 and *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1952, pl. 35, T 909, from the Kybele Cistern.

<sup>65</sup> Lazariadis, *Abdera*, pl. 17, B 60; cf. similar types, *TK*, II, p. 130, 5, p. 201, 57.

<sup>66</sup> Even the base copies of the 4th century; cf. R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas . . . in the British Museum*, II, London, 1959, pls. 42 f., nos. 1716-1718.

<sup>67</sup> Above, p. 44.

coroplasts find the archetypes? Did old pieces survive some 200 years on back shelves of the shops or in the sanctuaries? Or were the subjects drawn from the great paintings that we have long suspected to have influenced the later artists down into the Roman period? The terracotta versions that we study here have the flavor of chinoiseries, trivial if pretty confections for a jaded market.

#### CHILD ON BIRD: No. 13

Among the most popular Hellenistic terracotta types in Italy that moved eastward with Italian merchants are figures of children riding animals. They become prevalent in Greek lands only in late times.<sup>60</sup> We have already noted the type in our Group C.<sup>61</sup> The libation jug in the hand of this child and the absence of wings imply that he is the baby Dionysos.<sup>62</sup> Miss Toynbee has suggested that the type represents the soul on its journey to the underworld.<sup>63</sup> In any case, the innocent child is a favorite Hellenistic theme.

#### MISCELLANIES: Nos. 14, 15

A fragment from a bust (No. 14) is very like one previously published from the Altar Well.<sup>64</sup> They both show a girlish chest draped by an himation that is drawn together between the breasts by a brooch. The bottom of our present piece is finished; that of the other fragment, previously thought to have been broken, on re-examination is seen to be finished. The two pieces are of identical scale and evidently derive from the same prototype though not from the same mould type. No. 14 is more sharply curved at the side and more crisply modelled. Its disk brooch, in keeping with the taste of its day for plastic ornament, is large. These busts are probably similar in character to one of slightly smaller scale that was originally published as an Attis.<sup>65</sup> On reconsideration we might prefer to identify the very feminine features and cap as those of Artemis, perhaps in her Thracian form, who we know was worshipped in the Peiraeus. Such an offering might well have been offered by votaries in one of her sanctuaries near the Agora.<sup>66</sup>

A solid little wing (No. 15), reasonably well modelled, gives a good touchstone for the type of wing common in the late 2nd century. Charbonneaux has traced the

<sup>60</sup> *TK*, II, pp. 305-316; Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 137f.

<sup>61</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 78, no. 2.

<sup>62</sup> J. P. Lauer, C. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Serapieion de Memphis*, Paris, 1955, p. 234.

<sup>63</sup> *Antiquity*, XXXIV, 1960, p. 314.

<sup>64</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 131, pl. 26, no. 3, with references to the costume.

<sup>65</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXI, fig. 1, T 2425.

<sup>66</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, nos. 148-151, pl. 18. I owe this interpretation to M. J. Vermaseren, whose knowledge of Attis types made him doubt our former interpretation. Cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, Munich, 1931, p. 452.

development of the wing type in late Hellenistic times, particularly in relation to bronzes and marbles.<sup>75</sup> We have noted that on an example from the Komos Cistern the long primaries or tip feathers were incised carefully and the secondaries were crowded and thick, whereas the tiny tertiaries against the wing-bone were but lightly etched.<sup>76</sup> A specimen of the mid 2nd century, on the other hand, was more boldly modelled without fine detail in the vanes.<sup>77</sup> On the present wing the primaries are long and shallow, also differentiated from the secondaries and rounded tertiaries. This shows a more perfunctory form than that of the wing of the Agon of Mahdia (before 85 B.C.), but it is not unrealistically stylized as the Roman type.<sup>78</sup> Other bits of wings, one colored bright pink, were found in our deposit, attesting to the continued popularity of the child Eros of which only minute scraps of bodies survive.

#### BIRDS: Nos. 16, 17

To be honest in publishing the contents of this deposit we must include the figure of a bird (No. 16), probably a dove, with neatly folded wings and a long rounded tail. Its fine, reddish buff fabric is decidedly early; it suggests the 5th century. This piece can be compared with a solid, less sophisticated version from a context previous to the mid 2nd century.<sup>79</sup> It is difficult to be sure that such pieces are as old as they look, but the markedly different fabric surely places this specimen well back of its fellows in the deposit.

The little cock (No. 17), on the other hand, is made just like all the other pieces in this group; it is also modelled with the shallow *insouciance* of the period. Smaller than the bird that carries the child (No. 13), it is more like the contemporary cocks from Abdera and Ilion<sup>80</sup> and probably formed part of a group with Eros.

#### OBJECTS: Nos. 18, 19

A deep wicker basket with handles is an attractive genre piece. It is full of fruit, of which apples, figs, grapes and a cucumber appear on top. These are the very same fruits that a grateful gardener offers to Priapos in a charming poem of the Anthology (VI, 102).<sup>81</sup> A simpler deep cylindrical container of an earlier period (T 2441; Pl. 21)<sup>82</sup> suggests that such large baskets of fruit were not uncommon votives to the deity, more capacious than the trays of earlier days.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>75</sup> J. Charbonneau, *Les bronzes grecs*, Paris, 1958, pp. 107-109.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 75, no. 23.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 83, no. 22.

<sup>78</sup> Charbonneau, *op. cit.*, p. 106, fig. 18; p. 109, fig. 21.

<sup>79</sup> From the Middle Stoa Building Filling, ca. 160 A.C.

<sup>80</sup> Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 30, B 131; cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 140f., no. 288, pl. LV.

<sup>81</sup> *Garden Lore of Ancient Athens* (Agora Picture Book No. 8), 1963, fig. 20.

<sup>82</sup> H. 3.8 cm. from Deposit C 20:2 with pottery of the late 5th century.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 156, no. 106.



Many bases were found, usually moulded, in this large deposit. No. 19 can serve as an example. It bears double mouldings at the top and bottom of a large block, looking not unlike that for our Papposilenos.<sup>84</sup> These bases copy those of contemporary statues and bronzes and indicate how the coroplasts now regarded their works as small copies of such works, rather than, as in earlier days, independent creations in their own tradition.

#### VI, C: MISCELLANEOUS DEPOSITS

In addition to the sizable homogeneous deposit in the Herakles Cistern, two smaller groups provide well dated comparative material of this same period, namely Deposit M 18:2 and N 19:1. Since each group is very small, it seems more convenient to place them together, numbered consecutively.

##### DEPOSIT M 18:2

This group was dumped into an irregularly shaped hollow in the badly disturbed residential area on the north slope of the Areopagus, south of the southeast street that bordered the area.<sup>85</sup> It was full of pottery characteristic of the late 2nd century and the 13 stamped amphora handles date before Sulla.<sup>86</sup>

Three figurines from this context are worthy of consideration. Technically they are homogeneous and can not be seen to differ in any detail from figurines from the Herakles Deposit. It is not at all impossible that the two groups came from one shop.

##### ARTICULATED FIGURE: No. 1

This representative of a common class missing in the previous group is apparently female. The way in which the shoulder caps bend over the holes that have been pierced for the attachment of arms makes it difficult to see how arms were ever attached. This is not an uncommon phenomenon among late pieces. The modelling of our figure is perfunctory, the breasts flat, and the excessive thickness of the body, characteristic of the period, makes it look very clumsy. The "doll" is a persistent type throughout Hellenistic times.<sup>87</sup>

##### HEADS: Nos. 2, 3

A lumpy little head (No. 2) belongs to the series of which we saw the beginnings back in the third quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>88</sup> It is shocking to think that this ugly

<sup>84</sup> Above, pp. 35, 38, 48.

<sup>85</sup> On the main plan of the Agora in the *Guide*, 1962, note the area among the houses just south of the stone aqueduct.

<sup>86</sup> The coins are tentatively dated as follows: one after 166 B.C.; another, Athens 3rd century B.C.

<sup>87</sup> In general, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 114-118, p. 136, fig. 53.

<sup>88</sup> Above, pp. 45-46.

head could date within fifty years of those interesting male heads. We may safely regard this as a bad example; we might concede that it was dropped in after the sack, but we have to admit that it fits into its background. In order to understand how typical it is of the period under discussion we might look at a few pieces that show its antecedents. They are selected from the water courses that ran hither and thither to supply the residential section on the southern slope of the Kolonos Agoraioi. After the sack of the city the debris of damage choked these water pipes and drains and in the depression of the following years many were never cleaned out.

The first head to be analyzed (T 2082; Pl. 21)<sup>88</sup> cannot be much later than Nos. 20 and 21 of our mid 2nd century series.<sup>89</sup> The size is the same as theirs; the fabric is yellow-blond clay. Certain differences are however immediately apparent. This head is not bent like the earlier; it is set on a stiff neck. The face is as stiff as the neck, with the chin drawn in like a soldier's and the eyes as unflinching. The features are shallow, particularly the eyes, despite their emphatic lids. The nose is stumpy and the mouth rigid. Only the wreath, attached by tabs, like that of No. 20 in the earlier series, is fairly carefully rendered, tied with a diagonal ribbon which is forgotten at the back of the neck. The earlier heads are still human; this is as wooden as a toy. It finds fairly close parallels in Ilion and Myrina at the same period.<sup>90</sup>

Our next head is decidedly more advanced (T 995; Pl. 21).<sup>91</sup> It is smaller, as most late 2nd century figurines are smaller than the earlier. The fabric is dull blond clay, covered with the thick white slip that we have noted in deposits of the last quarter of the 2nd century. The features are thick, scarcely differentiated, with blurred eyes, a lumpy nose and small, high-set mouth. Beside it the preceding head is well modelled. Moreover, another sign of further degeneration appears in four innovations in the treatment of the wreath: 1) the ring is too large for the head; 2) it shows only one stretch of the binding ribbon or *lemniskos* and that is set vertical in the center, whereas on all previous examples it has been shown at an angle, twisted around the wreath at least three times; 3) the stippling on the wreath, once deliberately made arbitrary to suggest the calyxes of flowers,<sup>92</sup> is here rendered in three stiff parallel rows; 4) the wreath, which previously always encircled the head, here stops at ear level, giving the wreath the nature of a halo. The effect is so artistically inept as to shock us.

But when we return to consider the head No. 2 from the context under discussion, we find that it is even worse, a virtual *reductio ad absurdum* of the male head. It is tiny, without shape or profile—a lump on which features are vaguely recognizable. The thick roll of the wreath was made in two plaster moulds and the front and back

<sup>88</sup> Deposit A-B 19-20:1; P. H. 5.4 cm.

<sup>89</sup> Above, p. 46.

<sup>90</sup> Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LIII, nos. 270f.; Mollard, *Cat. II, Myrina*, pl. 221, a, c.

<sup>91</sup> Deposit E 10:1 with stamped handles of the late 2nd to early 1st centuries. P. H. 4.4 cm.

<sup>92</sup> Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 45 ff., pl. LXa.

sections were badly joined. The nasty yellow complexion and madder pink wreath could scarcely have looked any more attractive in their pristine state.

So far as our present knowledge goes, the first head discussed (T 2082) can scarcely date far from 125 B.C.; the next (T 995) is characteristic of the last quarter of the 2nd century. Our No. 2 probably falls in the earlier years of the 1st century. Although it may well be a very poor piece of its day, it must stand as the last representative of a long line. It is a grim comment on the swift collapse of technique and taste in Athens in the last years of her independence and makes us less sorry for her fall. It is important to note that this collapse took place before rather than after the sack of the city.

Luckily, we find occasionally at this period a head that has still character and merit. Such a head is that of an elderly woman (No. 3) from this same deposit. She belongs technically to the class that we saw in the Herakles Deposit; diminutive, minutely modelled, brightly colored. The woman wears short curly hair; her chin and cheeks sag; a weary expression pervades the backward tilted face. The back of the head is broken in such a way as to suggest that it was covered by a head scarf. This is the type of head suitable for a slave nurse, such as we previously discussed.<sup>66</sup> It is not however a late descendant of the old type; it is a reworking in the new style of the day. In certain general ways it reminds us of the realistic head in the previous article.<sup>67</sup> They have in common the same miniature scale, the same finicking treatment of the features, the same Victorian type of realism. This is a style that is noticeable on a few statues and helps us to place them in their world. These statues have been praised for their break with tradition and for their keen observation of the ugly minutiae of the aged face. But if we look closely at such heads, we see how they, like the terracotta heads, still base their structure upon canonical types. As we have observed on a pair of earlier heads,<sup>68</sup> so here we find that the clay and marble canons are typical rather than individual. No. 3 shows a face that is almost square, due to the emphasis on the drooping cheek muscles that dictate the contour of the jaw. The eyes are baggy; the chin sags; the little mouth has a plaintive expression. These same details appear on marble statues of the aged, for instance, on the head of the old market woman in the Metropolitan Museum, of the shepherdess of the Conservatori, and on a similar head in the British Museum.<sup>69</sup> Our little head thus demonstrates

<sup>66</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 304f., pl. 80, British Museum 1911 4-16 1.

<sup>67</sup> Above, p. 46.

<sup>68</sup> Above, p. 46.

<sup>69</sup> Market-woman: Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 590, G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, p. 111, no. 221, pl. CLIV (cf. no. 224, pl. CLVI c, d). Shepherdess, Bieber, *op. cit.*, fig. 591. Old Woman's Head: R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, Bonn, 1912, pl. 21. This head has been related to that of a priestess of the 4th century; whatever its original source, the execution of this copy must surely fall not far from the date of the heads of the preceding two statues, which cannot lie far from our period.

how late Hellenistic "verism," like late Egyptian,<sup>99</sup> was produced by certain formulae. Figurines were cheap replicas of statuettes in marble and bronze which themselves copied contemporary major sculpture with fidelity.

#### DEPOSIT N 19: 1

Our last deposit of this period comes from a cistern chamber that lay some 25 meters farther down the slope of the Areopagus than the preceding. In fact, the two deposits lay so close together that the figurines from them could have been drawn from the same shop. The cistern under consideration also contained an imported lamp<sup>100</sup> and pottery and stamped amphora handles of the period just before Sulla.<sup>100</sup>

#### TECHNIQUE

Among the three figurines selected from this group for consideration, one (No. 4) will be seen probably to date in the preceding period. Its fabric is hard and dull buff in color, not far from that of the Papposilenos of the third quarter of the 2nd century. The two other pieces are of the gray-blond clay that characterizes the material from the Herakles Deposit and in all other details they are similar.

#### HEADS: Nos. 4-6

Even the few heads from this deposit have something to contribute regarding the style of their period. No. 4 is a sizable face set straight and unbending on the neck. It is of the same size as a similar mask-like face from the Altar Well,<sup>101</sup> which has youthful life, but this example is cold. The wide-open eyes have sharply defined lids, like the similar eye on No. 8 of the Herakles Deposit above. The lids do not lie flat, but are given an effect of convexity by curving markedly and being left open at the inner corners. The profile of the blunt nose dips slightly; the nostrils are narrow. The mouth is not bowed nor is it treated with any plasticity. The profile reminds us of a head from the Pnyx,<sup>102</sup> but this is a classicizing version. This calm aloofness, this disdain for the sparkle of Attic wit is, as we know from, say, the Athena of Euboulides,<sup>103</sup> the fashion of the period. We are probably safe therefore in dating our head not far from the middle of the 2nd century.

Is this head from a large figure or is it a mask? Not only the lack of life but also the break suggests that this face protruded from a flat protome like No. 6

<sup>99</sup> Cf. B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 1960, p. xxxviii.

<sup>100</sup> Howland, *Agora*, IV, p. 174, pl. 50, no. 682, related to the lamps from Ephesos and Knidos.

<sup>101</sup> This deposit is the upper filling of Group F in H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, Princeton, 1959, p. 10. The pottery and stamped handles in the upper filling indicate that the cistern went out of use in 86 B.C. Miss Grace checked the handles for me in 1963.

<sup>102</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1959, pl. 29, no. 29, p. 141.

<sup>103</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 143, fig. 58, no. 48.

<sup>104</sup> Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 669.

in this series. Such protomai, as was mentioned in connection with No. 8 of the Herakles Deposit, begin to be popular at this period. They are the natural expression of the desire for classical idealism in a world that could not possibly have created this concept, but sighed for it.

The other female head from this context (No. 5) is well preserved. The thick white slip erases any refinement of features which are as wooden as the poise of the neck. The nose is straight; the long line from nose to chin almost vertical; the eyes are raised blank ovals and the mouth is small and tight. This face occurs at Ilion, in a somewhat later form.<sup>104</sup> The head itself appears on a bronze Aphrodite from Paramythia (Pl. 22),<sup>105</sup> which has exactly the same coiffure and expression. Our head therefore probably belongs to a similar Aphrodite adjusting her sandal, and is presumably to be dated in the years just before Sulla, like one from Shop II at Delos.<sup>106</sup>

Let us round off our selection of typical heads of the late 2nd century with a bearded protome (No. 6). This is a new creation which we first meet in the Agora series in a fragment from an undated Hellenistic context (T 2538; Pl. 22).<sup>107</sup> Although this latter piece shows only the lower part of the face, it helps us in understanding the type and its development. The scale is somewhat larger than that of our No. 6 and the fabric is more like that of No. 4. On these technical grounds we may date it in the third quarter of the 2nd century. The break, which has left the face clear of the background, as in No. 4, indicates that the face comes from a protome. The modelling is competent though not retouched. The convolutions of the beard are more varied and the expression a little more lively than those of No. 6.

On our later example (No. 6) we see even more clearly the classicizing character of the type. The hair is carried in a great roll over the forehead; on it snaky locks are defined running almost parallel with the sides of the face. This treatment is visible on the Mylasa head of Zeus in Boston.<sup>108</sup> On this mass of hair rests a ring or circlet from which springs a row of leaves that rise against the background of the upper part of the protome.<sup>109</sup> Such pointed leaves are worn by Erotes from Myrina and by goddesses from Delos of the latest Hellenistic period.<sup>110</sup> They presumably represent bay leaves of precious metals. In the center was set a gem, as on the wreaths of the terracottas mentioned above.

<sup>104</sup> Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LV, no. 280.

<sup>105</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1899, pp. 37f., no. 280, pl. VII. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>106</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 47, no. 473; cf. *Gnomon*, XXXI, 1959, p. 638.

<sup>107</sup> P. H. 5.9 cm.

<sup>108</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 609.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 15.

<sup>110</sup> Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pls. XXIII f., nos. 59, 60; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 43, nos. 392ff.; pl. 46, no. 461.

The face of this piece bears no trace of flesh color, though the lips were red. It was evidently intended to look like marble. The features are clearly modelled with features not at all unlike those of the Herakles head from our deposit of that name. But that head retains the spark, if only the spark, of the vigor that one expects of the hero. In the large blank eyes, in the absence of modelling of the forehead and cheeks, we see the dispassionate father of gods. The arrangement of the beard like that of the hair follows a traditional pattern, but it has no *chiaroscuro*. Two large clumps of locks project, allowing the side locks to become dull so that when we compare the faces of the hero and of the god the difference between them defines itself as the difference between figurine and protome. This Zeus is the clay equivalent of the Zeus of Otricoli,<sup>111</sup> which it resembles closely in the narrow forehead, small mouth and well groomed massive beard. But it has none of the benignity of 4th century types. Thus we find Athenians of later days returning to the archaic taste for the symbol, the type of the god, rather than to the humanized form which for centuries they had spent so much labor in developing. These late protomes, however, were a mere fashion and never reached the importance that they held in archaic times.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Aside from certain pieces assigned for various reasons to earlier dates,<sup>112</sup> the general character, both technical and intellectual, of the deposits of the turn of the 2nd into the 1st centuries is surprisingly homogeneous. It is even more surprising to discover that the clay of which these figurines are made is almost exclusively Corinthian. We have seen (above p. 53) that in the third quarter of the 2nd century Corinthian clay was employed in Athens, but to find that it had soon taken over the market is astonishing. Moreover, we see in this study that new types and styles have come in along with the clay, which we may well have to ascribe to the entrance of foreigners into the field. Possibly it was only the clay that was imported for its excellent technical properties for the making of figurines. Possibly the Athenians were weary of their old traditions and gladly adopted new ideas from the refugees, as has often happened on other occasions. A full study of the Agora material is necessary before we can understand this interesting chapter in the history of Athenian coroplastics.

In summary, we note two trends. The traditional continues to the end of the period, but completely without life. The new shows vivacity and imagination within a limited field. Many novel types are really only revivals of classical prototypes in new dress. They transform the creations of the 4th century into *objets de vertu*, pretty, porcelain-like echoes of serious themes. They also bring back the childish

<sup>111</sup> A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, London, 1929, p. 276, pl. 97b.

<sup>112</sup> As follows: Group E, Nos. 1-3; Herakles Cistern, No. 16; Miscellaneous Deposits, No. 4.

figures and groups that pleased the 3rd century, little trifling scenes with pets and Erotes who are no more than innocent babes. They also turn to contemporary sculpture for inspiration and produce realistic portraits that are really not portraits at all. A solemn pseudo-religion creates once again the protome, the essence of the god, to bring virtue to the house. We can readily envisage the appeal of these protomes to the Roman tourist who would see in one such as our Zeus "the embodiment of peace and gentleness, the guardian of Hellas" (Dio Chrysostom, XII, 74) and in the Herakles the successful hero whose decision exemplified the moral choice that all Romans should follow. We can note also a similar decline in major sculpture in various marble statues and statuettes that derive from Sullan contexts.

To us the interesting problem is the cause of this sudden decadence. Was it due to the failure of Athenian nerve or to the demands of the tourist trade? Did the appalling collapse of Athenian technique and taste that we have traced step by step through the 2nd century owe more to the degeneration of a weary spirit or to the debilitating effects of Roman reverence? A closer study of the figurines of this period, a body of documented, if modest material, might help us assess the various forces that pressed upon Athens long before her actual surrender.

## CATALOGUE

## GROUP E

## 1 (T 559) Draped Fragment. Pl. 17.

P. H. 15.7 cm. Golden buff clay, firing to reddish; hard fabric; dark blue band on left side. Incised in damp clay on unworked back: E. Joined by glaze adhesive. Traces of oval vent. Broken at top, bottom and part of back.

Female figure stands wrapped in himation, weight on left leg.

## 2 (T 588) Kithara. Pl. 17.

P. H. 7.7 cm. W. 5.9 cm. Buff clay. Solid. Broken at top, left corner, chipped on left side. Kithara with seven strings.

## 3 (T 560) Male Head. Pl. 17.

P. H. 5.2 cm. Tan-brownish clay. Bottom of neck flat with trace of glaze adhesive.

Head markedly tilted; probably wore a wreath.

## HERAKLES DEPOSIT

*Jointed Figure*

## 1 (T 3669) Legs. Pl. 17.

P. H. 2.4 cm. Gray-blond clay; burned. Solid.

*Male Figures*

## 2 (T 2502 b) Male legs, striding. Pl. 17.

P. H. 3.8 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Broken all round.

Figure with thick legs moves to its left; wears a short chiton to mid thigh. Actor?

## 3 (T 2502 a) Dancer? Pl. 17.

P. H. 4.4 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh; red drapery. Broken at bottom.

Dances to left, right hand akimbo; right leg extended; chlamys swung diagonally from right shoulder.

**4a (T 2495) Head of Herakles. Pl. 18.**

P. H. 7 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh; red on beard. Worked behind.

Wears strophion, made separately and attached with jabs.

**b (T 3663) Leg: of Herakles? Pl. 17.**

P. H. 8 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Broken at top and tip of foot. Mark of attachment beneath foot.

Carefully modelled left leg.

**5 (T 2497) Head Fragment. Pl. 18.**

P. H. 4.4 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Broken all round.

Upper part of face and shock of hair; eyes narrow and thick-lidded.

**6 (T 3664) Silen Head. Pl. 18.**

P. H. 5 cm. Blond clay; yellow on face and beard. Broken on top; most of face sliced away.

Bearded head was wreathed.

*Draped Figures***7 (T 2500) Standing Draped Child. Pl. 19.**

P. H. 9.2 cm. Blond clay; burned. Broken all round; partly broken back shows trace of oval vent.

Right arm raised and left bent forward under himation.

**8 (T 2498) Female Head Fragment. Pl. 18.**

P. H. 3.7 cm. Blond clay; yellowish flesh. Broken all round.

Upper part of face, including right eye, nose and bit of hair. From a protome?

**9 (T 2496) Head of Girl. Pl. 18.**

P. H. 3.6 cm. Blond-reddish clay; yellowish flesh. Wreath and hair added and retouched. Worn.

Wears wreath, bowknot, curly locks to shoulders.

*Actor***10 (T 2501) Seated Actor. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 9.4 cm. Blond clay; red on mask;

yellowish on garment. Broken at bottom.

Sits on volute altar. Rests cheek on right hand; right arm supported by left at elbow. Peaked *speira*, fillet hangs to shoulders.

Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, AT 23, p. 55.

*Groups***11 (T 2505) Aphrodite and Eros. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 10.9 cm.; H. base 1.5 cm. Blond clay. Pink on drapery; yellowish flesh; yellow on rock; black on mirror; red on hair and base. Oval vent. Broken in many places, front and back.

Aphrodite holding hair and drapery sits on rock. Wears hair in bow at top of head. At her left Eros holds up a mirror. Flowers attached separately to edge of drapery. Oval moulded base.

**12 (T 2499) Aphrodite and Eros. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 8.1 cm. Blond clay; yellowish flesh; pink drapery. Oval vent; back slightly worked. Much missing.

Aphrodite stands with left leg crossed over right, leaning at her left on figure of Eros. Traces of ornament crossing between breasts.

**13 (T 2504) Child on Cock. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 10.8 cm. Blond clay; yellowish flesh. Oval vent; back unworked. Bottom missing and chips elsewhere.

Unwinged child sits on cock that faces left, holding jug in right hand; left around cock's neck. Cloak wrapped round his legs. Child has round face and curly locks.

*Miscellanies***14 (T 3665) Bust. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 3.7 cm.; P. W. 5 cm. Reddish tan clay; yellowish flesh; pink drapery. Finished beneath; broken on other sides. Smooth inside.

Female bust wearing drapery fastened in center by brooch and dropped below each breast.



## 15 (T 3666) Wing. Pl. 21.

Max. dim. 4 cm. Blond clay. Solid. Tip missing.

Small right wing.

*Birds*

## 16 (T 3667) Dove. Pl. 21.

P. H. 4.5 cm.; P. L. 9.3 cm. Light reddish clay. Modelled all round. Head and feet missing.

Carefully modelled with long wings folded over tail.

## 17 (T 3668) Cock. Pl. 21.

P. H. 4.8 cm.; P. L. 6.6 cm. Blond clay. Broken at left side; back and feet missing.

Cock faces to proper left.

*Objects*

## 18 (T 2503) Fruit Basket. Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.8 cm.; P. W. 5.8 cm. Blond clay; slightly burned. Red on top of basket; yellow on front. Bottom and left side missing.

Wickerwork is carefully indicated; had loop handle over the top. Traces of attachment (to figure?) at top left. Fruit: grapes, apples, figs, cucumber; traces of others.

## 19 (T 3670) Base. Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.7 cm.; P. W. 4.2 cm. Blond clay. Much worn. Back and left side missing.

Block base with neat double mouldings at top and bottom.

## MISCELLANEOUS DEPOSITS

## 1. DEPOSIT M 18:3

*Jointed Figure*

## 1 (T 1347) Seated Female. Pl. 21.

P. H. 6.5 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh.

Arms pierced. Poorly joined. Head and lower part missing.

Thickened in thighs, presumably for sitting position.

*Heads*

## 2 (T 1346) Wreathed Head: Male? Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.5 cm. Blond clay. Yellow flesh and hair; pink wreath, moulded with head. Made in a plaster mould.

## 3 (T 1345) Elderly Head: Female. Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.7 cm. Blond clay; yellow flesh; red lips; dark eyes. Back missing.

Worn face wearing curly locks.

## 2. DEPOSIT N 19:1

## 4 (T 1414) Female Head. Pl. 22.

P. H. 6 cm. Dull buff clay. Back missing. Worn.

Severe face, with blunt nose. From protome?

## 5 (T 1397) Female Head. Pl. 22.

P. H. 3.8 cm. Blond clay; creamy flesh; gold on wreath. Back hair broken away.

Head poised on raised right shoulder. Wore a thin stippled wreath and hair in knot, probably bow, behind.

*Protome*

## 6 (T 1412) Bearded Head: Zeus? Pl. 22.

P. H. 11.4 cm. Blond clay; blue wreath; red lips. Interior rough. Broken all round.

Wears leafy crown on thick hair; disk originally in center.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON  
NEW JERSEY

# THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

## VII THE EARLY FIRST CENTURY B.C.

(PLATES 1-6)

THE previous article in this series dealt with terracottas from the Agora from deposits that were sealed just after the capture of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C.<sup>1</sup> We have now to consider the deposits that were composed of debris from the damage and destruction of that catastrophe. The presence of wall plaster, flooring, and roofing material as well as quantities of smashed household property, especially pottery, in these dumps attests the widespread havoc caused by the Roman soldiers. They, like the Persians before them and the more recent "occupying forces" after them, systematically threw rubbish into the wells and cisterns in order to foul the water supply and to annoy the survivors. The waste thus deposited must date at least as late as the time of the retreating army. Most of it, however, was in the houses when the invaders found them and contained at least some earlier material. On the other hand, since the deposits were not necessarily filled to the top on the day of the victory, a little post-Sullan material may well be presumed to have found its way into the dumps. The task of distinguishing old from new is not easy and would be impossible were the comparative material from other Sullan destructions not available. At best, however, our results are tentative. It is hoped that further discoveries will fill in more facts.

In this article we shall present the most important of these Sullan destruction deposits, which we shall designate the Kybele Cistern. Subsequently we shall treat other deposits that seem to have accumulated somewhat later in the first century.

### A. THE KYBELE CISTERN (Deposit E 14:3)

This deposit was found in the drawshaft of a system of two cistern chambers united by a passage. It was set down in the southeast foot of Kolonos Agoraios near the valley road.<sup>2</sup> The north chamber was filled in the 3rd century (Deposit E 14:1); the south chamber (Deposit E 15:3) at about the time of Sulla; the drawshaft (E 14:3) was put out of use some time in the next decade. Only this last deposit concerns us here.

#### CHRONOLOGY

The numerous coins found in this deposit appear to go down as late as ca. 50 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The latest lamp is signed by a fabricant whose activity can safely be placed in the

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 50-71.

<sup>2</sup> Excavated in 1941 by R. S. Young. The photographs are by Alison Frantz.

<sup>3</sup> As the bronze coins of this period have not yet been fully studied, it is unwise for us to base our chronology upon them.

decade just before Sulla.<sup>4</sup> The stamped amphora handles do not extend in date beyond the same period.<sup>5</sup> The pottery contained the latest type of Megarian bowls, very little decorative West Slope ware and some Pergamene.<sup>6</sup> Enough material of the 2nd century survives to indicate that the temporal range is wide. A large number of clay props and working discards (but no moulds) are witnesses to the presence not far away of a coroplast's shop.

#### TECHNIQUE

As might be expected in such circumstances, the figurines from this deposit are not so homogeneous as those last studied in the Herakles Cistern.<sup>7</sup> Indubitably earlier fabrics stand out: the soft reddish fabric of No. 15, which is close to that last noted in the later 3rd century.<sup>8</sup> Probably slightly later is the hard fabric of No. 22 that ranges from light red to buff in color in a mottled effect.<sup>9</sup> The buff-tan fabric that characterizes the Kybele figure, which gives the deposit its name, as well as a few other similar scraps seems like that of the 2nd century.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the majority of the fragments was made in some form of blond clay, occasionally fired pinkish, but oftener either yellowish or smoked gray. Since we have established that this gray-blond clay was a fabric most prevalent in the period just before Sulla, we may assume that the other rarer fabrics are earlier. It is interesting to note that there are no specimens made in plaster moulds.

The bases are discussed below, pp. 15-16.

The backs, where preserved, are all mouldmade, with oval vents. The herm (No. 18) has merely a small slit for a vent, the usual form for a shaft.

White slip is well preserved on only a few pieces. Madder pink is by far the most brilliant surviving color (Nos. 11, 20). With the exception of the bust (No. 20) the figurines from this cistern deposit are all in poor state. They are scraps from many different types, gathered evidently not from a single source, but from destruction everywhere. The bust wears a crown of plastic flowers that relate it to the pieces from deposits of the late second century.<sup>11</sup> But the fact that the wreath is cast with

<sup>4</sup> R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, Princeton, 1958, p. 176, no. 686.

<sup>5</sup> Virginia Grace, in 1964, considered the amphora handles as a consistent lot of the period just before Sulla.

<sup>6</sup> The pottery will be published in full by G. R. Edwards. The various groups were re-checked for me in 1964 by John Hayes, who is making a study of the latest Hellenistic wares. For the probable date of the appearance of "Pergamene" (East Sigillata A) after ca. 75 B.C. in Palestine, see Paul W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 B.C.-A.D. 70*, New Haven, 1961, pp. 80-81, 214.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 53-63, 69-71.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 288-290, nos. 2, 6, 12, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 289, no. 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315, no. 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 15, no. 16, pl. 20, no. 11.

the head instead of added makes it probably later; nothing requires that it be brought down after the period of Sulla.

The technique of the large group of Kybele on the lion (No. 1) will be discussed individually (below).

#### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

In general these figurines are too fragmentary to reveal much about their subjects. The herm is novel in our repertory. Of the draped figures only No. 1 is of real significance.

#### DRAPED FIGURES: NOS. 1-9

The group of Kybele riding a lion is a most unusual piece among Athenian terracottas. Each figure, goddess and beast, was made separately and united while the clay was damp, leaving a large rectangular opening in each back. The bottom of the figure of the lion was left open and set on a large plaque base. The figure of the goddess was mouldmade, but many pieces of drapery were added by hand. The lion was also mouldmade, apparently in such a dull mould that additional clay had to be added to the top of its head and mane and freshly retouched.

The group was brilliantly painted, but only flecks remain to suggest the scheme of coloring. The inept modelling of the lion was compensated for by a tawny yellow all over the body, a gilded mane, a mouth lined with bright pink and a flashing row of white teeth. The goddess wore a white chiton with a red stripe (?) and a white mantle with a pink border.

Mention should be made here of two battered fragments found with this group and made of the same fabric. One is an arm bent at the elbow and wearing a long sleeve. It may well be the left arm of the goddess herself. The other is a fragment of leg as large as those of the lion with traces of drapery hanging against it, but it finds no place on our group unless, conceivably, it belonged to a large figure standing beside the right flank of the lion where certain breaks indicate that something was originally attached. An attendant or even Attis might have accompanied the goddess.

Kybele sits sideways on the lion's bare back, facing outward on his proper right side. Her left foot is crossed over her right at the ankle. She wears a thin full chiton and a heavy mantle which covers her knees. It probably was held up in a wide sweep behind her by her missing right arm as on the Kybele of the Pergamene Altar.<sup>12</sup> The left arm may have rested on a tympanon that might have fitted into a groove that survives on the lion's neck. Marks of attachment along his neck and on the arms below the elbow suggest this restoration. The upper torso would then have been somewhat turned toward the left as on a similar figure from Delos that very possibly

<sup>12</sup> *Allertümer von Pergamon*, III, 2, pl. II, pp. 17-18, no. 3; E. M. Schmidt, *Der grosse Altar zu Pergamon*, Leipzig, 1961, pl. 25.

also sat upon a lion.<sup>13</sup> Fragments of a large lion were also found at Delos of which more of the body is preserved than is suitable merely for the adjunct of a throne to which it has been assigned.<sup>14</sup> Another figure from Delos, somewhat smaller in scale than ours but comparable in character, also presumably rode upon her lion, resting her tympanon upon its head.<sup>15</sup>

Although the type of these Delian lions is like ours, the style of its modelling is so different as to require comment. Our lion was obviously modelled by a craftsman who had never seen the powerful, thick-necked beast. It looks like a mastiff giving its paw. The stance is too rigid, the body too slight, the legs too tall and thin, the neck too long, the mane too skimpy. The head is many times removed from that not only of a living lion but even from those of the somewhat dog-like lions that filled the cemeteries of the 4th century on guard over their masters.<sup>16</sup> Ours is far more canine than leonine. The forehead is low; the eyes, usually rendered as round and deep-set, are long and narrow and positively human. The nose is not properly wrinkled; the jaw is imperfectly constructed, carrying a large, lolling tongue. Lions pant on the Delian representations, as well as earlier,<sup>17</sup> but with decent feline restraint. In short, this creature is absurd. It is made even more ridiculous by the contrast with its rider. It seems scarcely possible that the same hand could have modelled the absurd Beast and the charming Beauty. It would also be surprising for a careful shop to permit the collaboration of two such ill-mated craftsmen. It is hard to explain this anomaly.

Kybele herself is modelled by an artist who was obviously well versed in the idiom of the Pergamene Altar. The heroic proportions of the body with its strong thighs clearly defined beneath the himation and the powerful torso rising out of the mass of folds are reminiscent of many figures from the Altar frieze itself. Innumerable mannerisms of the Pergamene style are recognizable. The roll of drapery around the hips turns over on itself much as that of the Zeus on the Altar.<sup>18</sup> Long drawn-out spherical triangles sweep down from the girdle as on the Doris of the Altar and also on the Nike of Samothrace.<sup>19</sup> On the Nike and to a stronger degree on the Pergamon Altar, the edges of the chiton fly out in major and minor trumpet folds that seem to have been caught in an instant of motion. Particularly characteristic is the way in which they tip their trumpet mouths upward. All this excitement must be caused by a strong breeze, native to the windy city of Pergamon, certainly not to the

<sup>13</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 68, no. 679, pp. 193-194; cf. pl. 39, no. 362.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 39, no. 361 has a hole for attachment to its back.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 39, no. 362.

<sup>16</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1930, pl. VIII, pp. 8-9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 23-26; cf. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 39, nos. 361-363; P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1921, pl. CX; C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 90 interprets the protruding tongue as indicative of blood-thirst, but the apotropaic intention seems more likely.

<sup>18</sup> M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New Haven, 1960, fig. 459.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 493-496.

motion of the steed. He stands rooted to the ground while the divine afflatus plays over the group. This is a strangely non-Attic creation; it seems essentially Asianic, like contemporary oratory.

These drapery details are also found on certain fragments from Delos,<sup>20</sup> but in no case is the movement so lively or the style so close to the genuine Pergamene. If we were to make so bold as to compare our figurine with the Kybele on the Great Altar itself,<sup>21</sup> the similarity would surprise us. Though on the frieze the goddess rides a galloping lion into battle, drawing an arrow from her quiver, the general composition is not far from that of our group. Particularly the rendering of the drapery of the lower part, of which the restless folds flare out and swing back, almost looks like the model for those on our terracotta. The small relief from Pergamon<sup>22</sup> in the same manner indicates that the type was established in Pergamon and must imply that ours is somehow a copy. Even the Pergamene lions, though better modelled, have rather canine faces and benevolent expressions.

We should like to know how this type reached Athens. It certainly has not survived in an Attic original of the period.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, certain other figurines show Pergamene connections.<sup>24</sup> The peculiar anomaly between the goddess and the lion suggests that the mould for the Kybele might have been imported or copied from an imported piece. It seems reasonable to associate these connections with Pergamon with the presence in Athens of Pergamenes during the building of the Stoa by Attalos II (159-138 B.C.). That large, ambitious pieces were popular during the third quarter of the 2nd century has already been indicated by the dating, on other evidence, of the large statuette of Papposilenos<sup>25</sup> at that time. The Delian parallels would also seem to fit into this general period.

Since we must probably regard this group as foreign in character, we cannot take it strictly as indicative of the cult interests of Athens at this date. Figures of Kybele are rarer here than in most Greek sites of the 2nd century. Few of the enthroned types that were frequent in Asia Minor or Delos<sup>26</sup> have been found in the

<sup>20</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 67, no. 663.

<sup>21</sup> A. von Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 60-65 analyzes the origin and style of this piece.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64, fig. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Dionysos on a panther, a more popular Hellenistic type, occurs on Agora T 2369, from Deposit C 19:5, with mixed Hellenistic material.

<sup>24</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 83, no. 21, p. 313.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 38, 47, no. 5, pl. 14.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph 3, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Princeton, 1963 (hereafter, Thompson, *Troy*), pls. VIII-XV, nos. 16-50; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 39, but surprisingly few at Myrina; S. Mollard, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite, grecs et romains*, II, *Myrina*, Paris, 1963 (hereafter, Mollard, *Myrina*), pl. 177. This discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the cult was largely domestic and would not be represented in the graves of Myrina.

Agora.<sup>27</sup> Kybele in Athens remained the dignified Mother of the Gods, who appears for centuries virtually unchanged as the sober enthroned goddess of the Metroon.<sup>28</sup>

We must turn to other sources for the type of the riding Kybele. Although it does not appear in sculpture until the Pergamene creations of the early 2nd century,<sup>29</sup> the conception must somehow spring from the representations of the Hittite lion-goddess who stands authoritatively upon her beast.<sup>30</sup> The astronomical and astrological symbolism of such figures has been fully studied.<sup>31</sup> None of this occult lore is visible in our piece, which seems in type to go back to terracottas of the 4th century from Greece and Asia Minor.<sup>32</sup> It is possible that they embody an old tradition, made famous by Nikias, who painted Nemea on a lion. His work perhaps echoed one by Nikomachos of Isthmia, who in the mid 4th century portrayed "deum matrem in leone sedentem" (Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 109).<sup>33</sup> Fundamentally, the goddess is conceived as being the Mother of Gods and Beasts, who subdues their ferocity by riding upon the King of animals. This theme appealed to late Hellenistic and Roman taste and spread over the world, even as far east as Gandhara.<sup>34</sup>

Although numerous bits of drapery survive in this deposit, their poor condition conceals the character of the figures from which they come. They can be discussed only with regard to style.

The best preserved example is the lower part of a figure (No. 2), wearing a chiton that hangs down in straight limp folds which are rendered as ridges. The only variation in their course is created by their wavering edges which widen slightly at the bottom. The weak monotony of these folds is the last stage in the old tradition. On other scraps (Nos. 3, 4) we see an effort to stiffen this aging process by hardening the edges of the tubular folds into metallic rigidity.<sup>35</sup> Nothing could be more remote from the lively imagination of the Kybele. Not a waver of line, not a subdivision or a bifurcation tempers the movement. The orange-blond clay of these specimens finds parallels in other pieces of this group (No. 26). It may well belong to the early 1st

<sup>27</sup> T 1488, 174 (?); *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 23, T 2178.

<sup>28</sup> The Dutch scholar, M. Vermaseren, is collecting all representations of Kybele; see his article, *Revue archéologique de l'Est*, V, 1954, pp. 105-132, esp. 116, 130, fig. 55, on the Roman versions. The Agora stone figures will appear in the volume on 5th and 4th century Agora sculpture by E. B. Harrison.

<sup>29</sup> von Salis, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-65.

<sup>30</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Kybele (Schwenn), cols. 2258-2259.

<sup>31</sup> H. Möbius, *Arch. Anz.*, LVI, 1941, cols. 1-15; F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1935, pp. 218-219.

<sup>32</sup> *TK* II, p. 175, 5.6; E. P. Biardot, *Les terres-cuites grecques funèbres*, Paris, 1872, pp. 317-318, pl. XVI; A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjüb*, pp. 23-25, pl. I, nos. 1-2.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 27.

<sup>34</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, II, pl. 27, 18; III, p. 281; H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, p. 151, no. 363 (4th century after Christ).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 36, no. 395 (1st century after Christ); Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 141, a-c, etc. (late 1st century B.C.).

century. The style itself also continues well into that century.<sup>36</sup> With these fragments were found others of a somewhat more sensitive style. No. 5, of gray-blond clay, represents drapery as wrapped over a shoulder in a series of concentric loops varied a little by a slight blurring of the tubular ridges. It recalls the style of an early 1st century piece previously studied<sup>37</sup> and is similar to No. 6. No. 6 repeats precisely a patterned fold that also occurs on No. 7. This pattern is a zigzag that falls into symmetrical steps twisting into mirror images on either side of a central axis. Both pieces presumably come from the same mould for a sizable figure. A parallel occurs at Delos.<sup>38</sup>

Another draped fragment (No. 8) is related in style. The fold drooping back from the knee is emphatic, as on many 3rd century prototypes, but the surface is utterly dull. The other draped fragments belong to the same category of mechanical, pompous figures like many at Delos.<sup>39</sup> The folds are treated like cords, bunched in repetitive masses, echoing more subtle Pergamene originals. The head, No. 16, in both scale and technique, belongs to the same world. Small and trifling, but also characteristic, is a scrap from a Nike or possibly a dancing figure (No. 9), which is reminiscent of others published earlier.<sup>40</sup> With it might belong the little head wearing a stephane, No. 17.<sup>41</sup>

Little can be said of the style of these pieces as a whole, except that the vital force which had invigorated drapery through many long centuries is finally spent. The monotonous and stiff folds, often cut out by shadows rather than modelled as an organic whole, are like those on contemporary marbles. They are found particularly on the Lakrateides relief from Eleusis (ca. 100-90 B.C.), on the Tower of the Winds in Athens and on the Euripides relief in Istanbul.<sup>42</sup> These all show the same weary traditions not yet revived by the fresh, if fidgety breeze that turned Neo-Attic drapery into patterns.

#### FRAGMENTARY LIMBS: Nos. 10-14

The evidence for the poses and types of this group of figurines is not much increased by the contemplation of the numerous broken pieces that were gathered up after the people and the figurines alike had been subjected to the ferocity of the

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 116, e, pl. 118, e, pl. 141, f (dated late 1st century B.C.).

<sup>37</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 35, T 1626.

<sup>38</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 74, no. 731.

<sup>39</sup> *Delos*, pl. 71, nos. 715-716, pl. 64, no. 644; cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 140, a, c, f.

<sup>40</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 74, no. 15, pl. 82, no. 10; cf. the somewhat later versions from Myrina, Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 89 and, closer, pl. 90, f, pl. 91, b. Cf. W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, Tübingen, 1963, pl. 64, no. 53.

<sup>41</sup> Note this type of head on earlier Nikai, Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 86, a-c.

<sup>42</sup> A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, London, 1927, pls. 79 i., p. 46. For the Tower of the Winds, dating presumably late in the 1st century B.C., H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 298, p. 294, fig. 3.



Roman soldiers. We select a few specimens among some twelve fragments of various sizes. Two are legs of which one (No. 10) is male of the type that probably belonged to a flying figure, such as a Dionysiac Eros. A wing (No. 14) also attests the continuing popularity of flying figures. This wing was made in two moulds with the markedly convex back that is characteristic of the late 2nd century and probably continued into the 1st century B.C. The clumsy detail of the feathering shows the general decadence of this period, as on similar wings from Myrina.<sup>44</sup>

The arms vary. It is rarely possible to assign a pair to one figure, except for two pairs (Nos. 11, 13) that certainly belong together. One pair of arms (No. 11) is clearly male; the other (No. 13) presumably female. Four arms wear long white sleeves with pink bands (e.g. No. 12); others, uncatalogued, are also sleeved. These must belong to the Oriental dress that the Greeks usually called "Phrygian"; they are commonly worn by the dancers that are found at Myrina and Delos.<sup>45</sup> This Asiatic figure, which appears frequently in the repertory of the 4th century B.C. in mainland Greece, is rare thereafter until this period in Athens, where it suddenly reappears, like so many other 4th century types.<sup>46</sup>

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 15-17

The surviving heads in this cistern are female. No. 15 appears, as we have noted from the clay, to be a survivor from earlier days. Its Praxitelean face with small squinting eyes, marked neck-rings, and decided inclination of the head on the neck also suits the fashions of the late 3rd century.<sup>47</sup> The fine tresses of the hair as they came from the mould were carelessly retouched. No. 16, however, belongs to the period of our deposit. It is a shade smaller; its blond fabric is typical of the late 2nd century. The hair is worn in a bow; the eyes squint; the face is fleshy; the mouth pursed. This facial type was probably created in the early 2nd century, but it has been modernized by the addition of large earrings and a thick ring fillet applied to the top of the head, like many Delian heads of the Mithradatic period.<sup>48</sup> This head is only slightly inclined. The absence of any parallel from Corinth and the number from

<sup>44</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 61-62, 71, no. 15, pl. 21. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 77, g and pl. 79, c, e belong to the same stage as no. 14.

<sup>45</sup> D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934 (hereafter, Burr, *Myrinas*), pl. XXV, 63; cf. D. I. Lazaridis, *Πήλυα Εἰδώλια Ἀβδηρῶν*, Athens, 1960 (hereafter, Lazaridis, *Abdera*), pl. 22, B89; Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 103, b, f; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 40, no. 364, pl. 75, nos. 771 f.

<sup>46</sup> *TK*, II, p. 158, 6, 7, p. 159; R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1959 (hereafter, Higgins, *Catalogue*), II, pl. 39, no. 1705, p. 61. See also *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 68-69.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1963, pl. 72, no. 7a; cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, no. 266, also found in a much later context.

<sup>48</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 77, nos. 885-890; for the face, cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 199, f, 200, i, cf. pl. 207, b. The type was revived by Diphilos, pl. 206, h; cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 6, B5.

Delos indicate that this head was made toward the end of the 2nd century. Certain fragments (Nos. 5-7) suggest the original setting on a well draped figure.

No. 17 probably brings us nearer to the period of the Sullan destruction. It is much smaller than the preceding heads, but clearly modelled. The fabric is blond and well fired. The hair is vaguely rendered under a low stephane with a ring base. Prototypes at Myrina and Corinth<sup>40</sup> and later pieces at Mahdia and Delos<sup>41</sup> imply that this head was made before the Sullan attack. The face is plump and alert, with round cheeks and clearly defined eyes open at the corners near the nose. The lips and chin are strong. In contrast with the manner of the preceding period, the features are more emphasized than the hair. This head may have belonged to a Nike (No. 9 ?). In style it is a small edition of the more ambitious early 2nd century heads.

#### HERM: No. 18

A fragment from a sizable herm adds another topic to the late Hellenistic repertory. The bearded archaic herm was a common adjunct to leaning figures<sup>42</sup> and even sometimes a separate offering during the 4th century.<sup>43</sup> It then became superseded by more elaborate types of herm and by archaizing "idols" on posts.<sup>44</sup> This appears to be a new fashion: a tall shaft, tapering upward. A counterpart, found in a post-Sullan deposit (T 2338, Pl. 4)<sup>45</sup> gives more details. Both herms are large, made in two moulds, the sections joined by glaze. The arms were sizable and square in section, set a little forward of the back. One long plaited tress survives on one shoulder of our piece. It is so stylized as to imply that the head was archaistic, probably like one from Priene.<sup>46</sup> A number of similar herms are shown in the studies by Winter and Lullies,<sup>47</sup> but without much indication of their dates.

The history of the terracotta votive herm will be traced through a number of examples from the Agora in the final publication of the figurines.<sup>48</sup> Its relation to the example from the Kybele Cistern can be briefly shown here. In our Hellenistic series the little pieces from the Coroplast's Dump of the third quarter of the 4th century<sup>49</sup> are simple renderings of the traditional herms that stood outside houses and sanctu-

<sup>40</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 86, a-c, later rendered as pl. 201, f, g; *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, no. 288.

<sup>41</sup> W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, Tübingen, 1963, pl. 14, no. 5; *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 50, nos. 481-483, pl. 80, no. 970; cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 6, A16.

<sup>42</sup> R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme*, Königsberg, 1931, pp. 64-65.

<sup>43</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 39, nos. 48, 49, a, b.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 133-135, no. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Area C 20, bottom of post-Sullan drain. P. H. 21.1 cm.; Top W. 4 cm.; bottom W. 4.4 cm. Yellow-blond clay. Slit vent; open below.

<sup>46</sup> T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, p. 344, fig. 401.

<sup>47</sup> *TK*, I, p. 232, 2-6; Lullies, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19, nos. 12-65.

<sup>48</sup> In preparation. The most up-to-date account of the development of the herm type is E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, 1965, pp. 108-141.

<sup>49</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 145-146, nos. 49 a, b, c.

aries to protect their owners and to receive defilement before the sailing of the Syracusan expedition. They are essentially conservative and carry on the old classical form. The Agora produced few examples from the 3rd century, but in the more creative 2nd century herms became varied and took on new shapes. A fine example comes from a cistern filled, like the Kybele Cistern, just after the time of Sulla.<sup>44</sup> Technically, however, it is decidedly different. Unlike our stiff herm, this piece (T 1006, Pl. 4) is well fired of heavier clay, tan in color and covered with a thin white slip and considerable resistant color. It was made in one frontal mould with a rounded back, in contrast to our piece that is made of thin fabric in two moulds. The arms of the parallel are small and set well forward. It does not taper at all. The head is modelled in a rather baroque style; the locks of the beard flow freely. On the ring circlet rests a wreath of plastic flowers not unlike that of our No. 20. The face is formal, looking like a sculptural head and reminds us of the mask of Zeus from the Herakles Deposit.<sup>45</sup> In style, this herm is later than those from the mid 2nd century in Priene and more like those from the preMithradatic period at Delos.<sup>46</sup> It surely dates after the middle of the century, but probably before its end.

Not unlike our No. 18 is a smaller herm, T 916 (Pl. 4).<sup>47</sup> Both are similar in essential details, but the smaller piece is solid and made of gray-blond clay. Both these pieces exhibit an academic sort of archaism, which is often visible at this period. The shaft on both pieces tapers slightly downward, a mannerism that comes in also on marbles of the later Hellenistic age.<sup>48</sup>

The final stage is presented by two large fragments of yellow-blond clay, both thrown out after the Sullan siege (T 2338 and T 1566, Pl. 4).<sup>49</sup> Both are coarsely made in two moulds; loose locks hang on the shoulders (T 2338). The shafts taper downward. The fruits deposited on the arms are just like those on contemporary herms from Delos.<sup>50</sup> Both these Agora herms are otherwise closely related to the Dionysiac examples from Delos and Ilion.<sup>51</sup> The head wears triple rows of archaistic curls and a thick bound wreath attached by jabs treated with rows of vertical strokes characteristic of the 1st century B.C.<sup>52</sup> It seems probable that these two large flamboyant examples date after the Sullan sack. Their fabric is decidedly softer than that of the 2nd century specimens and the work is much coarser.

These late herms with their ornate wreaths and offerings of fruit piled high on

<sup>44</sup> T 1006 from Deposit D 12:2, a Sullan filling. P. H. 12.6 cm. Tan clay, hard fabric. Red on hair, beard, black on phallos, decorated with pink ribbons. Oval vent.

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 22, no. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Priene*, p. 344, figs. 402-403; *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 35, nos. 323, 325.

<sup>47</sup> From Area E 15, mixed to early Roman. P. H. 11.2 cm.; Top W. 2.4 cm.; Bottom W. 2.2 cm. Gray blond clay. Red on shaft. Slit vent.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Lullies, *Typhen*, p. 82.

<sup>49</sup> See above note 53 (T 2338). T 1566 comes from Deposit D 12:2. a) P. H. 3.5 cm., W. 5.9 cm.; b) P. H. 4.5 cm., P. W. 4 cm.

<sup>50</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 36, nos. 335-336.

<sup>51</sup> Thompson, *Troy*, pl. LVIII, no. 299.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47, note 90.

arms and base certainly have a Dionysiac flavor. Laumonier, following the interpretation given by many scholars, particularly Picard and Macardé,<sup>67</sup> calls the Delian herms definitely Dionysiac. Lullies, on the other hand, who has fully studied the long development of the herm type, insists that fundamentally the herm itself always represented Hermes and that it took on only superficially the attributes of Dionysos.<sup>68</sup> In the late 2nd and early 1st centuries, the minds of worshippers seem consistently to have broken down clear-cut barriers of definition and callously to have confused the gods and their attributes, thus preparing the way for a vague pantheism. Within this climate of thought the Athenian herms need not be regarded as disturbing documents.

#### PROTOME: No. 19

One fragment may come from a large herm or from a Dionysiac protome.<sup>69</sup> Its pinkish fabric and careful modelling place it back in the 2nd century, earlier probably than the Zeus protome of the previous group.<sup>70</sup> The leafy crown and naturalistic hair resemble those of protomai from Delos.<sup>71</sup> As on the Zeus protome, a stephane seems to have risen behind the wreath, thus indicating that the piece is probably not a herm.

#### Bust: No. 20

Also Dionysiac in flavor is a bust cut off below the shoulders.<sup>72</sup> It is one of few nearly complete specimens from the Agora later than the much larger example from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>73</sup> In previous articles<sup>74</sup> we have noted two fragments and one virtually complete specimen. The type is in general rare in mainland Greece.<sup>75</sup> It seems to have originated as a variant form of protome in the home of Demeter and Kore, Western Greece.<sup>76</sup> Life-size busts, draped in real garments, seem to have been carried in processions to be placed on couches in the *lectisternia*,<sup>77</sup> a custom that survived into mediaeval Italy. Votive busts of the same types and of varying sizes were also made for dedication. Since these busts usually wear poloi and are decorated with flowers, we may perhaps regard them as originally representing Kore at her rising from the earth or Anodos.<sup>78</sup> Later the form was adopted by related deities.

<sup>67</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, p. 125, with references.

<sup>68</sup> Lullies, *Typen*, pp. 52-54.

<sup>69</sup> This term is used for a piece open at the back and intended to be hung.

<sup>70</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 67-68, 71, no. 6, pl. 22.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 34, nos. 311-314.

<sup>72</sup> This term is used for a piece with closed back, cut off below the shoulders and made to stand.

<sup>73</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 39, no. 51.

<sup>74</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 26, no. 3, pl. 29, no. 29; XVII, 1948, pl. LXI, fig. 1; XXXIV, 1965, p. 61, no. 14, pl. 20.

<sup>75</sup> *TK*, I, pp. 252-254 shows Hellenistic examples only from western and eastern Greek lands; those from mainland Greece are all late.

<sup>76</sup> R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, London, 1954, I, p. 297.

<sup>77</sup> F. De Visscher, "Herakles Epitrapezios," *Ant. classique*, XXX, 1961, p. 104; P. W., *R.E.*, s.v. *lectisternium*, cols. 1113 f. (Wissowa).

<sup>78</sup> M. W. Stoop, *Floral Figurines from South Italy*, Assen, 1960, pp. 45-50, discusses the large Italian class of similar character.

It is not certain what deity is represented by our bust. No breasts are shown, but this is common even on obviously female divinities. The absence of the characteristic *mitra* across the forehead that occurs on similar heads at Delos<sup>79</sup> probably excludes the identification as Dionysos himself. The head is elaborately crowned with three different kinds of wreaths. Pointed leaves rest on the hair that is brushed back in thick strands from which a long tress falls down on the shoulder. Above the wreath of leaves rests a thick circlet bound by a broad fillet of which the end also hangs down on the shoulder. All this in turn is surmounted by a crown of large quatrefoil flowers of the type that we found decorating plastic scenes associated with Aphrodite.<sup>80</sup> This rich floral headdress, typical of the period, overwhelms the head; it certainly refers to a deity of growth and fertility. Perhaps she is Kore or Aphrodite herself, perhaps the Great Mother. The presence in our deposit of a figure of that deity and of several arms wearing "Phrygian" dress (Nos. 11, 12 and uncatalogued specimens) may indicate the proximity of a shrine to the popular divinity of late Hellenistic times, Demeter-Kybele.

The face of our bust belongs to the stodgy form of classicistic visage often used in the later Hellenistic period, as for instance on a marble head from the Mahdia wreck.<sup>81</sup> A close terracotta parallel comes from a shop in Delos that was destroyed during the Mithradatic Wars.<sup>82</sup> These two might go back to the same model, though the bust is smaller. It has a round face with heavy-lidded eyes open at the inner corners, a thick-bridged stumpy nose and a thick-lipped mouth. This face is not unlike that of the earlier herm (T 1006, Pl. 4). The same glum, classic effect is also characteristic of the Zeus protome from Deposit N 19:1.<sup>83</sup> The present head is clumsier and shallower. The fact that the wreath was cast in the mould and the abundant plastic ornament imply that this piece was made not long before the Sullan sack. Its good preservation supports this assumption. A head from Ilion<sup>84</sup> shows the later, perhaps post-Sullan style, when the flamboyant manner becomes grandiose.

#### CORNUCOPIA: No. 21

We have previously traced the development of the single form of this popular emblem of prosperity.<sup>85</sup> Two fragments in this deposit make up to an example of the double form of cornucopia. Though the double horn or *dikeras* was created as an attribute for Arsinoë II early in the 3rd century<sup>86</sup> and was retained as her peculiar

<sup>79</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 34, nos. 310-314.

<sup>80</sup> See above p. 2, note 11; cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 7, B9, pl. 8, B15.

<sup>81</sup> Fuchs, *Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, pls. 10 f., pl. 54, no. 44.

<sup>82</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 36, no. 336.

<sup>83</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 67-68, 71, no. 6, pl. 22.

<sup>84</sup> Thompson, *Tray*, pl. LIV, no. 272.

<sup>85</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 40-44, nos. 8-14, pl. 15.

<sup>86</sup> On coins other than those of Arsinoë II, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Ptolemies*, pl. XVIII, 5-8 (Ptolemy VI); pl. XXX, 6-8 (Cleopatra VII); M. Thompson, *The*

symbol long after her death, it did not become generally fashionable on coins or figurines until well into the 2nd century.

In mechanical competence of modelling as well as in fabric, this piece belongs in the late 2nd century. The upper part is double, containing two grape clusters, a pomegranate and two spiky cakes. Behind the fruit rises a shield, probably representing the nimbus of rays that appears first on the cornucopiae on the coins of Ptolemy Epiphanes (205-180 B.C.).<sup>87</sup> For the coroplast this disk forms a good background against which to show the fruit with which the horn overflows. Another scrap (No. 21 b) comes from the fluted stem of a cornucopia, which in scale and fabric accords with those of the upper fragment, though we cannot be certain that the two pieces belong together. A restoration is suggested on Plate 5.<sup>88</sup>

Similar fragments from Delos<sup>89</sup> indicate the period and nature of our piece. It presumably was held by a figure; marks of attachment imply that it was carried against the left arm.<sup>90</sup> It was probably a figure of Tyche, of which many pompous specimens from the late Hellenistic period fill the museums.<sup>91</sup>

#### ANIMALS: Nos. 22, 23

The tiny ram's head is a peculiar piece. As a rule figures of sheep are sizable and made in an ordinary style as though for votives or toys. But this little creature is sensitively rendered and his horns were gilded. The wool between the horns and around the neck is delicately modelled; the eyes and muzzle are likewise treated with feeling. In fact the piece is virtually handmade. It is to be seen only from one side and is just roughed out behind. It is not impossible that this head was intended to hang on a necklace or to end a bracelet of the type in gilded clay that imitated gold jewelry for those who could not afford the original.<sup>92</sup> Rams' heads from Delos of other types are also sensitively modelled.<sup>93</sup>

The goose head (No. 23) is a typical piece, simply modelled in blond clay. Its fabric places it at about the time of Sulla. It may have been a toy or it may have been the playmate or the mount of Eros, as the break along its back suggests, though the scale is small.<sup>94</sup>

*New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York, 1961, pp. 205-209, pls. 55-56, pp. 605-606 (issue of 152/1 B.C. referring to the celebration of the Ptolemaia).

<sup>87</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat.: Ptolemies*, pl. XVII, 1, 2 (Ptolemy V).

<sup>88</sup> The drawing was kindly made by Jean Porter Nauert.

<sup>89</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 96, no. 1270, cf. no. 1274.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Burr, *Myrinas*, pl. IV, no. 11; Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 49, f. This figure of Harpokrates underscores the Egyptian associations of the *dikeras*. He carries a more degenerate specimen of the 1st century B.C.

<sup>91</sup> E. g. Gerhard Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, Berlin, 1942, pl. 51, b; *TK*, II, pp. 171-172; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 106, 9.

<sup>92</sup> See R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London, 1961, p. 127; rams' heads on bracelets, p. 172, pl. 30 A.

<sup>93</sup> *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 97, no. 1304, pl. 98, no. 1331.

<sup>94</sup> *TK*, II, pp. 314 ff.; cf. Thompson, *Troy*, pl. LVI, no. 290.

## PLAQUES: Nos. 24-26

In earlier deposits we have noted a few fragments from plaques,<sup>97</sup> which become more prevalent toward the end of our period. This deposit contains fragments of three such relief plaques. No. 24 is broken from the left side (spectator's) of a scene of sacrifice over a flaming cylindrical altar. It stands before a tall stèle that probably carried a statue.<sup>98</sup> A hand extends a phiale over the altar. The plaque is bordered by a frame.<sup>99</sup> The fabric of soft yellow blond clay is like that of the post-Sullan herm (T 2338, Pl. 4). The scene suggests the sacrifices on Campana reliefs, but it finds no close parallel among them. They are much more mannered in the Augustan style. The architectural setting and the flaming altar are also reminiscent of marble plaques of the Roman period,<sup>100</sup> developments of the scenes prevalent at Delos and in Asia Minor at the time of the Mithradatic Wars.<sup>101</sup> The clumsy arm and careless detail are in the late Hellenistic manner rather than in the classicizing Roman spirit. These clay plaques are evidently cheap copies of the more expensive reliefs that were popular in the late 2nd century.

Another fragment (No. 25) may well come from the same type, but it is of slightly different fabric and better modelled. The nude legs of a sturdy male figure face outward, resting the weight on the left leg in a slightly swaying posture. The stance and the general aspect suggest Herakles and the hanging mass at his left looks like an animal skin with a paw.<sup>102</sup> The hero may be resting after a labor<sup>103</sup> or he may be pouring a libation over an altar as on the other fragment. The gray-tan fabric and the sunburned orange flesh are those of the late 2nd century.

In connection with this plaque, we should mention a better preserved Herakles plaque of gray-blond clay that bears an unique Hellenistic representation of Herakles on his way to Olympos (T 2466, Pl. 6).<sup>104</sup> It is a careful bit of pictorial modelling in low relief, against a red ground, with a brownish frame. The scene is set on an exergue that leaves a narrow space beneath it and suggests that the composition was not designed for this shape but copied from elsewhere. Herakles, wearing a chiton exomis, sits on his own lionskin as a saddlecloth and beats his mule<sup>105</sup> with his club.

<sup>97</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 163-164, nos. 74-78; XXXII, 1963, p. 291, no. 34.

<sup>98</sup> As on the "Icarius relief," Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 656.

<sup>99</sup> The "frame" might be a pilaster such as enclose the Horseman plaques of the 2nd century from Ilion, Thompson, *Troy*, pl. XXVIII, nos. 127-128.

<sup>100</sup> E. g. T. Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, Leipzig, 1894, pl. CIII; Richter, *Sculpture*, fig. 510; *Arch. Anz.*, 1941, p. 602, figs. 116-117.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, Berlin, 1960, pp. 83-85.

<sup>102</sup> G. Mendel, *Cat. des Sculptures*, III, Constantinople, 1914, pp. 40, nos. 836-838.

<sup>103</sup> Richter, *Sculpture*, fig. 39; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. 34; Mendel, *Cat. Sculptures*, III, pp. 72-74, nos. 859-860.

<sup>104</sup> T 2466. Area B 17, late Hellenistic context. P. H. 16.5 cm.; W. 14.2 cm. Gray blond clay. Brown on frame. Irregular back. Suspension hole in upper right corner. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 180, pl. 60, 2.

<sup>105</sup> The size of the animal and the analogy with the mount of Hephaistos make it probable that this is a mule rather than a donkey, as first suggested.

The mule responds with comic alacrity, prancing upon one foot, ithyphallic, raising eager ears and muzzle to Olympos, his goal as much as his master's. Humorous details, like the pomposity of Herakles despite his lazy adoption of the steed of Hephaistos and the mule parodying a stallion, suggest that the scene is drawn from burlesque. Herakles, the comic character of the stage, hitching a ride to Olympos is a conception still worthy of Attic wit. These plaques give a glimpse of the taste in house decoration in the Athens which the Romans looted.

Our last scrap of relief (No. 26) is of orange blond clay and too small to tell us much. It shows a leg, probably of a dancing figure of the fluttering type shown later on Campana reliefs.<sup>104</sup> The fabric and style divide this piece from the others and indicate that it is post-Sullan.

#### ALTAR: No. 27

Fragments of a small altar or *arula* of the same fabric as No. 26 represent the late Hellenistic descendants of the well known "Tarentine" altars, now shown to be Athenian.<sup>105</sup> This altar had Ionic columns at the corners on which rested the dentil frieze, which is partially preserved in fragment *a*. Such Ionic altars are not uncommon in Hellenistic times.<sup>106</sup> The firebox which rises above the cornice is decorated with an akroterion (a sphinx?) and a running pattern of palmette scrolls exactly like those common on Megarian bowls.<sup>107</sup> Only a portion of one side of the altar survives. It shows two Erotes facing each other, perhaps over an altar. One raises his hand; the other lifts something, perhaps a wreath.<sup>108</sup> The modelling is shallow, the impression is dull, like that of the plaques. This seems to be a late specimen of a type that must have been created in the late 3rd or early 2nd century, like other altars that we have discussed.<sup>109</sup>

#### BASES: Nos. 28, 29

Of the numerous fragments of bases from this deposit we shall select two to represent the characteristic types. None survives together with its figure, except the broken plaque base of the Kybele group. It was presumably dictated by the size of the group. The moulded base was preferred during the 2nd century.

No. 28 is moulded only at the bottom; No. 29 is a rounded example with clumsy mouldings at both top and bottom. No. 28 shows a marked batter, flaring outward toward the bottom even more than the closely similar example from the Herakles

<sup>104</sup> E. g. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 101, no. 1364, a prototype of the Roman versions.

<sup>105</sup> Thompson, *Troy*, p. 142, pl. LVII, nos. 293-295. A fine early example of this type has recently been found in Athens.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 17, B60.

<sup>107</sup> E. g. W. Schwabacher, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pl. V, A1 and *passim*.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Thompson, *Troy*, pl. LXIII, d, from the Troad.

<sup>109</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 256-260, nos. 19, 20.



Deposit.<sup>110</sup> This flare is also visible on bases of the late Hellenistic period from other sites.<sup>111</sup> It is an earmark of sloppy work.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This group contains a curious mixture of types. The Kybele is an unusual piece on several counts. It is a large ambitious work, like the Papposilenos of the mid 2nd century;<sup>112</sup> it shows close affiliations with the style of Pergamon. The arms wearing "Phrygian" costume also point in that direction. The complex repertory of late Hellenistic times also adds new types, such as the votive herm, the cornucopia, the relief altar, the plaques and the bust. Interest in draped figures continues, but without vigor. A tendency to revive subjects popular in the 4th century appears here also as in the preceding deposits.

The artistic quality of the work, with the exception of that unusual piece, the Kybele, is as dull as in our late 2nd century groups. Most of the modelling is competent, but mechanical. It is sometimes enlivened, as on the bust, by plastic additions that look crisp, but cannot redeem the vapid construction. In general, the material belongs to the pre-Sullan period, but a few pieces have been assigned to the decade after Sulla (Nos. 18, 26, 28, 29).

#### CONCORDANCE

T number	Cat. No.	T number	Cat. No.
849	11	2621	NC
850	18	2622	29
853	17	2623	NC
908	23	2624	NC
909	20	2625	2
910	15	2626	8
911	16	2627 a	4
912	21	c, d, f	3
913	14	2628	6
914 a	24	2629	7
b	25	2630	5
d	26	2631	19
915	1	2632	10
2616	28	2863	22
2617	NC	3675	27
2618	NC	3676	13
2619	NC	3677	12
2620	NC	3678	9

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 21, no. 19.

<sup>111</sup> Burr, *Myrinas*, pl. II, no. 4, pl. XIII, no. 33.

<sup>112</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 38, 47, no. 5, pl. 14.

## CATALOGUE

## DRAPED FIGURES

## 1 (T 915) Kybele on a Lion Pl. 1.

P. H. 32.5 cm.; P. L. 29.5 cm.; T. 17 cm. Buff-tan clay. Red on chiton; cream with pink border on himation. Solid bottom to skirt with two holes for pins to secure missing left foot. Yellow on lion; gilt on mane; pink on mouth; black on eye. Large rectangular openings in back of both figures. Area between lion's legs filled in. Back unworked. Many fragments missing, including upper part of Kybele. Scraps of plaque base, non-joining, preserved. Lion's hind leg burned. Surface much worn.

Kybele sits sideways on lion's back, facing outward. Lion stands with uplifted right paw; his head turned outward, tongue extended.

## 2 (T 2625) Draped Fragment Pl. 2.

P. H. 7.9 cm. Yellow-blond clay; soft fabric; red on drapery. Traces of base moulded with figure.

Lower part of standing draped female, wearing high-soled sandal on preserved left foot.

## 3 (T 2627 c, d, f) Draped Fragments Pl. 2.

P. H. a) 2.5 cm.; b) 3.0 cm.; c) 4 cm. Blond clay; pink on drapery. All pieces broken all around.

Fragments of identical style and fabric from one or more small draped figures.

## 4 (T 2627 a) Draped Fragment Pl. 2.

P. H. 7.5 cm. Blond clay; red glaze adhesive. Pink on drapery. Broken all round.

Probably from standing draped female.

## 5 (T 2630) Draped Fragment Pl. 2.

P. H. 5.6 cm. Gray-blond clay. Back missing. Probably from left shoulder of figure.

## 6 (T 2628) Draped Fragments Pl. 2.

P. H. a) 13.5 cm.; b) 5.5 cm. Gray-blond clay. Proper left edges finished(?).

Possibly from protome.

*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 35, p. 135.

## 7 (T 2629) Draped Fragment Pl. 2.

P. H. 8.6 cm. Gray-blond clay; cream on drapery. Broken all round.

From figure similar to preceding; protome(?).

## 8 (T 2626) Draped Fragment Pl. 2.

P. H. 7 cm. Yellow-blond clay. Broken except on proper left side.

From large scale figure like preceding.

## 9 (T 3678) Draped Fragment Pl. 3.

P. H. 3.7 cm. Blond clay. Broken all round. From the thigh of a female figure wearing an overfold and advancing left leg.

## LIMBS

## 10 (T 2632) Male Leg Pl. 3.

P. H. 6.2 cm. Blond-tan clay. Broken top and bottom.

Nude male right leg; traces of attachment at side.

## 11 (T 849) Draped Arms Pl. 3.

P. L. a) 5 cm.; b) 6 cm. Blond-tan clay; pink on sleeves. Broken top and bottom.

Two arms wearing long sleeves. a) is a left arm, bent at elbow; b) a right arm, bent and extended.

## 12 (T 3677) Draped Arm Pl. 3.

P. L. 6.5 cm. Gray-blond clay; white on sleeves. Broken top and bottom.

Left sleeved arm and part of hand, bent at elbow.

## 13 (T 3676) Nude Arms Pl. 3.

P. L. a) 5 cm.; b) 8 cm. Blond-tan clay. Broken top and bottom.

Nude arms, probably from same figure. a) is a left arm, bent forward from the elbow; b) a right arm extended. Both retain parts of hands. Probably female.

- 14 (T 913) Wing Pl. 3.  
H. 3.2 cm.; P. L. 4 cm. Blond clay. Blue on feathers. Made in two moulds. Broken at inner end.

Feathers clumsily indicated.

#### FEMALE HEADS

- 15 (T 910) Female Head Pl. 3.  
P. H. 5.4 cm.; H. face 3.3 cm. Light red clay. Traces of wreath or diadem attached by glaze. Much worn.

Head inclined to left. Small thick-lidded eyes; earrings. Fillet falls at left side of neck. Hair parted to knot at nape. Marked neck grooves. Bottom of neck flat.

- 16 (T 911) Female Head Pl. 3.  
P. H. 5.6 cm.; H. face 3 cm. Blond-tan clay. Glaze adhesive. Back missing.

Head inclined to left. Hair in strands tied in bow at crown. Wears ring fillet; large earrings. Squinting eyes and bow mouth.

- 17 (T 853) Female Head Pl. 3.  
P. H. 3 cm.; H. face 1.9 cm. Blond-tan clay. Burned.

Wears ring fillet and low stephane over hair rolled to knot at nape.

#### MISCELLANIES

- 18 (T 850) Herm Pl. 4.  
P. H. 14.4 cm.; W. of side at top 4 cm. Blond clay; hard fabric. Yellow on hair; dark on shaft; glue adhesive joining front and back.

Tall shaft, tapering upward, with long lock on shoulder.

- 19 (T 2631) Protome Fragment Pl. 5.  
P. H. 3.7 cm.; P. W. 5.5 cm. Buff clay. Broken all round.

A little hair, wreath of leaves; thick wreath; above, stephane(?).

- 20 (T 909) Bust Pl. 5.  
P. H. 11.3 cm.; H. face 3.6 cm. Blond clay. Pink on drapery. Oval vent. Finished beneath. Left side missing.

Draped bust wearing thick wreath above wreath of leaves, below crown of flowers. Wide fillet and lock hang on shoulder.

*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 35.

- 21 (T 912) Cornucopia Pl. 5.  
a) P. H. 7 cm.; P. W. 4.1 cm.; b) P. H. 3 cm. Blond-tan clay. a) Hollow; three small holes pierced in back; left side broken. Red on shaft and fruit. b) Broken top and bottom.

Double cornucopia with two clusters of grapes, pomegranates, spikes of wheat against shield. Double shaft springs from calyx of leaves above two ring mouldings, crowning a fluted stem.

#### ANIMALS

- 22 (T 2863) Ram's Head Pl. 5.  
P. H. 2.7 cm. Buff light red clay. Horns gilded. Back rough.

Right side view. Retouched.

- 23 (T 908) Head of Bird Pl. 5.  
P. H. 5.8 cm. Blond clay; pink on bill. Probably a goose.

#### PLAQUES

- 24 (T 914 a) Sacrificial Scene Pl. 6.  
P. H. 13 cm.; P. W. 5.8 cm. Soft blond clay. Irregular behind.

Side preserved showing hand holding phiale over flaming cylindrical altar decorated with relief garland. It stands in front of a pier or stele. Frame preserved at spectator's left.

- 25 (T 914 b) Herakles(?) Pl. 6.  
P. H. 8.7 cm.; P. W. 7.5 cm. Gray-blond clay. Orange-yellow on flesh and lion's skin. Irregular behind.

Nude legs of figure standing frontally; bit of hanging lion skin.

- 26 (T 914 d) Dancer(?) Pl. 5.  
P. H. 4.1 cm.; Orange-blond clay. Irregular back. Finished right edge.

Part of bent left thigh and leg preserved, apparently dancing in flowing drapery. Finished edge at right(?).

27 (T 3675) Altar Fragments Pl. 6.

a) P. H. 3.7 cm.; P. W. 6.5 cm.; b) P. H. 5.6 cm.; P. W. 4.3 cm. Yellow-blond clay. Broken behind.

Fragments from small Ionic altar with fire-box decorated with palmette scrolls and rosettes; sphinx(?) akroterion. Relief with confronting children (Erotes?).

28 (T 2616) Base

Pl. 5

P. H. 4.5 cm.; P. W. 7.8 cm. Blond clay. Red on upper part; dark on lower. Broken at left side and back.

High block with two rounded lower mouldings.

29 (T 2622) Base

Pl. 5.

P. H. 3.9 cm. Blond clay. White on top; red on scotia. Broken on sides.

Clumsy tori separated by scotia.

PRINCETON  
NEW JERSEY

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

## THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

(PLATES 68-71)

### VII THE EARLY FIRST CENTURY B.C. B. THE MASK CISTERN

OUR next group of Hellenistic terracottas was found in a cistern (Deposit N 20: 4)<sup>1</sup> that came to light high up on the slopes of the Areopagus where it had served an Hellenistic house that was damaged during the sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C. It was filled up a little later than the Kybele Cistern of which the contents have previously been described<sup>2</sup> as characteristic of Sullan debris.

#### CHRONOLOGY

The evidence for dating the contents of this cistern is extensive. A slight supplementary filling was thrown in on top of the original packing after it had settled, but it is of no significance for us. The upper filling was devoid of interesting material. Most of the material in the lower filling can be dated in the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. The coins are still being studied and cannot yet be used as evidence for chronology.<sup>3</sup> The latest stamped amphora handles fall very slightly after Sulla.<sup>4</sup> The pottery also apparently contains some post-Sullan material.<sup>5</sup> Most of the lamps belong to the upper filling, but fall into the same period.<sup>6</sup>

Although the stratification seems to have no significance for the study of the figurines, we should record that one scrap (No. 9) was also found in the upper filling. In the central part of the original filling, which was almost devoid of pottery, two well preserved pieces were discovered: a draped figure (No. 3) and the mask (No. 8) for which we name this cistern. These appear to be pieces that fell in after the cistern was abandoned but before it was finally closed. One draped fragment comes from the period of original use (No. 2). The rest were found in the mass of debris that was gathered after the sack. They too, however, may well have been made before the disaster.

<sup>1</sup> Deposit N 20: 4 was excavated in 1938 by Margaret Crosby. The photographs for this article are by Alison Frantz and James Heyle.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 1-19.

<sup>3</sup> The bronze coins of this period are being studied by Martin Price.

<sup>4</sup> Virginia Grace kindly checked the handles from this deposit in 1964.

<sup>5</sup> Several "Pergamene" bowl and plate fragments will be published by Roger Edwards in his general study of the Hellenistic pottery. I also benefited by discussions with John Hayes on the dating of the latest Hellenistic wares. Cf. Paul W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, New Haven, 1961, for recent dating of the wares of the 1st century B.C.

<sup>6</sup> R. H. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps*, Princeton, 1958, nos. 471, 495, 499, 695, 698.

## TECHNIQUE

The fabric of all these pieces (with one exception) is soft and varies in color from gray to very light yellow. This is the blond clay that we have observed as characteristic of the late 2nd century B.C. Certain pieces (particularly No. 7) seem less well fired than the characteristically late 2nd century examples. This fabric is like that of the herms previously assigned on various grounds to the post-Sullan period.<sup>7</sup> Most fragments, however, are very much like those from the Herakles Deposit and the Kybele Cistern.<sup>8</sup> On the best (Nos. 3, 8) the slip is tenacious, but little color survives; on the softer pieces (except No. 6), the slip is thin and poorly preserved.

Entirely different from all these examples is the fragment of a shield (No. 9). It is well baked of buff brownish very micaceous clay. Since it finds no parallels either of fabric or of type among our other pieces from Athens, we may have to regard it as an import.

The bases in this group are high and moulded. No. 10 seems to be the older. It is carefully modelled with a rounded upper moulding and a strongly projecting lower half round and fillet. It is not possible to assign any of the surviving fragments to it, though its fabric and style would suit No. 5. The other base (No. 7) is large and clumsy. The upper moulding is fairly careful; the lower slips forward to an irregular edge. The contrast between these two bases is shocking. The first retains the firm Greek sense of transition; the curves give volume to the block. Beside it, the other is utterly sloppy.

The only existing complete vent, on No. 3, is an irregular oval. Its back is also irregular and handmade, an early type. Enough remains of the backs of other pieces to show that they are markedly smooth and convex, as in previous examples of the late 2nd century.<sup>9</sup>

The yellow-blond fabric does not show much slip. The colors best preserved are dark red (No. 7) on the vertical face of the base; yellowish on female flesh (No. 5), strong orange on male flesh (Nos. 6, 7) and brownish red on the furry legs of the satyr (No. 7) and hair of the boy (No. 6). The latter is a coarsely colored group with a garish color tone.

## TYPES AND SUBJECTS

The types in this group are all original and a few unique in our series. Unfortunately, most are in too poor a condition to be very useful for a reliable study of the period.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 10-11. Cf. *ibid.*, XXXII, 1963, p. 309, no. 13, pl. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 53-54; XXXV, 1966, pp. 2-3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 35, 54.

## MALE FIGURE: No. 1

A comic male head suggests a type from the stage, but although the mouth is pierced, the head is not masked. The pudgy face is childish with squinting eyes and a stubby nose. The bound wreath is stippled only lightly; it stops at the level of the ears and is attached by jabs. The little fellow is hunching up his right shoulder, perhaps to fondle an animal or to snuggle into his cloak like similar boys from Myrina.<sup>10</sup> The lively style and the form of the wreath suggest that the piece was made not long before the Sullan siege.

## DRAPED FIGURES: Nos. 2-5

The draped pieces form a peculiar group. No. 2 was found at the bottom of the cistern and therefore presumably dates before Sulla. This dating is consistent with the fabric which is close to that characteristic of the Herakles Deposit.<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to assign this piece to a definite part of a draped figure. The markedly disparate sections are set at an angle that makes it impossible to interpret as hanging on a human figure. Possibly it is a section of drapery that was thrown over a post (of which the line of the top may appear at the central break). Independent posts supporting drapery that seem never to have been used in conjunction with figures occur in other late Hellenistic contexts.<sup>12</sup> They look for all the world like the drapery arrangements introduced by Victorian artists and photographers to dignify their subjects.

The little standing girl and a scrap from the same mould (Nos. 3, 4) are in a different style. This type has been discovered in the Coroplast's Dump of the third quarter of the 4th century and on the Pnyx in a context of less certain date.<sup>13</sup> The type is a characteristic creation of the period and here it appears in the early 1st century. It has retained its original size and its patterns, fold for fold, although the proportions have become slimmer and the large awkward feet have been added. We have already discussed this type and its long history. These two fragments are not made of the usual pale blond clay of this period, but, like the mask (No. 8), of redder clay like that of a good parallel from the Herakles Deposit.<sup>14</sup> We may therefore consider them the last true Athenians in our group. The style is weak and reminds us of No. 2 of the Kybele Cistern<sup>15</sup> which is also revivalistic. We have yet once again

<sup>10</sup> S. Mollard, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs, Musée du Louvre*, II, *Myrina*, Paris, 1963, pl. 155, e.

<sup>11</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 188, a, c, 187, f.; Agora T 2362, T 2801.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 34, no. 20, pp. 132-136. Add an example from Eleusis, Δελ., 1960, Χρονιά, p. 44, pl. 42, B 4; pp. 54 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 70, no. 14.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXV, 1966, p. 6, pl. 2, no. 2.

evidence of the revival of old 4th century types in the last days of Athenian independence.

The little archaistic figure (No. 5) has also already been analyzed in relation to the series of 'idols.'<sup>16</sup> They apparently represent small votive statues of votaries or of xoana that were often set up in sanctuaries. Like herm and Priapus figures, they offered convenient support for relaxing human beings, providing rigidity as an attractive contrast to living curves. Ours is a particularly vigorous specimen, with clear marks of attachment at the back to a large draped figure. The drapery of the statuette is emphasized by a central fold; the girdle is clearly rendered as is the tiny fawn that the votary holds to her breast. It is possible that the base, No. 10, supported the pier on which this figure stood.

#### GROUPS: Nos. 6, 7

In this deposit appears more evidence of the growing taste for groups and little scenes that we saw beginning in the late 2nd century.<sup>17</sup> The group of the boy and his dog has antecedents in the painted stelai of the 3rd century.<sup>18</sup> Here the narrative mood dominates. Instead of showing a closed composition, the coroplast represents the boy as hurrying away a big basket of food from a small dog which eagerly follows at his heels. The composition is "one-sided" and based on the movement of the diagonal. This frontal aspect was very popular at this period.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to note the variations on the theme that occur in terracotta. It is particularly common at Myrina. Sometimes the dog (or goose) jumps vertically toward the boy's hanging right hand.<sup>20</sup> Again, the child extends the food sideways to the dog or a cock stretches toward a bunch of grapes,<sup>21</sup> forming the same attractive oblique movement that occurs on our piece. It seems more likely that our piece copies the imaginative creations of Asia Minor than that the idea was essentially Athenian at this period. The modeling, moreover, is highly inferior to the eastern examples; the face is featureless, though a bit humanized by paint. The fact that the wreath is made in the mould with the head and that plasticity is entirely forgotten implies that this group is post-Sullan. Only one such scene has been found complete at Delos<sup>22</sup>; those from Myrina, on the ground of the signatures of coroplasts and of their style, appear all to be as

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 133-135, pl. 27.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 60-61.

<sup>18</sup> E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pls. XX-XXI, 25 ff.

<sup>19</sup> D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, (hereafter, Burr, *Myrinas*), p. 43, nos. 24 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 163, a-c. Only one other fragment of this type survives from the Agora, T 947, from Deposit E 14:3, dating in the late 3rd to early 2nd century.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 162, f, 164, c, f; Burr, *Myrinas*, pl. XI, no. 25.

<sup>22</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 56, no. 559.



late as the latter part of the 1st century B.C. and later.<sup>22</sup> The excellent preservation of our piece suggests also that it is post-Sullan and therefore must date near the mid 1st century. Perhaps both Athenian and Myrian creations were independently derived from the painting and group sculpture of the day.

The other group (or groups) from this deposit gathered together as No. 7 was evidently complex and the surviving fragments only hint at its character. A large oval base supports a rocky area on which a lion skin was spread; one paw remains. It suggests a composition like that of a complicated late Hellenistic marble relief in the British Museum that shows satyrs and a nymph on rocky ground.<sup>24</sup> The fragments of a goat-legged Pan may also be associated with our group, as the scale and fabric are suitable. Pan may have possibly stood alone, as on marble representations of the god in his pastoral setting.<sup>25</sup> Or possibly, he may have been associated with a youth, of which a draped and a naked arm survive, as on similar pastoral compositions.<sup>26</sup> The draped arm is a degenerated example of a type already discussed.<sup>27</sup> A fragment of a tree stump, very like one from Myrina<sup>28</sup> can readily be fitted into the setting. Such trees begin to appear in the background of late Hellenistic reliefs.<sup>29</sup> On Roman reliefs they spread lush shade over even more elaborate scenes.

#### MASK: No. 8

The little female mask with flowing locks and creamy skin must represent the Maiden in Pollux' series (his No. 33).<sup>30</sup> She has a nervous expression about the brows, produced by a deep cut over the upper eyelid, as in certain Roman portraits.<sup>31</sup> She looks as though she were involved in innocent distress. Her golden hair and blue eyes show how blondes in ancient Greece, as to-day, were admired for their fresh coloring.

The small size of this mask and the unpierced eyes in conjunction with the open mouth occur on other late Hellenistic types both in Athens and in Delos.<sup>32</sup> In general

<sup>22</sup> Burr, *Myrinas*, pp. 43-47, nos. 25-33, dating near the turn of the Christian era; Mollard, *Myrina*, pp. 133-135.

<sup>24</sup> A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, London, 1904, III, pl. XXV, no. 2195; T. Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, pl. LXIII, 2.

<sup>25</sup> G. Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures, Musées impériaux ottomans*, II, pp. 326 ff., nos. 593 f.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, fig. 628; cf. figs. 633-635.

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 82, nos. 11-13, pp. 308 f.

<sup>28</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 188, b.

<sup>29</sup> Schreiber, *Reliefbilder*, pls. XV, XVII.

<sup>30</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, London, 1961, p. 22; p. 55, AT 22.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. E. B. Harrison, *Athenian Agora*, I, Princeton, 1953, pp. 12 ff., no. 3, pl. 3, dated mid 1st century B.C. Cf. the treatment of the eyes on the larger masks, Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 229.

<sup>32</sup> *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 92, no. 1217; pl. 93, no. 1231. Cf. T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, p. 361, fig. 446, larger, with pierced eyes.

the eyes were pierced at this time on comparable larger types, but the technique probably depended also on the scale.<sup>33</sup> The fabric is close to that of a late 2nd century example that was found in a context similar in nature to ours.<sup>34</sup>

#### SHIELD: No. 9

A small oval shield bears a relief blazon of a winged thunderbolt. The shield is of the type known as *thupéōs*; it appears in Greece in the 3rd century, probably brought into the Greek repertory by the Gauls.<sup>35</sup> Our fragment is carefully modelled, perhaps as a votive, but also possibly to accompany a soldier.<sup>36</sup> The thunderbolt is shown as crossed by the twisted stalks of the *narthex* or giant fennel in which Prometheus brought down the fire from heaven. The pair of wings is represented as single, not double as on the well known earlier coins of Elis.<sup>37</sup>

This "fire-bearing weapon of Zeus" (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1714) is an apt ornament for a shield. It appears on a round example on the balustrade of the Propylon of Athena Polias at Pergamon in the early 2nd century.<sup>38</sup> The form is also close to that on the coins of Athens issued in 162/160 B.C.<sup>39</sup> Our particular combination, the thunderbolt on an oval shield, is found at Sidon at about this same date on the funerary stele of a mercenary from Lydia.<sup>40</sup> The *thyreos* was particularly popular with the mercenaries who served the Seleucids and the Ptolemies.<sup>41</sup> It is interesting, though tantalizing, to find it without its owner in Athens.

#### CONCLUSION

Despite the miscellaneous nature of this deposit, it shows clearly how in their last days the coroplasts of the Hellenistic period in Athens were adjusting to new tastes. In the late 2nd century, we have seen them reviving popular old types, deliberately copying them from antecedents of the 4th century, not just using exhausted moulds. In the opening years of the 1st century, however, the coroplasts were obviously less interested in these revivals than in new types: masks, trivial genre scenes and pastoral fantasies. From the large size, the careless manufacture and the Neo-Attic flavor of these scenes, we may assume that they were made after the sack of Athens, but before Roman taste had hardened the style.

<sup>33</sup> In general, M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 98f., fig. 367. Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 229, a, d; cf. pl. 230, a.

<sup>34</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 21, no. 3.

<sup>35</sup> P. Perdrizet, *Rev. arch.* (4e série) III, 1904, I, pp. 241-244.

<sup>36</sup> An example: E. Paul, *Antike Welt in Ton*, Leipzig, pl. 61, no. 227. Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 150, b, d.

<sup>37</sup> Darenberg and Saglio, *s.v. fulmen*, p. 1358, figs. 3308 ff.

<sup>38</sup> *Altortümer von Pergamon*, II, pl. XLVII, 3, p. 108.

<sup>39</sup> M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York, 1961, pp. 160-164.

<sup>40</sup> Mendel, *Cat. Sculptures*, I, p. 263, no. 104.

<sup>41</sup> Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, p. 240 ff.

## CATALOGUE

## 1 (T 1636) Male Head. Pl. 68.

P. H. 6.5 cm.; H. of face 2.6 cm. Buff-blond clay; orange on flesh; red on hair. Back mould-made. Broken below.

Child's head, wearing heavy bound wreath with fillets hanging to shoulders. Mouth open in twisted grin.

## DRAPED FIGURES

## 2 (T 1635) Draped Fragment. Pl. 68.

P. H. 10 cm. Buff-blond clay. Finished edge on left side.

Mass of hanging drapery, perhaps thrown over a post.

## 3 (T 1626) Draped Female Figure. Pl. 68.

P. H. 8.3 cm. Buff-tan clay; thick white slip. Irregular vent in back, which is handmade. Head missing.

Draped in fine chiton and heavy himation that is drawn across body to left side and held up in thick fold; right hand emerges.

*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 35, pp. 132 ff.; *Troy, Suppl. Monograph* 3, p. 20, note 1.

## 4 (T 3679) Draped Fragment. Pl. 68.

P. H. 4.3 cm. Reddish buff clay. Broken all round.

From right upper side of female figure; same mould as No. 3.

## 5 (T 1629) Archaistic Figure. Pl. 68.

P. H. 8 cm. Soft gray-blond clay. Cream color all over figure. Solid; marks of attachment behind.

Female figure in archaistic dress, high-girt, with overfold, holding her left hand down, her right upward with a small fawn against her breast. Long locks on shoulders.

*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 27, p. 135.

## GROUPS

## 6 (T 1634) Boy and Dog. Pl. 68.

P. H. 11.5 cm.; P.W. 7.3 cm. Blond-buff

clay; orange on flesh; red on base, on hair and some of fruit; yellow on rest of fruit and on dog. Mouldmade back partly broken away; parts of cloak missing.

Boy moves to his left, carrying basket of fruit, looking back at small dog that jumps up his right leg. Wears cloak fastened at throat and thick wreath. Features not modelled; eyes touched with black, mouth with red.

## 7 (T 1631, 3673, 3674) Pastoral Group(?). Pl. 69.

T 1631 a) P. H. 6.5 cm.; P. W. 11 cm. b) P.H. 8.5 cm.; W. 7 cm. Yellow-blond clay. Red on base; orange on rock.

Moulded high base with a little rocky ground on which traces of a cloven hoof (?) and lion's paw (?).

T 3673 a) P. H. 6.5 cm.; b) 7 cm.; c) 3.3 cm.; d) 7.4 cm. Yellow-blond clay; pinkish orange on flesh; reddish on hair.

Fragments from a goat-legged figure; d) trunk of a tree, hollow at ends of branches.

T 3674 a) P. H. 7.4 cm.; b) 7.5 cm. Blond clay. Pinkish orange flesh; cream on drapery.

Two arm fragments; right naked; left supports end of hanging drapery.

All these fragments are very similar in fabric, technique and coloring, but they may come from several different pieces.

## MISCELLANIES

## 8 (T 1625) Votive Mask. Pl. 69.

H. 5.4 cm.; W. 4.2 cm. Gray-reddish clay; cream on face; yellow on hair; red on lips; trace of blue on eye. Mouth pierced; hang-holes on top of head; open back. Lower left side broken away. Burned.

Mask of maiden with flowing locks.

T. B. L. Webster, *Mons. Illust. New Comedy*, p. 55, AT 22.

## 9 (T 1624) Oval Shield.

Pl. 69.

P. H. 5.3 cm. Micaeous buff clay. Solid; convex.

Lower right side of a small oval shield with raised border decorated with wavy scroll pattern. Relief blazon consisting of winged thunderbolt with stalks of fennel.

## 10 (T 3688) Base.

Pl. 69.

P. H. 3.5 cm.; P. W. 4.5 cm. Gray-blond clay; cream on front; dark blue on top. Back missing; broken at ends.

Base, with small moulding at top, markedly projecting lower half-round moulding at bottom.

VIII THE LATE FIRST CENTURY B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The depression that followed the Sullan sack of Athens in 86 B.C. was deep and prolonged. By seizing the gold and silver reserves on the Acropolis, by looting the city of columns, statues and paintings, by confiscating the slaves and devastating the harbor from which Athens had drawn her wealth, the Romans brought the city to a state of demoralization.<sup>2</sup> This condition is reflected with startling vividness in the Agora even to this day by the paucity of material discovered, except war debris, of the period between the cleaning up after the sack and the limited indications of improvement under Augustus. In fact, it becomes more and more clear that real recovery did not take place until the reign of Hadrian.<sup>3</sup> The few figurines that appear in the few deposits of the 1st century B.C. are as wretched as the surviving citizens themselves must have been. It is perhaps surprising to find any terracottas, for the Greek feeling for coroplastic art soon died out and almost none have survived from the Agora for the first two centuries of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> It is even not impossible that the few examples that we shall tentatively present here are only survivors from an earlier period and were not actually made after Sulla. Their interest is certainly only as social documents and not as works of art.

The author of the volume on Agora pottery of the Roman period<sup>5</sup> takes the siege of Sulla as the dividing line between the ceramics of the Greek and Roman periods. The study of the figurines of the Roman period begins with the figurines from con-

<sup>1</sup> The pottery from these deposits will mostly be published by G. R. Edwards; the rest, of the Roman period, by H. S. Robinson. In the meantime I have had the benefit of consultation on the dating of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods with John Hayes, who is studying this particular phase. The photographs are by Alison Franz and James Heyle.

<sup>2</sup> A vivid picture of the period is given by W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 454-459.

<sup>3</sup> This view, expressed by Pausanias (I, 20, 7) and by several other authors, has been contested at length by John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York, 1942, pp. 120-176. The results of the Agora excavations, however, tend to support this ancient tradition, although it may have been overdramatically expressed.

<sup>4</sup> C. Grandjean, *The Athenian Agora*, VI, Princeton, 1961, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, Princeton, 1961, p. 2. For the appearance of "Perгамene" (East Sigillata A) in Greece after 75 B.C., cf. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, pp. 80 f., 214.

texts that contained characteristically Roman pottery, such as Arretine ware.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the manufacture of lamps, a more vital commodity, was found to have resumed its development after the sack without so marked a change of character.<sup>9</sup> On our present evidence, it seems that the production of figurines continued in sparse quantity throughout the 1st century B.C. and perhaps even a little later, to follow Hellenistic tradition. Our dating of the technique of large coarse figures, such as have already been discussed from the Mask Cistern<sup>10</sup> as post-Sullan is supported by the striking absence at Delos, finally sacked in 69 B.C., of similar pieces. Parallels for a few of our specimens can also be found in Myrina, which was very active just at this period.<sup>11</sup>

Besides the examples mentioned above from earlier deposits,<sup>12</sup> the most interesting pieces from the limited contexts of this date are heads. We shall select those that illustrate the trends of style. The dating of the deposits that are listed for each piece in the Catalogue is given on p. 267.<sup>13</sup>

#### TECHNIQUE

Technically, this material varies immensely. The soft blond clay characteristic of the later 2nd century continued to be used, but often it was not so well fired and took on a very livid yellow hue (Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7). Along with it also appears a more traditional buff, very much like that of the better productions of the late 2nd century (Nos. 1, 2, 8, 9). Plaster moulds were used, but not often (Nos. 6, 10). Tiny, slovenly types also occur as though in response to the poverty of the inhabitants (Nos. 3, 7).

#### MALE HEADS: Nos. 1-3

The upper filling of a deposit of which the lower filling has already been discussed appears from its pottery to have been dumped in as late as the last quarter of the 1st century B.C.<sup>14</sup> It contained two heads (Nos. 1, 8). They are well preserved, despite considerable plastic detail, and may therefore be considered to have been manufactured shortly before their discard. The firmly baked fabric and careful modelling, particularly at the back of the head, however, are at variance with the

<sup>8</sup> Grandjouan, *op. cit.*, p. 1, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> R. H. Howland, *Agora*, IV, p. 1; J. Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, Princeton, 1961, p. 4. The discussion by J. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 153, must be corrected by this new evidence.

<sup>10</sup> See above p. 253.

<sup>11</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 105, e; pl. 108, d, f.

<sup>12</sup> See above pp. 255-256, nos. 6, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Until all the evidence has been fully studied, the dates suggested here must be regarded as tentative. They must be related to those given by Lapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-90.

<sup>14</sup> The lower filling of this deposit, N 19:1, has been discussed, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 66-68. For an analysis of the upper filling, Lapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-84.

nature of other pieces found in the other contexts of this period. We might be dubious about their date, were there not a few stylistic peculiarities. The male head (No. 1) shows rough hair, thick eyelids and bowed lips rather in the manner of the third quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>13</sup> Yet the style is not exactly alike; it lacks the sensitive feeling of clay work of Greek times and seems slicker; moreover, these heads have been slipped with clay.<sup>14</sup> If we turn to the contemporary shops of Asia Minor, we note immediately many examples with large coarse features, plastic leafy crowns surmounted by thick bound wreaths made in the shops of Diphilos and his associates in Myrina.<sup>15</sup> It is not impossible that this head is an import, made to supplement the lamentable local supply, much as Italian lamps were brought to Greece for the same purpose at this same time.<sup>16</sup>

The next head (No. 2) points the contrast between this vigorous purely Hellenistic style that continued into the late 1st century B.C. in Myrina and the impoverished post-Sullan character of Athenian work. It comes from the filling of a post-Sullan drain along with Pergamene ware and a few early Roman sherds.<sup>17</sup> The fabric is a grayish buff, not unlike that common in the Herakles Deposit.<sup>18</sup> The face is damaged, but the features must always have been dull. The large wreath, which stops at ear-level, is stippled in horizontal strokes and attached separately, but without the jabs usual at this time. Perhaps this is the work of an older coroplast, perhaps a survivor. The hair is arranged in a fringe over the forehead; the thin neck is stiff. These features are similar to those of ephebes from Myrina datable at the same period or a little later.<sup>19</sup> This is presumably a local piece of the same general class.

The miserable little head (No. 3) was found built into the rubble wall of a latrine that was erected over the ruins of the Theseion some time after the sack of 86 B.C. but before Augustus.<sup>20</sup> The soft blond clay has the strong yellow hue common after Sulla. The fabric is so degenerate and poorly fired that it is covered with fine hair-cracks, a phenomenon virtually unknown among Greek figurines. Small though the head is, it has been made in two moulds which incorporate the wreath. The stippling of the wreath is done with vertical strokes. The face is so worn that the features cannot be detected, but that they were originally lumpish is all too clear from the

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Group E, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 52, no. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 37, no. 408. My attention was drawn to this pinkish slip by Judith Perlzweig, from whose full knowledge of Corinthian terracottas I have gained much enlightenment. An applied clay slip is also noted in W. van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Ann Arbor, 1939, p. 15. It does not appear on Athenian pieces of the pre-Sullan period.

<sup>15</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 55, e, 197, c, 221, a.

<sup>16</sup> Perlzweig, *Agora*, VII, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> In the general area B 21.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 53.

<sup>19</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 143, b-d; pl. 171, e; cf. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 76, nos. 836, 849, 855.

<sup>20</sup> Area I 15; H. A. Thompson, the excavator, provided the dating.

prognathous profile. This head, however, differs from genuine early Roman work, which, in Athens at least, usually copied sculptural styles. We see here the Graeculus who fawned upon the Romans and who makes us unsympathetic with his kind.

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos 4-10

Most of the interesting heads found in the Agora in deposits of the later 1st century B.C. are, contrary to the situation in the late 2nd century, of female types.

No. 4 comes from a drain filling of the time after Sulla, probably fairly close to the mid 1st century.<sup>21</sup> Its yellow fabric and fresh condition suggest that it was manufactured after the sack. The sharply incisive treatment is novel; it follows that of bronzes and markedly differs from the sloppy coroplastic style observable on most figurines made before the time of Sulla. We note that this head develops from the tradition of metallic looking heads that we observed on one piece from the Kybele Cistern.<sup>22</sup> On that example, however, the face is plump whereas on our No. 4 the face is long and thin, with precise, tiny features and an elongated neck showing marked rings of Venus. This head can be paralleled on Roman coins of the 40's of the 1st century B.C.<sup>23</sup> This is a foretaste of the crisp classicism that becomes the characteristic idiom of the Augustan era. The ringlets that fall on the neck in little coils are often seen on the shoulders of figurines of that period in Myrina.<sup>24</sup>

The stephane worn by this head is rendered as a serrated diadem with a ring base like several on stodgy-faced women from Delos and, more like our type, on a thin-necked type from Abdera and Myrina.<sup>25</sup> This stephane should mark our head as divine, but at this period, consistency cannot be assumed.<sup>26</sup>

From another context of this period, namely mid 1st century to Augustus, a more stolid head (No. 5) brings us close to the vacuity of Roman types. The clay is buff and well fired, as in Roman figurines. The face has a stodgy expression not seen hitherto in Athens. We should like to know whether this represents an Italian trader's wife or an Athenian trying to imitate her. The doughnut-shaped wreath stops at the level of the ears and resembles that on a small head that was previously regarded,<sup>27</sup> perhaps wrongly, as made before the sack. The wreath, like that on our No. 3, was made in both front and back moulds and then awkwardly joined. The back

<sup>21</sup> Deposit A-B 19-20: 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 18, no. 17, pl. 3.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*,<sup>2</sup> London, 1960, pl. X, 14 (ca. 49 B.C.); pl. XV, 3 (ca. 46 B.C.); pl. XIX, 13 (ca. 44 B.C.).

<sup>24</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 192, g-i.

<sup>25</sup> *Delos*, pl. 80, nos. 964, 969; D. I. Lazaridis, *Πρότυπα Ειδώλια Ἀθηναίων*. Athens, 1960, pl. 6, B6; cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 203, c and an interesting prototype, pl. 203, e.

<sup>26</sup> See D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 49. (Hereafter, *Troy*.)

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 9, no. 17, pl. 3.

of the head is given substance by a large protruding bun, of which we note the proto-type at Myrina, Delos, Ilion.<sup>25</sup> The smug face, however, is missing at those sites.

Our next series of heads is more informative. They all wear the hair, however it may be arranged in front, drawn up to a tall bow-knot on the crown of the head, a fashion particularly popular in the late 2nd and 1st century B.C.<sup>26</sup> No. 6 is a good example from near the beginning of this period. It was found in a cistern chamber adjacent to that which held the Kybele deposit.<sup>27</sup> It was also filled with Sullan debris. The fabric of No. 6 is soft yellow-blond clay, smoked gray in places. Pellets in the hollows indicate that the head was made in a plaster mould.<sup>28</sup> The modelling is enlivened by some retouching. The facial type derives from earlier forms with squinting eyes and pursed mouth.<sup>29</sup> The wavy ridges of the melon coiffure radiate outward from a point in the center of the forehead, rather than run parallel to each other. This form occurs on the large head of Despoina by Damophon, of which the face is also not dissimilar.<sup>30</sup> The bow-knot, added to the coiffure rather than an integral part of it, is fairly low and curly; the knot at the nape projects far outward. The surface of the head is still alive and shows that the use of a plaster mould need not, though it often does, deaden the vividness of the terracotta. We may therefore safely regard this head as a product of the late 2nd century, perhaps from an imported mould.

The vitality of this head is immediately striking when we compare it with a foolish little piece (no. 7) that reduces the type to an absurdity. This was found in a context apparently no later than the late 2nd century.<sup>31</sup> It reminds us of a similar miniature<sup>32</sup> in many details: the buff fabric, the gay coloring, even to the red hair and gilding on its stephane. The face is blurred almost to the vanishing point, but the curly hair is still a bit crisp. It is close to heads from Myrina that are the dull Hellenistic prototypes of late 1st century Nike heads<sup>33</sup> of harder and less individual spirit.

The next two heads (Nos. 8, 9) at first glance might seem to precede rather than to follow the baroque little piece just studied. They revert in fabric to a dull gray-buff fired as hard as many specimens of the mid 2nd century. They also resume the larger size of good Hellenistic pieces. Both, however, were found in late contexts and probably represent the revival of old styles which took place in many fields in the time of Augustus.

<sup>25</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 125, f.; *Delos*, XXIII, pl. 81, no. 975, pl. 82, no. 1012; *Troy*, pl. LV, no. 280.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>27</sup> Deposit E 15: 3.

<sup>28</sup> Grandjourn, *Agora*, VI, p. 3, note 12; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 35-36.

<sup>29</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 205, c; *Troy*, pl. LIII, no. 266.

<sup>30</sup> Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 670.

<sup>31</sup> Area B 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 21, no. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 218, h. Cf. Burr, *Myrinas*, no. 105, pl. XXXIX.



No. 8 was found in the same filling as No. 1, datable in the last years of the 1st century B.C.<sup>37</sup> In photographs, that is in essential forms, these two heads resemble each other closely, but in the hand they can be seen to differ in details. The female head (No. 8) is made of dull buff clay. Its surface is not so smoothly worked as that of the male head and its ornamentation is coarser. This head may be the local version of the more purely Hellenistic style of Asia Minor. In any case, it is a fine example of what we may call the flamboyant style. The towering bow of hair, decorated in the center with a disk, springs up behind a stephane that evidently rose high from the head. The back of the head is rounded and lightly worked in tresses that draw up to a bow without having the second knot at the nape visible on the two preceding specimens. This detail is in keeping with the tendency to omit such low knots on late heads from Ilion.<sup>38</sup> The face is carelessly modelled with hard eyelids of which the lower dips markedly.<sup>39</sup> The nose is thick and the mouth coarse. The profiles of Nos. 1 and 8, however, show such a close relation that they cannot be far apart in time, though the female face has been carelessly wiped and is covered with bits of clay like warts on the skin. The joint between the front and back sections has been slovenly finished and emended by large lumpy earrings. The big ball earrings do not seem to occur before the 1st century B.C. and reach flamboyant proportions at the end of that period. The hair bow likewise belongs to the latest Hellenistic phase, for it finds parallels on the Nikai from Myrina signed by the coroplasts Theodotos and Menophilos.<sup>40</sup> On our head the bow is wilder and the style livelier than the Myrinnan and can better be placed with No. 7 and its parallels. It would seem therefore to fall into the time just before or at the beginning of the Augustan period.

The difference between this careless but still lively Hellenistic style and the genuine classicism of the Imperial Roman age is made clear by a comparison of the preceding heads and our No. 9. Its fabric is novel to us, a dull buff mixture brushed with a thin pinkish slip. This is like a pinkish slip found on terracottas of the first century after Christ at Corinth.<sup>41</sup> No white coating is visible, but dark red paint has been applied direct to the hair. This head was found in a drain together with sherds as late as the mid 1st century after Christ.<sup>42</sup> The peculiar mixture of elements in this head can best be explained by assigning it to the earlier years of the Imperial age. It is also un-Greek in the absurdity of the treatment of the hair-bow, which on our previous examples and indeed also on early Roman examples from Myrina<sup>43</sup> is

<sup>37</sup> See above note 6.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. *Troy*, nos. 274, 279, pls. LIV f.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 270 f., pl. LIII.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 122, d, f, 202, i, 204, g, i, 206, f (by Diphrilos). Seeming exceptions, such as pls. 114, b and 125, f, are, on other grounds, considered as 1st century copies of earlier types.

<sup>41</sup> See above note 14.

<sup>42</sup> Area B-C 17.

<sup>43</sup> See *Troy*, pp. 38f., nos. 186, 252-254; Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 218, e-i.

composed of the long ends of hair that were obviously combed back from the face and upward. On this head, however, the underlying coiffure is the popular melon type pulled flat to a tight coil at the back of the head, as on 2nd century examples.<sup>44</sup> Upon this logical style of hairdressing a large bow has been irrelevantly grafted as a mere ornament by an artist indifferent to the logic of feminine hairdressing. He then added a disk ornament and round earrings to enliven his dull work. The facial type is equally incongruous, for it is drawn from an old Praxitelean mould such as was in use in the Agora in the 2nd century.<sup>45</sup> This correct beauty is somewhat like that of Dipilos' best classicizing heads at Myrina,<sup>46</sup> but decidedly more frigid. We might speculate just how a Greek coroplast working in Athens could competently have created just the same pseudo-Greek flavor as the marble workers who inspired him. It is interesting to note the widespread popularity of the type. The classic face, the rippling hair and extravagant bow occur in several excellent specimens from Seleucia in contexts of the late 1st to 2nd century after Christ.<sup>47</sup>

To set off the recast Roman style of No. 9, we should glance at the final stage of the degeneration of the untouched Hellenistic tradition of the late 1st century after Christ or even a little later.<sup>48</sup> A trashy little head, No. 10, of pale blond clay is also washed over with a pinkish slip and a thick red paint is applied directly to the hair. It is in a way the counterpart of the male head No. 3, but it has borrowed the irrelevant melon waves over the forehead while retaining the wide head band like that worn by Kleopatra VII.<sup>49</sup> The bow has become very lumpy and the earrings big and round. The damage done to the face in the moulding was hastily corrected by scratches on the eyes and lips. This is the sort of work often found at Seleucia,<sup>50</sup> but Ilion and Myrina do not seem to have fallen so low. Our head is more like a fantastic specimen from Tarsos of the 2nd century after Christ.<sup>51</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

We have ranged far in this discussion and we have selected difficult examples of styles little known and understood in the city of Athens. We might summarize our brief findings, emphasizing however our full consciousness that these are but snatches of the complex story of the times.

Technically, we have noticed two disparate manners, apparently co-existing

<sup>44</sup> E.g. *Troy*, pl. LI, nos. 252-254.

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pl. 3, no. 15. Cf. Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 524 for a marble counterpart.

<sup>46</sup> Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 206, h.

<sup>47</sup> van Ingen, *op. cit.*, pl. LXI, no. 440 (Cat. 1018e).

<sup>48</sup> From a deposit in I 14, dated by H. A. Thompson in the 1st to 2nd centuries after Christ.

<sup>49</sup> Bieber, *Sculpture*, figs. 364-367.

<sup>50</sup> van Ingen, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, 98 (Cat. 191c), pl. LXII, 448 (Cat. 1057c).

<sup>51</sup> H. Goldman and others, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, fig. 248, no. 508.

or following closely one on the other. The Hellenistic tradition continues, but degenerates rapidly. The new Roman competence picks up the technical standards, but makes Greek terracottas essentially Italian. Artistically, a dichotomy is also visible, but it does not exactly follow the same lines. The late Hellenistic tradition is carried on, in certain examples even in the Roman manner (Nos. 2, 6, 8, 9); others are as degenerate in style as in technique (Nos. 3, 5, 7, 10). One piece alone, No. 4, shows a novel style of which the inspiration can be related directly to Italian sources. By the end of the 1st century B.C. the craft had apparently recovered sufficiently to produce fairly respectable pieces for which a small demand continued into the 1st century after Christ. But the production of terracottas seems virtually to have ceased by the end of that century.

With this last flicker of the Hellenistic tradition our survey of three centuries of Hellenistic terracottas from the Athenian Agora comes to an end. The figurines of the Roman period have long since been published.<sup>22</sup> A similar volume presenting the terracottas of the earlier periods is now in preparation. S. Immerwahr and E. W. French will deal with those of the Neolithic and Bronze ages. R. V. Nicholls will cover the material from ca. 1100 B.C. to ca. 400 B.C. The present writer will be responsible for that of the remaining centuries, including, in condensed form, what has been presented in the preceding series of articles. In addition a great deal of hitherto unpublished material will be included and an attempt made to synthesize the results of all these studies into a coherent, if by no means complete, account of the craft of the Athenian coroplasts down the ages.

## CATALOGUE

## MALE HEADS

## 1 (T 1310) Male Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Deposit N 19: 1. P. H. 5.8 cm.; H. face 2.6 cm. Brownish gray clay; pink on wreath.

Wears ivy wreath under thick bound wreath, with two large fruits. Hair worked behind.

Mentioned *Troy, Suppl. Monog.* 3, p. 45, notes 69, 71.

## 2 (T 2296) Male Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Area B 21. P. H. 4.2 cm.; H. face 2 cm. Dull buff clay. Wreath applied separately; its right end missing.

Wears thick bound wreath, stippled horizontally.

## 3 (T 3377) Male Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Area I: 15. P. H. 3.6 cm.; H. face 1.5 cm. Greenish blond clay, full of cracks.

Wears thick bound wreath.

## FEMALE HEADS

## 4 (T 2083) Female Head with Stephane. Pl. 70.

Area A-B 19-20: 1. P. H. 4.5 cm.; H. face 1.8 cm. Greenish blond clay. Back of head unworked; curls applied.

Wears a radiate stephane over parted hair, with curls hanging down neck.

<sup>22</sup> Grandjouan, *Agora*, VI.

## 5 (T 2390) Female Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Area A-B 18. P. H. 4.4 cm.; H. face 2.1 cm. Yellowish blond clay; traces of red on hair.

Wears hair parted in center, drawn back to large flat bun at back; short, thick, lightly stippled wreath.

## 6 (T 927) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 70.

Deposit E 15:3. P. H. 5.2 cm.; H. face 3 cm. Blond clay, somewhat smoked. Red on hair. Nose and left side of bow broken.

Hair worn in multiple melon coiffure, but drawn to small projecting knot below and large bow on top; wide head band in front of knot. Squinting eyes.

## 7 (T 2573) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 71.

Area B 16. P. H. 4 cm.; H. face 1.3 cm. Blond clay; red on hair, gilding on stephane. Curls missing from right shoulder.

Wears parted hair in low projecting knot and high bow behind stephane; curls on left shoulder.

## 8 (T 1308) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 71.

Deposit N 19:1, Top filling. P. H. 6.7 cm.; H. face 2.8 cm. Gray buff clay; red on hair. Most of stephane missing; nose chipped.

Wears hair parted and drawn up behind to large bow-knot, fastened by central disk. Thick-lidded eyes, large earrings.

Mentioned *Troy, Suppl. Monog.* 3, p. 43, note 57; p. 45, note 71; p. 94, note 138.

## 9 (T 2442) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 71.

Area B-C 17. P. H. 6.3 cm.; H. face 3.2 cm. Dull buff clay with pinkish slip.

Wears hair in melon coiffure with projecting coil at crown; six waves on each side. Large bow with central disk on top. Large ball earrings.

Mentioned in *Troy, Suppl. Monog.* 3, p. 43, note 57.

## 10 (T 3658) Female Head. Pl. 71.

I 14. P. H. 3.8 cm.; H. face 2.8 cm. Blond clay; hard fabric; red on hair.

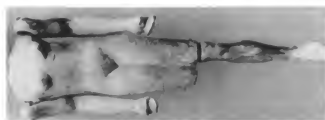
Wears head band, melon coiffure and large bow and earrings.

## CONTEXTS

A-B	18	Mid 1st century B.C.
A-B	19-20	Post-Sullan drain
B	16	Late 2nd century B.C.
B-C	17	Late 1st century B.C.
B	21	Drain, post-Sullan filling
E	15:3	About the time of Sulla
I	15	Mid 1st century B.C.
N	19:1	Last quarter 1st century B.C.
I	14	1st-2nd centuries after Christ

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON  
NEW JERSEY



Acropolis Mus.  
1464

11 Cast



5 Cast



13 b

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

c

a



4a 4b 2 3 6 Cast 1





15



6b Exterior



39

21

17

16



41 Cast

14 Cast

18 Cast



23

22

35 Cast

36 Cast

38

37

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS



19



Acropolis Mus. 1195



Figure from Rhitsona



Acropolis Mus.  
1273



20a

*Hesperia* 21, 1932



20b

PLATE 4



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art (06.1113)



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art  
(07.286.31)



Courtesy of British Mus. (C 308)



Agora T 1626



Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale



Agora T 909



Agora T 2628





Courtesy of British  
Museum (C36)



31                      32                      33                      30  
34                      29                      28



Agora T2983



24  
27



26  
25

*Hesperia* 21, 1952



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art (06.1138)



40 Cast



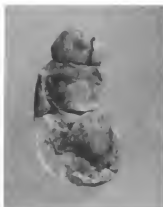
42 Cast



40 Interior



40 Exterior



42 Exterior



50 Exterior



Interior

50

Cast



Courtesy of British  
Museum (C36)



31                      32                      33                      30  
34                      29                      28



Agora T2983



24  
27

26  
25

*Hesperia* 21, 1952



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art (06.1138)



40 Cast



42 Cast



40 Interior



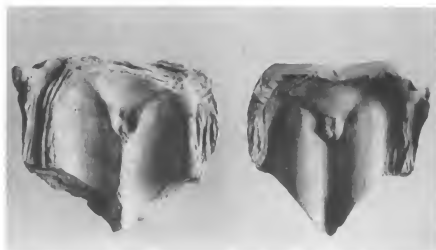
40 Exterior



42 Exterior



50 Exterior



Interior

50

Cast

PLATE 38



45d  
45b

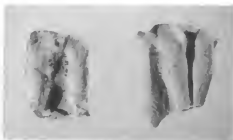
45c  
45a



44



Courtesy of British Mus.  
(C90)



47

46



Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale

*Hesperia* 21, 1952



43



Courtesy of British Mus. (C238)

PLATE 8



Agora T 621



48c

48b

48a



49b



52a  
52b

53  
54



51



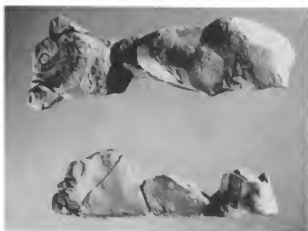
49a

66

76  
58 Cast

62

75

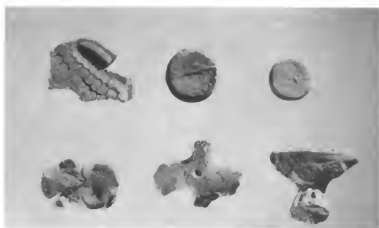


57



55 Cast

56  
Cast



12  
63

65  
60

64  
67



69



Interior

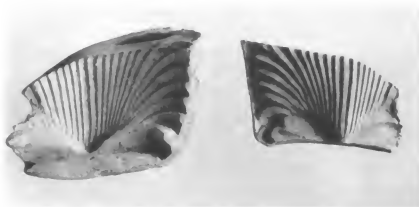
59



Cast



59 Exterior



Interior

61

Cast



78 Cast



Agora T 1529



70  
72

68

71



Mould

73



Cast



74b

74a



PLATE 42



77 Mould

77 Cast



Agora T123



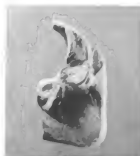
Agora T2415



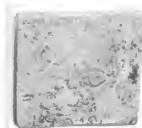
87

86

85  
84



82



79



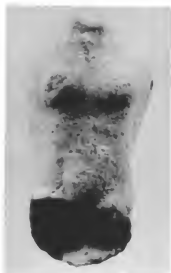
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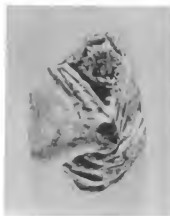
81



80



1



2



1



4



3



6



7



8



9



15



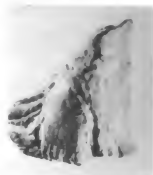
16



Demeter  
Cistern 13

The Hedgehog Well

PLATE 13

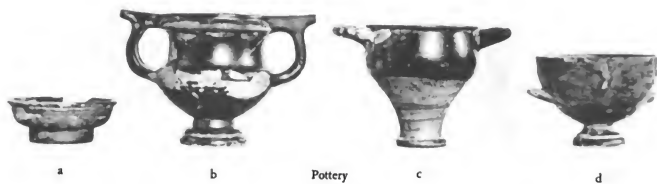


5



meter Cistern 2





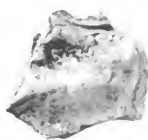
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3



4



5a



5b



6



12



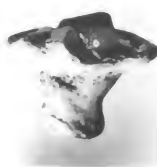
7



7



8



8

The Demeter Cistern

PLATE 15



Agora T 1403



The Demeter Cistern 2

The Demeter Cistern 2

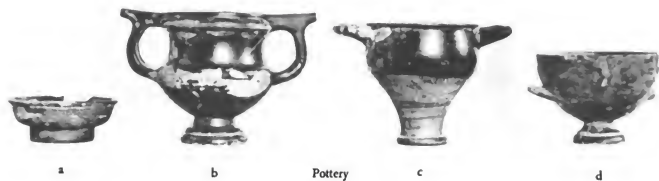


Courtesy of British Museum  
(C243)

Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College  
*Hesperia* 23, 1954



Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College



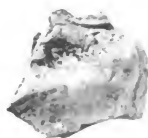
1



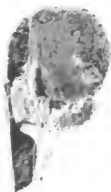
3



4



5a



5b



6



12



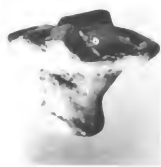
7



7



8



8

The Demeter Cistern

PLATE 15

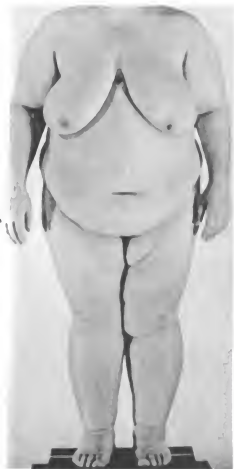


Agora T 1403



The Demeter Cistern 2

The Demeter Cistern 2



Courtesy of British Museum  
(C243)



Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College  
*Hesperia* 23, 1954

Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College



Agora T 1623



The Demeter Cistern 9



Agora T 431

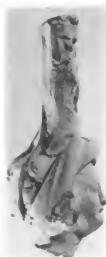


Courtesy of British Museum (C812)

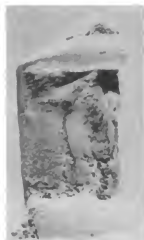


Agora T 1547

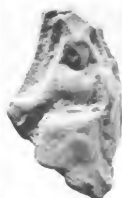




Agora T1004



Agora T1962



Agora T892



Agora T2178

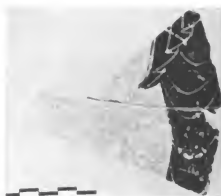


Agora T550



Agora T1546





Agora P 19531



Agora P 19530

The Demeter Cistern 10



The Demeter  
Cistern 11



Agora P 12406

Pottery from the Coroplast's Dump



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



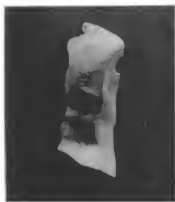
i



j

Pottery from The Hedgehog Well

PLATE 19



No. 1



No. 11



No. 4



No. 4



No. 2



No. 3



No. 5

PLATE 35



No. 6



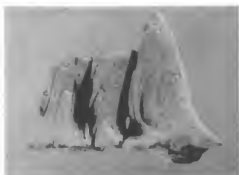
No. 6



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 13.155

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

PLATE 21



No. 7



No. 9



No. 15



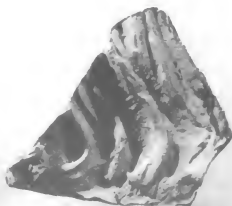
No. 10



No. 14



No. 8



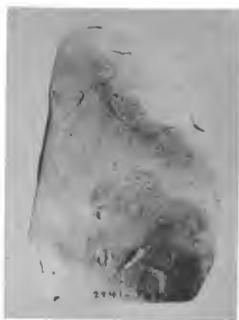
No. 13



No. 16



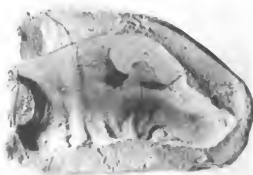
No. 16



No. 17, Outside



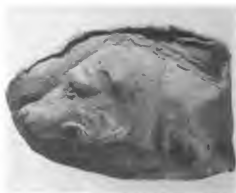
No. 12



No. 17, Inside

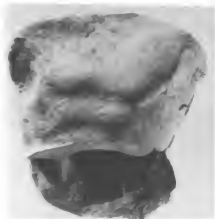


No. 18



No. 17, Cast

PLATE 26



No. 1



No. 2



No. 6



No. 3



No. 4



No. 8



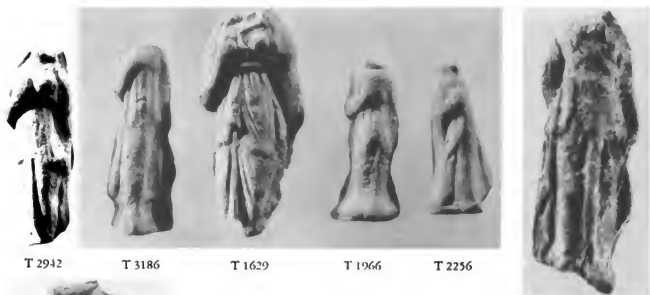
No. 5



No. 7

U. J. 1909

PLATE 24



T 2942

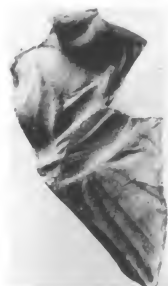
T 3186

T 1629

T 1966

T 2256

No. 9



No. 10



No. 11



No. 12



No. 17



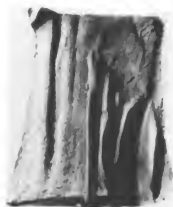
No. 14







No. 15



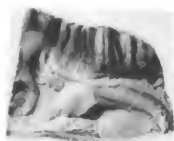
No. 16



No. 13



No. 19



No. 20



No. 18



No. 21



No. 22



No. 23



No. 24



No. 26

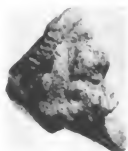


PLATE 26



No. 28

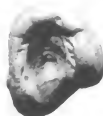




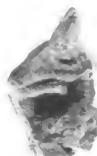
No. 27



No. 28



No. 26



No. 30



No. 29



T 88



T 862

*Hesperia* 28, 1959



No. 31



No. 32



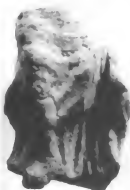
No. 15



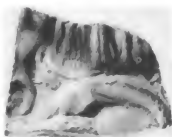
No. 16



No. 13



No. 19



No. 20



No. 18



No. 21



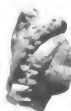
No. 22



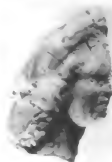
No. 24



No. 23

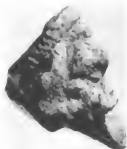


No. 25





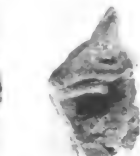
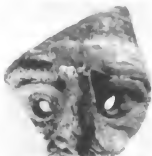
No. 27



No. 28



No. 26



No. 30



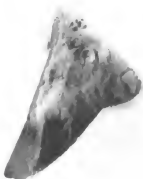
No. 29



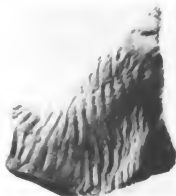
T 88



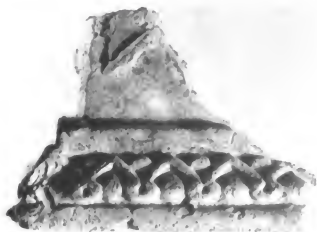
T 862



No. 31



No. 32



No 33



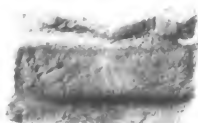
No 34



No 35



No. 36



No 37



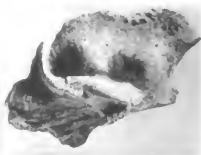
No 39



No. 40



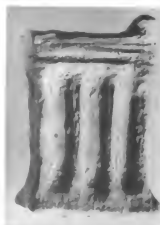
No 38



No 41



No 42



No. 43



1



2



Agora T 1336 (see under 2)



3



Agora T 3038



Agora T 941



4

*Hesperia* 31, 1962

PLATE 29



5



6



6



Agora T 1339 (1:2; see under 6)

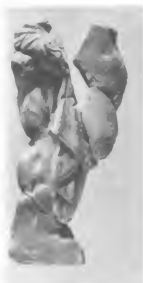


Agora T 139 (see under 6)

DOROTHY B. THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLINISTIC TERRACOTTAS, II C, THE SATYR CISTERN



7 (1:2)



8



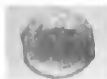
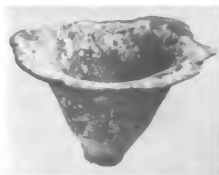
9



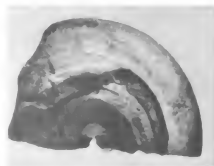
Agora T 1339 (1:2; see under 6)



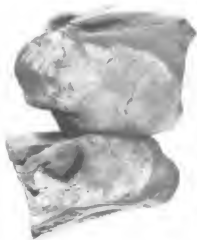
10



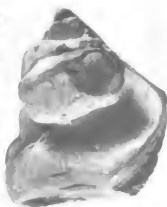
17 (1:2)



13



12



11



14

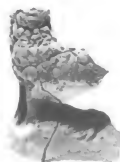




19



20



15



16



18



Onyx Cameo, British Museum  
(see under 19 and 20)



Agora T 1376a



22



21 (1:2)



Agora T 950



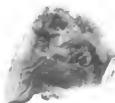
19



20



15



16



18



Onyx Cameo, British Museum  
(see under 19 and 20)



Agora T 1376a



22



21 (1:2)



Agora T 950



1



2 a



2 b



7 b



3



6



5



7 a



8



13

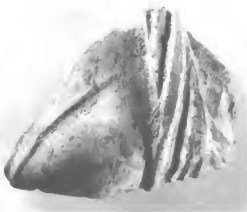


PLATE 73



10



17



9



11



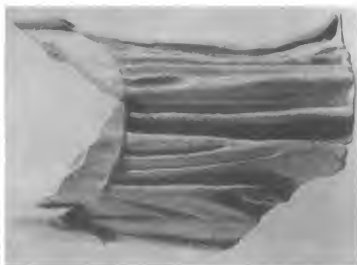
12



16



15



14

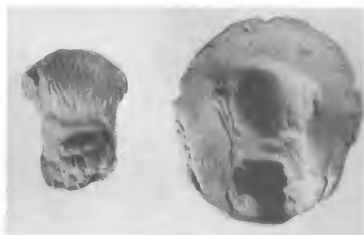


4

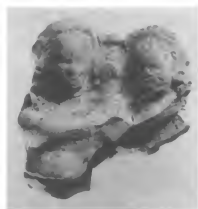
DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS, III A, THE KOMOS CISTERN



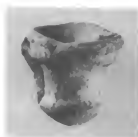
Isthmia (cf. 18)



18



19



20 b



21



20 a



22



23



24 (1:2)





25 a (1:2)



25 b (1:2)



26 a (1:2)



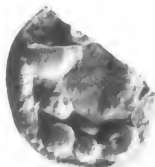
26 b and c (1:2)



27



28



29



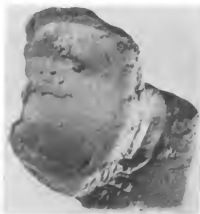
30



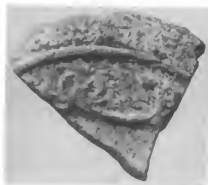
32



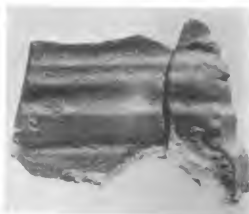
31



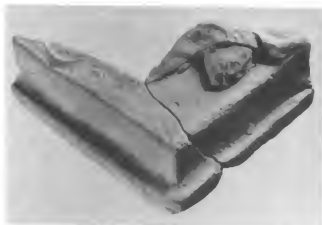
33



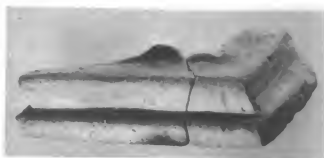
34



37



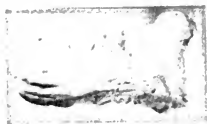
35



36



38 (1:2)



1



2



Pnyx (cf. 1, 2)



1



2



British Museum 1911  
4-16 1 (cf. 3)

*Hesperia* 32, 1963



3



4

7



Pnyx (cf. 1, 2)



1



2



British Museum 1911  
4-161 (cf. 3)

*Hesperia* 32, 1963



3



4

7



5



6



8





9



11, 12, 13 (1:2)



10



15



14



17



*Hesperia* 32, 1963

PLATE 43



16



19



18



20



22



21



D3



D1



D2

GROUP D





Papposilenos from Peiraeus, Staatliche Museen Berlin  
(somewhat reduced)



1 (1:1)



2 (slightly reduced)



3 (1:2)



4 (1:2)



6 (1:1)



7 (1:2)

V The Mid Second Century B.C.



5 (1:2)



7 (ca. 2:3)

V The Mid Second Century B.C.

PLATE 46



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



Coin of Berenike II,  
American Numismatic Society

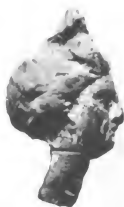


15 (1:1)



16 (4:5)

V The Mid Second Century B.C.



17



17



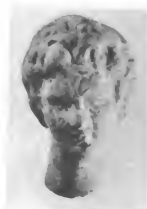
20



19



19



18



21

(1:1)



21

V The Mid Second Century B.C.



1



2

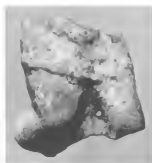


3

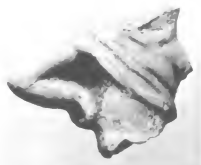
Group E (4:5)



1



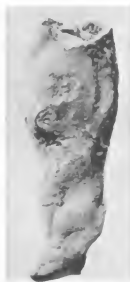
2



3



T 3550



4 b

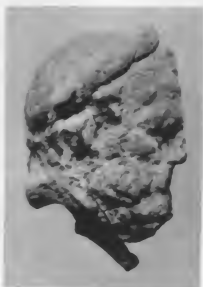
Herakles Deposit (1:1)

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.

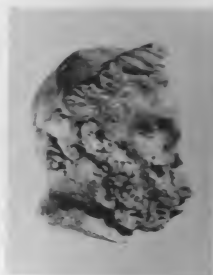
PLATE 49



4a



4a



T 1336



T 2297



T 2297



5



6



8

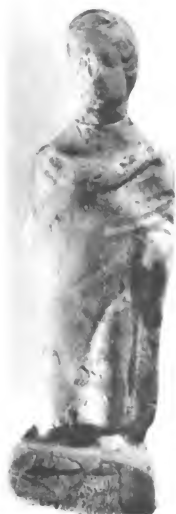


9

Herakles Deposit (1:1)

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.

PLATE 50



T 3363



T 168



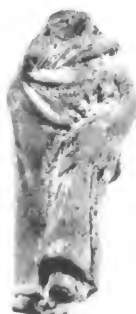
British Museum C 334



T 3063



Herakles Deposit 7  
(1:1)



T 884

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.

PLATE 51



10



T 2581



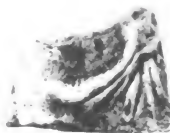
13



11



12



14

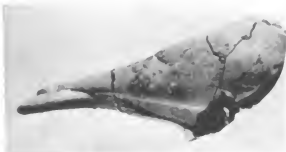
Herakles Deposit (1:1)

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.  
PLATE 52





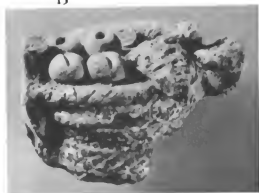
15



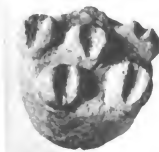
16



17



18



19

T 2441

Herakles Deposit (1:1 except 16 and 17 4:5)



1



2



T 2082



3



T 995



Miscellaneous Deposits (1:1)  
VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.

PLATE 53



5



Aphrodite from Paramythia



5



4



T 2538



6

*Hesperia* 34, 1965



PLATE 54



T 2538

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.  
(1:1)



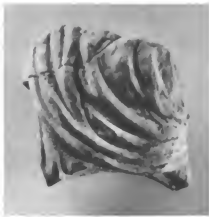
1 (1:3)

*Hesperia* 35, 1966

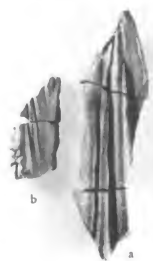
PLATE 55



2



5



6 (1:2)



8  
(1:1)



3a

3b

3c



7



9



10

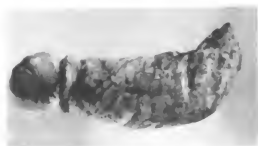


a

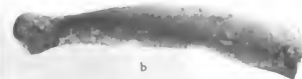


b

11



12



b

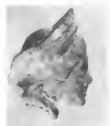


a

13



14



17



15



16

(1:1)

PLATE 4



18 (1:2)



T 2338 (1:2)



T 916 (1:1)



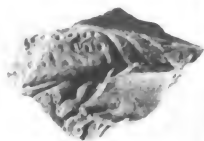
T 1006 (1:1)



T 1566 + T 1567 (1:1)



T 877 (1:1)



19 (1:1)



21 (1:1)



21 (1:1)



20 (1:2)



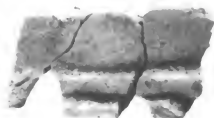
22 (1:1)



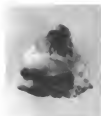
23 (1:2)



26 (1:1)



28 (2:3)



29 (1:2)



24

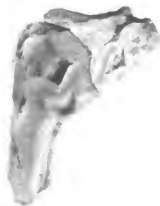


T 2466 (1:2)

*Hesperia* 35, 1966



25



27

(1:1)

PLATE 60





2



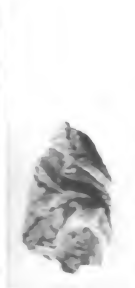
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5



3

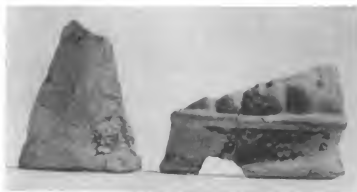


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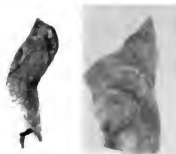


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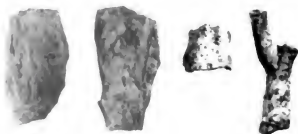
VII B The Early First Century B.C., The Mask Cistern



7: T 1631 (1:2)



7: T 3674 (1:2)



7: T 3673 (1:2)



8 (1:1)



9 (1:1)



10 (1:1)

VII B The Early First Century B.C., The Mask Cistern



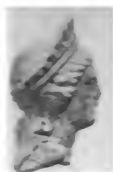
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2



3



4



5



6

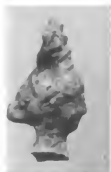
VIII The Late First Century B.C.



8



9



7



10

VIII The Late First Century B.C.



